EUSEBII PAMPHILI

EVANGELICAE PRAEPARATIONIS

LIBRI XV

LONDINI ET NOVI EBORACI

APUD HENRICUM FROWDE

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΡΟΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ

ΛΟΓΟΙ ΙΕ

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AD CODICES MANUSCRIPTOS DENUO COLLATOS RECENSUIT
ANGLICE NUNC PRIMUM REDDIDIT
NOTIS ET INDICIBUS INSTRUXIT

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NOTES

BOOK I

THE title Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. The traditional rendering, 'Eusebius the *friend* of Pamphilus,' has no support in the usage of the genitive of kinship. Whether Eusebius was actually adopted by Pamphilus, or only assumed the patronymic as a mark of respect and affection, the only correct rendering is 'Eusebius *son* of Pamphilus.' See the Introduction to the English translation, vol. iii. p. 2.

1] **1 a** 4 *θεῖον ἐπισκόπων χρῆμα*. Eusebius applies the same description to Theodotus again (*Dem. Ev.* i. 1) and to Peter, Bishop of Alexandria (*H. E.* ix. 6), whom he also calls *θεῖόν τι χρῆμα διδασκάλων* (viii. 13).

Θεόδοτε. Theodotus, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria about 310–340 A.D., is most highly praised by Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 32. 23, as one who verified both his lordly name and his title of Bishop by actual deeds: 'for he gained the highest reputation in the arts both of healing the body and ministering to the soul; nor was any other man his equal in kindness, sincerity, sympathy, and zeal on behalf of those who needed his help.' Theodotus became afterwards a prominent supporter of Arius.

a 5 *ἐπεφώνησα*. Eus. *H. E.* iv. 3. 4 *ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ*. On the Epistolary Aorist see Moulton's Winer *Gk. Gr.* 347.

a 6 *φιλοθέοις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱερουργίαις*. As a compound of *ἱερός*, not *ἱερεύς*, *ἱερουργία* means any *service about sacred things*, and is not limited to *priestly* functions. Cf. Hdt. v. 83 *αἱ τοιαῦται ἱρουργίαι*, 4 Macc. iii. 20 *χρήματα εἰς τὴν ἱερουργίαν αὐτοῖς ἀφορίσαι*, where *αὐτοῖς* refers to the whole people mentioned above as *οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν*. But by the time of Eusebius *ἱερουργία*, like *λειτουργία*, without losing its general sense, was frequently used with special reference to the celebration of the Eucharist, and in this passage, as the context *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* shows, to the intercessory

portions of the Liturgy. Eusebius, therefore, asks to be remembered by Theodotus in the 'Great Intercession.' Thus in the Liturgy of St. James, which was used in Palestine, we read: 'Remember also, O Lord, . . . the Bishops in all the world, who in an orthodox way rightly divide the word of Thy truth.' Individuals also were mentioned by name in the *Diptychs of the Living*. Compare Eus. *Vit. Const.* iv. 45 *θυσίαις ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις*.

2 a 6 *τὸν οὐ βλέποντα πλοῦτον*. Plato, *Laws* 631 C, quoted by Eus. 589 b *πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλὸς ἀλλ' ὀξὺ βλέπων*: Theophrast. *Fr.* lxxviii *τυφλὸς ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστιν*: Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 24 *τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ προσηγορίαν κατασπῶσιν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν τυφλὸν πλοῦτον*. Wealth itself is called 'blind,' because Plutus the god of wealth was said to have been blinded by Zeus, that he might bestow his gifts indiscriminately on the evil and on the good. Aristoph. *Plut.* 87–92.

a 7 *προξενοῦν*. Chrys. *in Philipp. Hom.* x. 4 *οὔτε πλοῦτος προξενεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὔτε πενία τὴν γέενναν*. Cf. 69 a 9, 169 d 2.

b 6 *ἀνάνευσις*. The word usually means 'denial' or 'refusal,' indicated by throwing back the head: but for its meaning here, 'looking upwards,' see Polyb. *Bell. Pun.* i. 23. 5; xviii. 13. 3: Clem. Al. 83 (Potter) *ἀνανεύσατε τῆς γῆς εἰς αἰθέρα, ἀναβλέψατε εἰς οὐρανόν*. Cf. infra 69 d, 330 a.

ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον ζωῆς ἔξαψις, 'the kindling of the life after God.' Cf. 25 a *τῆς σβέσεως καὶ ἐξάψεως*. In this sense *ἔξαψις* is found frequently in Plutarch, *De Plac. Philos.*, as 888 F, 893 A, F, 922 A, 934 B, 929 E, 1087 F.

b 9 *ἀπηωρημένον*, 'dependent on that better world above.' Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 233

ἐπὶ δὲ ζώνῃσι δράκοντε
δοιὼ ἀπῃωρεῦντο.

c 7 *στειλαμένῳ φιλίαν*. The phrase is taken from *Wisdom* vii. 14 *πρὸς Θεὸν ἐστείλαντο φιλίαν*, 'obtain friendship,' R.V. '*στέλλεσθαι φιλίαν* ist zu erklären *sibi parare amicitiam*.'—FRITZSCHE. The verb also implies the idea of *arming* or *arraying onself*; Eur. *Bacch.* 821

στεῖλαί νυν ἀμφὶ χρωτὶ βυσσίνους πέπλους.

c 8 *ὑστεροῖτο ⟨ὁ τὸν τῶν ὄντως ἀγαθῶν⟩ δημιουργόν*. From the various readings of the MSS. I have endeavoured to restore the

right order of the words, supplying the article ὁ, which seems to have fallen out after ὑστεροῖτο.

d 2 πατρὸς ἐν χώρᾳ. Xen. *Anab.* v. 6. 13 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ: *Cyrop.* ii. 1. 18 ἐν μισθοφόρου χώρᾳ.

d 3 παμβασιλέα, 'absolute monarch.' Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 16. 2 περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπιγραφόμενος. Isaeus, 46. 40 πῶς οἷόν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ δύο πατέρας ἐπιγράψασθαι;

d 6 τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς εὐσεβείας, 'intelligent piety.' Aristotle uses ἐπιστήμη in two senses, (1) knowledge capable of demonstration, (2) a higher knowledge of primary truths which admit of no demonstration, but carry their proof in themselves. *Anal. Post.* i. 3. 2 ἡμεῖς δέ φαμεν οὔτε πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδεικτικὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἀμέσων ἀναπόδεικτον. Καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον, φανερόν· εἰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη μὲν ἐπίστασθαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀπόδειξις, ἵσταται δέ ποτε τὰ ἄμεσα, ταῦτ' ἀναπόδεικτα εἶναι ἀνάγκη. *Metaph.* iii. 1. 1 Ἔστιν ἐπιστήμη τις ἣ θεωρεῖ τὸ ὂν ᾗ ὂν καὶ τὰ τούτῳ ὑπάρχοντα καθ' αὑτό. Αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ἐν μέρει λεγομένων ἡ αὐτή. See also *Top.* i. 1. 2.

But it is probable that Eusebius 'may be using ἐπιστημονικῆς without any technical Aristotelian meaning, and that the contrast is between "rational piety"—piety based on Christian knowledge, and "emotional piety," αἰσθητικῆς as opposed to ἐπιστημονικῆς' (J. A. Stewart).

Compare the use of ἐπιστημονικός below 40 b, 307 d, and Clem. Al. 867 τῇ ἐπιστημονικῇ θεοσεβείᾳ, 868 τῇ ἐπιστημονικῇ θεωρίᾳ, and especially 454 πίστεως δ' οὔσης διττῆς τῆς μὲν ἐπιστημονικῆς τῆς δὲ δοξαστικῆς. Sext. Emp. *c. Math.* viii. 402 (§ 145) τῶν δὲ αἰσθητῶν (κριτήριον) τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν αἴσθησιν.

3 b 1 μεγαλοδωρεᾶς. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* vi. 4.

b 3 εὐμαρῶς. Schol. Venet. B ad Hom. *Il.* xv. 137 μάρη γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ὅθεν καὶ εὐμαρές.

b 5 τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον εὐαγγελιούμενος. The v. l. τῷ σύμπαντι κόσμῳ has crept in from c 1 below.

c 1 θεοφορούμενοι. Clem. Al. 792 ἀγάπης ἀδιαστάτου θεοφορούσης καὶ θεοφορουμένης.

d 5 θεογνωσίαν. Ps.-Justin. *Confut. Dogm. Aristot.* 111 B (Otto) τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν λογισμοῖς.

d 8 ἀποτελέσματα. Clem. Al. 286 τὴν τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος ὕπαρξιν. Plut. *Mor.* 575 B.

d 13 ἀνεξετάστῳ. Plat. *Apol. Socr.* 38 A ὁ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτός. See Riddell's note.

συγκαταθέσει, 'assent.' Plut. *Mor.* 1005 F φαντασίαν οὐκ οὖσαν αὐτοτελῆ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως αἰτίαν: Plot. *Ennead.* i. 8. 81 A προπετῆ εἰς συγκαταθέσεις. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, v. 88 (Eng. Trs.).

4 a 7 καθείς. Aristoph. *Eq.* 430

ἔξειμι γάρ σοι λαμπρὸς ἤδη καὶ μέγας καθιείς.

Polyb. xxx. 20. 4.

a 8 προκατασκευήν. Frequent in Polybius, as προδιαλαβεῖν b 1. Here as in 1 a 3, b 5 the context shows that the *Praep. Ev.* was regarded as part of a larger work.

b 8 πρὸ ὁδοῦ. Lucian, *Hermotim.* 739 ὃ πρὸ ὁδοῦ σοι γένοιτο ἂν ἐς τὰ μαθήματα.

στοιχειώσεως, 'elementary instruction.' ἡ πρώτη μάθησις, Hesych. and Suid. Cf. Clem. Al. 673 ἡ στοιχειωτικὴ τῶν παίδων διδασκαλία: Orig. *Philocal.* i. 7 τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον, τουτέστι τῆς στοιχειώσεως: iii στοιχείωσίς ἐστιν εἰς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι θεόπνευστα βιβλία.

εἰσαγωγῆς ἐπέχοντα τόπον. A frequent phrase in Polybius. Cf. 302 b ἐπέχειν χώραν, 348 c ἐπέχουσαν βαθμόν.

c 5 συνεκτικωτάτων τῆς . . . οἰκονομίας. Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, vi. 1 τῆς τῶν ὅλων συνεκτικῆς αἰτίας.

2] **d** 2 On the charges brought against the Christians see Athenag. *Leg.* iii Τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις. Cf. Just. M. *Apol.* i. 26, *Apol.* ii. 12, *Tryph.* 10; Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 27; Eus. *H. E.* iv. 7. 11–5; v. 1. 14; Routh, *Rell. Sac.* i. 337. Eusebius refutes these charges by showing (1) that Christians had turned from pagan atheism and polytheism to the one true God, (2) that they abhorred the cannibalism which had widely prevailed in the heathen world, (3) that the heathen customs of marrying mothers and sisters were replaced by the pure marriages of Christians.

d 4 τί ἂν γένοιτο τούτων μέσον; Aristid. *Apolog.* ii (*Texts and Studies*, vol. i. 100) φανερὸν γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι τρία γένη εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων . . . οἱ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταὶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Χριστιανοί: *ib.* 70, 77, 90.

d 7 *οὔτε γὰρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων.* *Ep. ad Diogn.* i *οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουσι . . . καὶ τί δήποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον.* Πέτρος ἐν τῷ Κηρύγματι, apud Clem. Al. 759 *τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν σέβεσθε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας:* 760 *μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γιγνώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ· . . . ὥστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως μανθάνοντες ἃ παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν φυλάσσεσθε, καινῶς τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεβόμενοι. . . .* Τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιά, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί.

5 a 4 *τῶν πατρῴων θεῶν.* Soph. *Philoct.* 933 *πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων:* Ammonius, *De Vocum Diff.* *πάτρια: πάτρια πατρῴων καὶ πατρικῶν διαφέρει. Πατρῷα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐκ πατέρων εἰς υἱοὺς χωροῦντα· πατρικοὶ δὲ ἢ φίλοι ἢ ξένοι. Πάτρια δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔθη.*

For *πατρῴων θεῶν*, the reading of the oldest available MS. II, *πατρίων ἐθῶν* is found in IG, with which compare 161 b 1 *τὰς πατρίους τῶν θεῶν τιμάς.* But Eusebius is here treating the charge of atheism, and though the established worship of the gods was a chief part of 'ancestral customs,' these occupy a later place in the argument: see 130 b 5.

a 6 *τῶν σωτηρίων.* Sc. *θεῶν*, 'tutelaribus diis,' VIG. That guardian gods are meant is shown by *θεομαχοῦντες* which follows. Cp. Soph. *El.* 281 *θεοῖσιν ἔμμην' ἱρὰ τοῖς σωτηρίοις.*

b 3 *θεολογουμένους*, 'acknowledged as gods.' Cf. 31 c 10; 68 c 7; 103 a 9 *τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου θεολογοῦντες.*

c 3 *ἀνεξετάστῳ πίστει.* Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 9 *Φησὶ δέ τινας μηδὲ βουλομένους διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν λόγον περὶ ὧν πιστεύουσι χρῆσθαι τῷ· μὴ ἐξέταζε ἀλλὰ πίστευσον· καί· ἡ πίστις σου σώσει σε.*

c 7 *ἀνοδίαν . . . συντεμεῖν*, 'to cut across a new and desert path which is no path': a play upon the common phrase *τέμνειν ὁδόν.* *ἀνοδία* is frequently found in Polybius, as iii. 19. 7 *ἀνοδίᾳ κατὰ τῆς νήσου διεσπάρησαν:* Clem. Al. 781 *εἰς ἀνοδίαν καὶ πλάνην ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκαῖον.*

c 9 *ταῦτα . . . πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπορήσειεν.* The construction with *πρός* is unusual, and may admit of an alternative rendering, either 'put these questions to us,' or 'feel these doubts in regard to us.' Cf. 6 b 3 *τούτων εὐλόγως ἂν ἡμῖν ἀπορηθέντων*, 'since these questions might be put to us.'

d 1 Ἑβραίων παῖδες. On the charges brought by the Jews against Christians compare Gibbon, *Decline*, xv. 156.

ἀλλόφυλοι. Used in the LXX once only in the Pentateuch, Ex. xxxiv. 15, but in later books very frequently of the Philistines, and very rarely (Jud. viii. 10, 2 Ki. viii. 28) of other nations. The Philistines were so called as being of an alien race, probably Aryans from Crete or Cyprus. See Hastings' *Dict. B.* 'Caphtor.'

d 2 ἀποχρώμεθα, 'misuse,' Demosth. *in Mid.* 555 ἂν μὴ δημοσίᾳ πᾶσι φοβερὸν καταστήσητε τὸ εἰς ταῦτα ἀποχρῆσθαι τῷ πλουτεῖν.

d 8 λυτρωτήν. Act. vii. 35, rare except in ecclesiastical authors.

d 11 ἀναφωνεῖσθαι. Lu. i. 42 ἀνεφώνησε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.

6 a 4 ἐκβιάζεσθαι. Plut. *Mor.* 584 E δίψαν ἐκβιάζεται.

a 8 περιέποντες, 'treat with respect.' Xen. *Mem.* ii. 9. 5 μάλα περιεῖπεν αὐτόν: Hdt. i. 73 τούτους περιεῖπε εὖ.

b 2 ἐπισπώμεθα, 'draw to ourselves.' Polyb. iii. 110. 2 ἐπισπᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους: ibid. iii. 98. 9 εὔνοιαν ἐπισπάσασθαι.

3] **c** 2 ὡς δι' ἀρχιερέως. Clem. R. 36 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν: ibid. 61 διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. See Lightfoot's notes on both passages and on Ignat. *ad Philad.* ix; Clem. Al. 92.

c 3 προταθέντων. This, the best authenticated reading, is more forcible as applied to objections than προτεθέντων. Cf. Ps.-Plat. *Epist.* vii. 343 C ἐξαρκεῖ τὸ προταθέν. 'Sic A cum aliis: vulgo προτεθέν.' Ast, *Lex. Plat.*

d 4 πρὸς τὰ πλήθη διαλέξεων, 'debates' or 'discussions.' Plut. *Mor.* 130 C Ἡ δὲ διάλεξις ἀγῶνα καὶ σφοδρότητα προστίθησιν, ἅμα τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ σώματι συνεπιτιθεμένης.

d 8 πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐαγγελίζεται. Cf. 7 d 4, 13 b 8; Act. xiii. 32 ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν ... ἐπαγγελίαν.

7 a. 1 ἐλέγχους καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις. Such were the Apologies of Aristides, Justin M., Athenagoras, Melito, and others, of whose works lists are given by Eusebius, *H. E.*, and Jerome, *De Viris illustribus.*

a 3 ἐξηγητικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι, 'exegetical notes or commentaries,' referring perhaps especially to the works of Origen. Plat. *Theaet.* 143 A ἐγραψάμην μὲν τότ' εὐθὺς οἴκαδ' ἐλθὼν ὑπομνήματα, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναμιμνησκόμενος ἔγραφον.

a 5 ἀγωνιστικώτερον. This description may refer to such works

as those of Tatian, *Orat. ad Graecos*; Clem. Al. *Stromateis*; Tertullian, *c. Marcion.*; Orig. *c. Cels.*

a 5 *πρεσβεύσασιν*. The construction of *πρεσβεύω* with a dative, instead of an accusative, was probably derived from the use of *πρεσβεία*, 'embassy,' for an Apology addressed to the Emperors, such as the *Legatio* of Athenagoras, *Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν*. The older use is found in Pseudo-Justin, *Expos. Rect. Fid.* 15 *οἱ τὸν χριστιανισμὸν πρεσβεύειν σχηματιζόμενοι*. Cf. Polyb. xxxv. 4. 14 *πρεσβεύσειν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*, 'to go as *legatus* to a general, and so, to help with advice.'

b 2 The true reading of 1 Cor. ii. 4 *πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις*, without *ἀνθρωπίνης*, is supported by our oldest MSS. AH, the omission of one of the two adjacent sibilants being an error of a natural and usual kind. The insertion of *ἀνθρωπίνης* was due to a recollection of 1 Cor. ii. 13 *διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις*.

c 1 In quoting 1 Pet. iii. 15 Eusebius both here and in 14 d alters the construction to suit that of his own sentence, and reads *ἐπερωτῶντι* instead of *αἰτοῦντι*, which is better supported in N. T.

c 3 *τῶν νέων συγγραφέων*. Cod. A has in the margin the following scholion in a contemporary hand: *Ὁποῖος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ θεῖος Ἀθηναγόρας Τατιανὸς Κλήμεις* (sic) *ὁ Στρωματεὺς Ὠριγένης καὶ αὐτὸς ἔτι Πάμφιλος ὁ τοῦ παρόντος Εὐσεβίου πατήρ*. On the meaning of the last words see note on the title *Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου*.

c 5 *διαγνῶναι*. '*An διαναγνῶναι?*' Schweighaüser: cf. Polyb. xxxi. 21. 9; 22. 1. The shorter form is used by Polyb. iii. 32 *διαγνῶναι βίβλους τετταράκοντα*, and xxi. 9. 3 *διαγνούς*. There are many traces of the style of Polybius in the *Praep. Evang.*

c 7 *ἀδιάπτωτον*. Plut. *Mor.* 1124 B *διάθεσις φυλάττουσα τὸ ἀδιάπτωτον*: Clem. Al. 492 *ἀδιάπτωτός τε καὶ ἀναμάρτητος*.

d 1 *γραμμικαῖς*, 'mathematical,' or more literally 'geometrical,' proof is taken as the type of exact demonstration. Diog. L. i. 25 *σκαληνὰ καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ ὅσα γραμμικῆς ἔχεται θεωρίας*.

d 10 *ἐνηνθρώπει*. In the Nicene Creed, as adopted by the Synod, *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα* was understood by the orthodox Bishops to mean 'was made man' (Athan. *c. Arian.* iv. 7). But the

meaning which Eusebius attached to the word is clearly shown in the Creed proposed by himself, Eus. *Epist. ad Suos*, 3, in which he wrote ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον, a phrase rejected by the Council in favour of ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. This explanation shows that ἐνηνθρώπησε, the reading of the two oldest MSS., is to be preferred to Gaisford's ἐνηνθρωπήκει. See Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* iv. 9, xii. 4, note 6 (*Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*). Cf. Ignat. ad *Philipp.* iii εἷς γὰρ ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας.

11 c 3 μηδεπώποτε. This form is used of the future instead of [illegible] only by late and inaccurate writers (Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 458), but is here supported by the better MSS. It is also found in a fragment of the Comic poet Cratinus the younger (*cir.* 350 B.C.), preserved in Athenaeus, vi. 39 (241 c)

μηδ' ὄψον κοινῇ μετὰ τούτου πώποτε δαίσῃ.

S. Joh. vi. 35 οὐ μὴ διψήσει πώποτε.

8 a 2 βεβηκυῖαν, 'settled.' Hdt. vii. 164 παραδεξάμενος . . . τὴν τυραννίδα . . . εὖ βεβηκυῖαν. Pausan. iii. 7. 10.

a 4 ἄθυρον . . . στόμα. Clem. Al. 270 ὄχλοι ἀθυρόγλωσσοι; Eur. *Or.* 903 ἀνήρ τις ἀθυρόγλωσσος.

a 5 τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀλήθειαν ὁμολογήσειεν. This appears to have been the original reading of A, altered in A² into τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἀνομολογήσειεν (ὁμολογήσειεν H). Mr. Lake, who examined the reading of A in this passage most carefully, makes the following remarks:

'In A the final vowel of ἀληθ- has been erased, and so has the breathing (ʽ) of ὁμολογήσειεν. The αν seems to have no breathing marked by the first hand, which I therefore think wrote ἀλήθειαν ὁμολογήσειεν. The alteration consists of erasing ει and writing η, putting a breathing, but no accent, to ἀν, and erasing the (ʽ) of ὁμολογήσειεν. The alteration is very neatly made in writing similar to that of the first hand, but the ink is darker.'

Heikel supplies ἂν after οὐκ, as in 5 b 5 ποίαις δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνδίκως ὑποβληθεῖεν, 9 a 7 τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγείη, and 12 c 4. In my text the particle is placed after the verb, as in IO ὁμολογῆσαι ἄν. But the optative is sometimes found without ἄν, as in AH, see 15 b 9, 16 b 4, c 1, 169 c 8: cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 426. 1.

8 10 πεπλήρωκε γοῦν τὴν σύμπασαν, ὅσην ὁ ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ. Compare Justin M. *Dialog.* 117; Iren. i. 10; Clem. Al. 827; Tertull. *adv. Iudaeos*, vii; Orig. *De Princip.* iv. 1. 2. In what Gibbon

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(xv) calls the 'splendid exaggeration' of the passage of Justin, we see the natural effect on an enthusiastic mind of the marvellous rapidity with which Christianity spread throughout the civilized world. To all such passages we may apply the judicious remark of Bishop Lightfoot that 'The language of Ignatius' (*ad Magn.* x) 'is somewhat hyperbolical as applied to his own time, but not more so than some expressions of St. Paul; e.g. Rom. i. 8, Col. i. 6, 23.'

b 6 *μέχρις οὐρανίων ἁψίδων.* Plat. *Phaedr.* 247 B ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπουράνιον ἁψῖδα.

b 8 *φῶς . . . ἀπαστράπτουσα.* *Orph. Hymn.* 69. 6 ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὄσσων δεινὴν ἀνταυγῆ φάεος σαρκοφθόρον αἴγλην.

c 2 *θανάτου πύλαις.* Matt. xvi. 18 πύλαι ᾅδου: Is. xxxviii. 10 ἐν πύλαις ᾅδου.

c 6 *ἐν οἰκείᾳ συναγαγόντες ὑποθέσει.* In these words 'there seems to be an allusion to the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica,*' a work which 'aimed at doing for the society what the *Preparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* do for the doctrines of which the society is the depositary.' Lightfoot, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 331 b.

9 a 4 *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς . . . δουλείαν,* 'bondage in the land of their enemies.' Instead of ἐπί, the reading of AH, Gaisford has ὑπό, which is also found in IO.

b 6 *τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ,* 'the God over all,' not directly applied here, as in Rom. ix. 5, to the Son.

4] **d** 7 *ἐλαυνόμενον.* The great persecution, which commenced in the reign of Diocletian A. D. 303, was carried on more fiercely by Galerius until the terrors of approaching death extorted from him the 'Edict of Toleration' in 311. This passage therefore seems to fix the earliest possible date for the publication of the *Praeparatio Evangelica.*

10 a 4–7 *προβεβλημένον . . . ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως.* These words are omitted in AO, and the repetition of δυνάμεως three times within four lines seems to indicate some corruption.

The argument that the spread of Christianity had brought peace and prosperity to the Roman Empire is urged at large by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in his *Apology* addressed to Marcus Aurelius (161–180 A. D.), in the fragment preserved by Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 26. 7.

b 1. In the margin of codex A there is the following

Scholion Περὶ τοῦ Ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, a quotation from Ps. lxxii. 7.

b 1 Μυρίων . . . ἐπικρατούντων. Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, i 'This aspect of things was totally changed by the ascendency of Rome. We see all the self-governing powers which filled the world bend, one after another, before her rising power and vanish. The earth was suddenly left void of independent nations.'

c 2 ξιφηφορεῖν. Cf. Thuc. i. 6 Πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει . . . καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι.

λεωφόρους, 'highways.' Plat. *Laws* 763 C τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τεταμένων.

c 6 ζιβύνας, 'hunting spears.' LXX. Is. ii. 4 συγκόψουσι . . . τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα: Athen. v. 32 (201) κυνηγοὶ δύο ἔχοντες σιβύνας ἐπιχρύσους: Anthol. Pal. viii. 421 Πτανέ, τί σοι σιβύνας;

d 8 ἐπιστήσαντα. *Scil.* τὸν νοῦν. Cf. 11 b ἐπιστήσας. Common in Polybius, e. g. ix. 23. 1 γνοίη δ' ἄν τις . . . ἐπιστήσας.

11 b 1 ἀφορήτου δυνάμεως. Thuc. iv. 126. 5 βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι. The easier reading ἀπορρήτου IO was perhaps suggested by 10 a 4, 7 ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως.

b 8 Πέρσας μητρογαμεῖν. Cf. Eur. *Androm.* 173–5

τοιοῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος·
πατήρ τε θυγατρὶ παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται
κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ.

On this passage the Scholiast remarks, 'These are Persian customs.' What is here imputed to the Persians generally is in other authors limited to the Magi. Thus Catullus, xc. 3

'Nam Magus ex matre et nato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia relligio.'

Strab. 735 τούτοις δὲ (τοῖς Μάγοις) καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι πάτριον νενόμισται. See however the passages from Bardesanes quoted by Eusebius below, 275 c, 278 d, and Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* i. 152 παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἀπηγορεῦσθαι μητράσι μίγνυσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἔθος εἶναι μάλιστα οὕτω γαμεῖν. On the prevalence of such customs see Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor Dubit.* ii. 1. 22. 8. Clem. Al. 515; Diog. L. *Prooem.* 7; ix. 83; Polyb. ix. 24; Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 27; Philo Jud. *De Specialibus Legg.* 301 M Μητέρας γὰρ οἱ ἐν

τέλει Περσῶν τὰς αὐτῶν ἄγονται καὶ τοὺς φύντας ἐκ τούτων εὐγενεστάτους νομίζουσιν. Orig *c. Cels.* v. 27.

c 1 μηδ' ἀνθρωποβορεῖν Σκύθας. This and other practices, which the Greeks commonly ascribed to the Scythians, Herodotus (i. 216) refers not to them but to the Massagetae:

'When a man has grown very old, all his kinsmen come together and offer him up as a sacrifice, and with him some cattle besides: and they boil the flesh and feast upon it. This they regard as the happiest end; but if a man has died of disease, they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, regarding it as a misfortune that he did not come to be sacrificed.' Strabo (513) gives a similar account of the funeral customs of the Massagetae, and says of the Derbices (520): 'They neither sacrifice nor eat any female; but they put to death the men who have exceeded their seventieth year, and the next of kin to each has the right to eat his flesh. Old women they strangle and then bury. If any one dies before his seventieth year, he is not eaten but buried.' For similar customs among other nations, see Herodotus, iii. 38. 99; Sext. Emp. *c. Math.* xi. 192; Wytt. *ad Plut. Mor.* 328 C (note); Polyb. ix. 24, on Hannibal's rejection of the proposal that his soldiers should eat human flesh while crossing the Alps.

It must be added that ignorant and debased savages who followed such customs were less inexcusable than the proud Stoics who justified them: cf. Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* iii. 207 καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς οὐκ ἄτοπον εἶναί φασι τὸ σάρκας τινὰ ἐσθίειν ἄλλων τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ: ibid. 247 καὶ ἐὰν τῶν ζώντων ἀποκοπῇ τι μέρος πρὸς τροφὴν χρήσιμον, μήτε κατορύττειν αὐτὸ μήτε ἄλλως ῥίπτειν, ἀναλίσκειν δὲ αὐτό, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕτερον μέρος γένηται. Cf. *Orph. Fr.* xii

> Ἦν χρόνος, ἡνίκα φῶτες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων βίον εἶχον
> σαρκοδακῆ, κρείσσων δὲ τὸν ἥττονα φῶτα δάϊζε.

c 3 Clem. Al. 131, writes of the sons of the kings of Persia, ἡβήσαντες δὲ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ μητράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ γαμεταῖς τε ἅμα καὶ παλλακίσιν ἀναρίθμοις ἐπιμίσγονται, καθάπερ οἱ κάπροι εἰς συνουσίαν ἠσκημένοι: id. 515. Diog. L. *Prooem.* 7 ὅσιον νομίζειν μητρὶ ἢ θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι ὡς ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ φησὶν ὁ Σωτίων: ibid. ix. 11 Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον ἡγοῦνται θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι. Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* iii. 205 καὶ ὁ Χρύσιππος δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δογματίζει τόν τε πατέρα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν

μητέρα ἐκ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς. Even Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic School, had at one time defended marriage with a mother in the most disgusting language: but this was in a work written under the influence of the Cynic Crates.

c 5 τὰς παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονάς. Sextus Empiricus states that both the Cynics and the chief Stoics, 'Zeno of Citium and Cleanthes and Chrysippus,' declared unnatural vice to be a thing morally 'indifferent'; *Hyp.* iii. 200. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, &c., 308 (Eng. Trans.).

c 9 τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος. See note on 11 c 1. Flinders Petrie (*Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1896–7, p. 22), speaking of the tombs of the fifth Dynasty at Deshâseh, writes, 'The most important conclusion, historically, is that nearly half of the people at that time were in the habit of cutting the bodies of the dead more or less to pieces, in some cases sundering every bone from its fellow, and wrapping each in cloth before rearranging them. No such practice was suspected before among the Egyptians, and it points to a cannibal ancestry. The details were discussed in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1897.'

ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν. On the wide prevalence of human sacrifices see below 40, 154–61.

d 3–12 a 2 Ἱστοροῦνται γοῦν . . . γεγηρακότας. A quotation, apparently unacknowledged by Eusebius, from Porphyry, *De Abst.* iv. 21. Cf. Wytt. *ad Plut. Mor.* 328 C.

d 4 Μασσαγέται. Hdt. i. 201 'This nation is settled in the East beyond the river Araxes.'

Δέρβικες. The Derbices were on the south of the sea of Aral, not far from Khiva: Strab. 514, 520. The Bebryces (cod. A) are often mentioned by Strabo, but without any allusion to the custom here described.

d 6 Τιβαρηνοί. See Rawlinson, Hdt. vol. i. 561 'The Moschi and the Tibareni, always coupled together by Herodotus, and constantly associated under the names of *Muskai* and *Tuplai* in the Assyrian inscriptions (just as Meshech and Tubal are in Scripture) . . . must be assigned to that Scythic or Turanian people, who . . . spread themselves in very early times over the whole region lying between the Mediterranean and India, the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus.' Xenophon (*Anab.* v. 5) mentions the Tibareni as giving a friendly reception to the Greeks.

On these two tribes see Driver, *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 28 'Tubal and Meshech are the *Tabali* and *Musku*, the former mentioned first by Shalmaneser II (860–825), the latter by Tiglath-Pileser I (*c.* 1100 B.C.).'

d 8 *οἰωνοῖς καὶ κυσί.* Strab. 517, on the authority of Onesicratus, attributes this custom to the Bactrians (see the note below on 12 a 1), but not to the Caspii, of whom he says that 'when their parents are more than seventy years old, they are shut up and left to die of starvation. This then was more tolerable, and similar to the custom of Ceos, though it was Scythian; much more Scythian however was the practice of the Bactrians.' Heinichen refers to Cic. *Tusc. D.* i. 45 'In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes, optimates domesticos: . . . sed pro sua quisque facultate parat a quibus lanietur, eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam.' Sil. Ital. xiii. 437.

d 9 *ἐπέσφαζον ταῖς πυραῖς.* Hdt. iv. 71 'In the open space around the body of the king they bury one of his concubines, first killing her by strangling, and also his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his lacquey, his messenger, some of his horses, &c.' This description is fully confirmed by the contents of a tomb at Kertch (*Panticapaeum*). See Rawlinson's note and illustrations.

12 a 1 *τοῖς κυσί.* Strab. 517 'Those who are worn out by old age or disease they throw to dogs who are kept for this purpose, and are called in the language of the country "buriers of the dead" (*ἐνταφιαστάς*), and the parts outside the wall of the chief city of the Bactrians are clean, but most of the inside is full of human bones.' See below, 277 d.

a 3 *νυνὶ δὲ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως.* This statement, unfortunately, can only have been true in a limited sense, and among the nations more or less civilized to whom the Gospel had been preached. The reports of travellers and missionaries in our own day prove too conclusively that cannibalism and human sacrifice are still prevalent among savage tribes.

b 3 *προσανέχοντας*, 'stedfastly adhering,' a stronger word than *προσέχοντας*, and frequent in Polybius, e.g. v. 27. 2 *προσανέχοντες ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς βοηθείας.*

c 2 *μετ' ἐπιθυμίας ὁρᾶν.* Cf. Matt. v. 28 *βλέπων . . . πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι.*

c 4 *εὐζωΐαν.* Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i. 8. 4 *συνᾴδει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ*

καὶ τὸ εὖ ζῆν καὶ τὸ εὖ πράττειν τὸν εὐδαίμονα· σχεδὸν γὰρ εὐζωία τις εἴρηται καὶ εὐπραξία.

c 6 μηδὲ ὀμνύναι ὅλως. Matt. v. 34 μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως.

c 7 τῷ Ναί καὶ τῷ Οὔ. Aristot. *Top.* viii. 3. 12 ἀποκρίνασθαι ναί ἢ οὔ. Matt. v. 37, James v. 12.

d 2 ἀδιαφορεῖν. The verb is not common; but cf. Polyb. **xxxi.** 22. 10 τῶν ναυκλήρων ἀδιαφορούντων.

ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. Plat. *Crat.* 415 A μὴ λίαν ἀκριβολογοῦ.

d 5 περὶ παντὸς ἀργοῦ ῥήματος. Evidently a quotation from memory, and too free to be of any use in reference to the text of Matt. xii. 36.

d 11 ὑφ' ἥλιον. ὑφ' ἡλίῳ AH. For the accusative we may refer to Demosth. 33. 31 τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων: 316. 16 τῶν ὑπὸ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων, and see 13 a 5, 108 d 11; and for the dat. Eur. *Alc.* 151 ἀρίστη τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ μακρῷ.

13 d 5 †ὥστε† τῷ δοκεῖν. The omission of ὥστε in IE, and the suggestion of ἅτε by a second hand in the margin of A, both seem to be attempts to remove a difficulty. The use of ὥστε as equivalent to ὡς in such a phrase is very doubtful, and is not justified by Aristoph. *Eccles.* 783, Isocr. *Paneg.* 73, or Thuc. vii. 24: on this last passage see Arnold's note, and compare Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 864. Heikel conjectures ὥς τῳ δοκεῖν, 'as it might seem to one.' But it would be better to omit ὥστε with cod. I Vig., as in Plat. *Rep.* iv. 423 A οὐ τῷ δοκεῖν λέγω ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγίστη, or to read ὥς γε τῷ δοκεῖν, as in Aristoph. *Plut.* 736 ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν (Ald.).

5] **14 d** 9 ὡς ἐν φαρμάκου μοίρᾳ. Plat. *Laws* 656 B ὡς ἐν παιδιᾶς μοίρᾳ.

15 b 8 ἐφάψαιτο. On the optative without ἄν see 16 b 2, c 1; cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 418. 1, 426. 1. Dr. J. B. Mayor, Appendix to Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii.

c 7 τέχνας . . . τὰς μέσας. 'The intermediate arts' seem to be those which lie between the mechanical arts, and the liberal arts such as music, painting, sculpture, and poetry, the arts of war and commerce being examples of the intermediate kind.

d 11 τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἤ. The scholion in the margin of cod. A, τὸ πλῆρες ἄλλο, seems intended to draw attention to the fact that ἄλλ' stands for ἄλλο not for ἀλλά. The question τί γὰρ . . . καταλαμβάνων, being equivalent to a negative οὐδὲν . . . καταλαμβάνων, is followed by another question τί δὴ θαυμάζεις;

16 b 9 *ἀπολογισμόν.* The word *αἰτιολογισμόν* which Gaisford has formed out of *αἴτιον λογισμόν*, the reading of AH, is adopted by the later editors, but does not appear to exist elsewhere. The alternative reading of EIO *ἀπολογισμός* is frequent in Polybius, e. g. iv. 14. 7 *φέρων ἀπολογισμοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων, ὡς οὐ γέγονεν αἴτιος.*

c 1, 2 *ἄλλως . . . εἰ μή.* A less common construction than *ἄλλως ἤ*: but see Hom. *Od.* xii. 325; *Hymn. ad Cer.* 77; Joh. vi. 22; Gal. i. 7; Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 860. 7.

c 3 *τῶν ἐντευξομένων*, 'of my readers.' Cf. Polyb. i. 3. 10 *ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν βίβλων καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύταις προκατασκευῆς δῆλον ἦ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν.*

17 a 4 *ὡς ἂν . . . καταστaίη.* Eusebius frequently uses the optative after *ὡς ἄν* following a future, where Attic usage would require the subjunctive; cf. 18 c 5, d 1; 69 c 6; 75 a 4; 242 c; cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 809. Dr. J. B. Mayor, ibid.

6] **b** 1 *Φοίνικας . . . καὶ Αἰγυπτίους.* Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 2 'First then of all men whom we know the Egyptians are said to have conceived the idea of gods, and to have founded temples. . . . But not long afterwards the Assyrians heard from the Egyptians an account concerning the gods, and raised temples and shrines. . . . There are also temples in Syria, not so old by far as those in Egypt.' Observe that Eusebius both here and in 17 d puts the Phoenicians before the Egyptians, reversing the order of Lucian.

b 2 *κατέχει λόγος.* Cf. Thuc. i. 10 *ὁ λόγος κατέχει*: Lightfoot, *Ignat.* vol. i. p. 58 '*κατέχει λόγος.* Compare *H. E.* ii. 7; iii. 11, 18, 19; iv. 5; vi. 34, &c. A comparison of these passages shows that the expression is not confined to oral tradition but may include contemporary written authorities, and that it implies authentic and trustworthy information.' *Id.* p. 238, note 3 'The examples elsewhere in Eusebius show that the expression in itself does not throw any doubt on the facts recorded but signifies neither more nor less than "it is related"; *H. E.* ii. 17, 22; iii. 37; iv. 28; v. 5 bis; vii. 32; viii. 17.'

b 4 Cf. Maspero, i (*Dawn of Civilization*), p. 85 (Eng. Trs.) 'The sky, the earth, the stars, the sun, the Nile were so many breathing and thinking beings whose lives were daily manifest in the life of the universe. They were worshipped from one end of the valley to the other, and the whole nation agreed in proclaim-

ing their sovereign power. But when they began to name them, to define their powers and attributes, to particularize their forms, or the relationships that subsisted among them, this unanimity was at an end. Each principality, each nome, each city, almost every village, conceived and represented them differently.'

c 6 *ἐθεολόγησαν*, 'called God,' 'regarded as God.' Cf. 31 c 9, 18 a 1 *Ὀρφέα τὸν Οἰάγρου.* One of the earliest notices of Orpheus is in Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 178

> *ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ φορμικτὰς ἀοιδᾶν πατὴρ*
> *ἔμολεν εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεύς.*

Cf. Dissen, *ad loc.* '*ab Apolline missus*, ut filius.' The inference 'ut filius' is not certain, and Orpheus is commonly said to be the son of Oeagrus and Calliope. Plat. *Sympos.* 179 D *Ὀρφέα δὲ τὸν Οἰάγρου ἀτελῆ ἀπέπεμψαν ἐξ Ἅιδου*: Ap. Rh. i. 23

> *Πρῶτά νυν Ὀρφῆος μνησώμεθα, τόν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὴ*
> *Καλλιόπη Θρήικι φατίζεται εὐνηθεῖσα*
> *Οἰάγρῳ σκοπιῆς Πιμπληΐδος ἄγχι τεκέσθαι.*

Tradition assigned to Orpheus a very ancient but uncertain date. Plat. *Laws* iii. 677 'No more than a thousand or two thousand years have elapsed since the discoveries of Daedalus, Orpheus, and Palamedes.'

d 4 Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 3 'In old times even among the Egyptians the shrines were without carved images (*ἀξόανοι*).' For Egyptian sculpture see Birch, *Ancient Egypt.* ii. 10.

18 a 2 *μυστήρια.* Cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 943

> *Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς*
> *ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς.*

Aristoph. *Ran.* 1032

> *Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.*

a 4 *τῶν γραμμάτων.* On the Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet see Herodotus, v. 58, with Rawlinson's notes, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson's (G. W.) Essay in the Appendix to Book II. 36.

a 6–**c** 2. A brief summary of the contents of the first nine Books:—

- **a** 6 The earliest cosmogony, i. 7, 8 (19 a–26 d).
- **a** 7 The earliest theology, i. 9 (27 b–33 a).
- **a** 9 Phoenician theology (Sanchuniathon), i. 10 (33 b–42 d).
- **a** 9 Egyptian theology, ii. 1 (44 b–51 d).

a 10 Mythology of the Greeks, ii. 2–8 (52–80).

b 2 Physical theology of the same, iii. 1–17 (82–127).

b 4 The oracles of the Greeks, iv–vi (129–261).

b 5 On some doctrines of Greek philosophers, vi (262–96).

b 6–c 2. The doctrines of the Hebrews, vii–ix (298–458).

a 7 οἱ δηλούμενοι. The Greeks, who have just been mentioned: their opinions on cosmology are represented by the extracts from Diodorus Siculus in pp. 19–21, and from Plutarch, pp. 22–5, and are then contrasted with the opinions of Socrates and Plato, 25 d–26 d.

b 6 διευκρινηθέντων. Polybius uses the word very frequently, e. g. vi. 5. 1 'Perhaps however the argument concerning the natural transition of one polity into another is more accurately examined (ἀκριβέστερον διευκρινεῖται) in Plato.'

d 1 κεχαρισμένα πράττειν. Plat. *Euthyph.* 14 B ἐὰν κεχαρισμένα τις ἐπίστηται τοῖς θεοῖς λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν. Cf. Polyb. xxii. 2. 6.

d 7 τὴν ἱστορικὴν βιβλιοθήκην. Diodorus Siculus devoted his whole life to writing a history of all nations from the earliest mythical times down to the age of Julius Caesar, with whom he was contemporary. This work he called the *Library*. The following extract 19 a 1–21 d 9 is quoted word for word from Diod. i. 6–8.

7] 19 a 2 περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων. 'Haec sic transponenda, τῶν μυθολογουμένων περὶ ἑκάστου.' Dindorf. ad loc. Diodori.

c 3 ἀγένητον, 'uncreated,' 'ingenerate,' or 'unoriginate,' must be carefully distinguished from ἀγέννητον, 'unbegotten,' with which it is frequently confounded. Cf. Epiph. *Haeres.* lxiv. 531 *Origeniani* τῷ γενητὸν θεὸν εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν σαφές ἐστιν ὅτι κτιστὸν ὁρίζεται. Ὡς γάρ τινες ἡμᾶς βούλονται σοφίζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν ἴσον τὸ γενητὸν εἶναι τῷ γεννητῷ, οὐ παραδεκτέον ἐπὶ θεοῦ λέγειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα μόνον. ἕτερον γάρ ἐστι γενητὸν καὶ ἕτερόν ἐστι γεννητόν.

d 8 ἐναπολῃφθῆναι. Cf. 24 a 6. The reading of ABIO, ἐναπολειφθῆναι, adopted by Gaisford and Heikel, is inappropriate here; see note on 24 d 6.

τῇ πάσῃ δίνῃ. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 380

Δῖνος; τουτί μ' ἐλελήθη,
ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων.

20 a 4 *ἀναζυμουμένης.* On the supposed evolution of animal life out of lifeless matter compare below (26 c 2) Plat. *Phaed.* 96 C ἆρ' ἐπειδὰν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν σηπεδόνα τινὰ λάβῃ, ὥς τινες ἔλεγον, τότε δὴ τὰ ζῶα ξυντρέφεται; The same idea is less forcibly expressed by ἀναζεομένης (cod. A).

a 5 *συνοιδῆσαι.* 'ἀνοιδῆσαι Reiskius.' Dindorf. The change is unnecessary.

c 2 *πτηνά.* Cf. Clem. Al. 850.

d 4 *'Αναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ.* On the physical theories of Anaxagoras, and his connexion with the chief men at Athens, see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 328 ff. Lucret. i. 830 'Nunc et Anaxagorae scrutemur homoeomeriam, &c.'

d 5 *Μελανίππῃ.* Melanippe, daughter of the centaur Cheiron, gave name to two plays of Euripides, *Melanippe the wise* and *Melanippe bound.* In the former Melanippe is made to utter many philosophical maxims. The passage here quoted is mentioned by Aristotle, *Poet.* xv. 8, as an example of an unbecoming speech not suited to the character. It was introduced by a line preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα.

'Not mine the tale, but from my mother learned.'

21 a 6 *κατ' ὀλίγον διαρθροῦν.* Cf. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 313 'If we look upon language as natural to Man, it might have broken out at different times and in different countries among the descendants of one original pair; if, on the contrary, language is to be treated as an artificial invention, there is still less reason why each succeeding generation should not have invented its own idiom.'

b 4 *ἀρχέγονα.* Cf. Clem. Al. 810 τὴν ἀρχέγονον ἡμέραν.

d 11 *κοσμογονίᾳ.* The less correct form κοσμογενείᾳ found in cod. A is frequently used by Diodorus Sic., by Clem. Al. 810, and by Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 68. 52 (Gaisf.).

22 a 3 *τῶν Πλουτάρχου Στρωματέων.* Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* 156 'Plutarchi Stromateon fragmentum . . . nobilissimi scriptoris nomen sine dubio ementitur. . . . Certe Eusebius, quae est mira eius securitas, genuinum fetum credidit.' On the authorship, age, and general character of the work, see Diels, 64 ff., and on the text pp. 577 ff. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, p. 8 'The author of the Pseudo-Plutarchic Στρωματεῖς (about

150 A. D., fragments of which are preserved in Eus. *Pr. Ev.* i. 8) would seem to have drawn directly from Theophrastus.'

8] **b** 1 *Θάλητα πρῶτον.* Aristot. *Metaph.* A. 3 Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ (ἀρχὴν) εἶναί φησιν. Compare the account of Thales and his inventions in Diog. L. i. 22–44, especially 27 ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεστήσατο, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. For a critical estimate of Thales see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 211–26; and on the dates of *The Early Ionic Philosophers*, Clinton, *Philological Museum*, i. 86.

ἀρχήν. Archer Butler, *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, i. 302 'This is a word which, as then understood, can scarcely be correctly rendered into any term in our language. It was not the *cause* of the world, nor yet the final element, but rather that thing which should be *assumed* to give a rational explanation of the rest. The word *Principle* is perhaps nearest to its significancy, because almost equally indefinite. . . . The word ἀρχή is said to have been first employed by Anaximander, who made "the unbounded" his ἀρχή, and to Plato is ascribed the useful labour of distinguishing between it and the kindred word στοιχεῖον.' Cf. *Tim.* 48 B–52, Plut. *Mor.* 875 C Τίνι διαφέρει ἀρχὴ καὶ στοιχεῖα.

b 4 *Ἀναξίμανδρον.* On Anaximander see 504 a.

τὸ ἄπειρον. Aristot. *Phys.* iii. 4. 9 'Now the Infinite has no first principle (ἀρχήν), for that would be a limit of it. Moreover it is both uncreated and indestructible, as being a kind of first principle: for that which was created must have an end, and in all destruction there is an end. Wherefore, as we say, there is no first principle of this, but this seems to be the first principle of the rest, and to embrace all and govern all, as they say who make no other causes besides the Infinite, such as Mind or Attraction (φιλίαν): also, they say, this is the Divine, for it is immortal and imperishable, as says Anaximander with most of the physicists.' But by τὸ ἄπειρον Anaximander did not mean Infinity in the abstract, but a kind of infinite matter (φύσιν τινὰ τοῦ ἀπείρου, Hippol.) out of which as their substratum the four elements were separately formed; see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 229, and the passages there quoted from Aristotle and Simplicius on the doctrine of Anaximander; also the passages of Hippolytus and Theophrastus in Diels, 133.

b 7 *τὴν φθοράν.* Aetius i. 3. 3 (ap. Diels, l. c.) *Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους.* Theophrast. ibid. *ἄπειρόν τινα φύσιν, ἧς τὴν ἀΐδιον κίνησιν αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς τῶν ὄντων γενέσεως.*

c 3 *κυλινδροειδῆ.* Hippol. l. c. *τὸ δὲ σχῆμα αὐτῆς (τῆς γῆς) γῦρον στρογγύλον, κίονι λίθῳ παραπλήσιον.*

d 1 *ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων.* Hippol. l. c., Diels, 135 'He says that the animals were made by exhalation from the Sun, and that man was at first like a different animal, that is to say a fish.'

d 6 *Ἀναξιμένην.* Clinton, *Epit. Fast. Hell.* p. 156 'The precise date of the birth and death of Anaximenes cannot be determined. But he was taught by Anaximander, and he instructed Anaxagoras; and therefore must have lived to B. C. 484.' See *Philol. Mus.* i. 86 ff.

d 7 *τῷ μὲν γένει.* Diels, 135, 579, reads *τῷ μεγέθει*: '*τῷ μὲν γένει* libri: corr. Zeller conl. Simpl. in *Phys.* f. 5v. 45 *καὶ πρὸς Ἀναξίμανδρον καὶ Ἀναξιμένην ἁρμόζει ἓν μέν, ἄπειρον δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τὸ στοιχεῖον ὑποτιθεμένους.*' But see Zeller, *Pre.-Socr. Philos.* i. 268. Diels is not quite accurate in saying that Zeller corrects the reading: he quotes the passage from Eusebius with *τῷ γένει*, and does not suggest any alteration. *τῷ μὲν γένει* means 'in the genus, as a whole.' Zeller, *Outlines*, p. 42 'Anaximenes differs from Anaximander in taking for his first principle not infinite matter without more precise determination, but with Thales a *qualitatively determined* matter; but he again coincides with Anaximander in choosing for this principle a substance to which the essential qualities of Anaximander's primitive essence, unlimitedness and unceasing motion, equally appeared to belong. In the air both are found.'

d 8 *πύκνωσιν, κ.τ.λ.* Aristot. *Phys.* i. 4; *De Caelo*, iii. 5.

d 11 *ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι.* Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13. 16 'Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and Democritus say that its breadth is the cause of its stability: for it does not cut through the air beneath but covers it over like a lid, as broad bodies evidently do: for against the wind these are difficult to move because of their resistance.'

d 12 Hippol. op. cit. i. 7 (Diels, 136) 'And the stars were

produced out of earth, because from this arose the mist by the rarefaction of which fire was produced, and from the fire, as it mounted upward, the stars were formed.' Cf. Simplic. f. 32 'As Anaximenes says that the air when rarefied becomes fire, and when condensed becomes wind, then cloud, then more water, then earth, then stones.'

23 a 2 †θερμοτάτην κίνησιν†. An evident corruption in all MSS. except D, which has θερμότητα (with τος written above), with κίνησιν in the margin. Usener rightly adopts ἱκανῶς ⟨θερμότητος⟩ λαβεῖν. For the construction see Plat. *Theaet.* 194 D ἱκανῶς τοῦ βάθους ἔχοντα: *Phileb.* 62 A ἱκανῶς ἐπιστήμης ἕξει. Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 580 follows Zeller (*Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 274, note 2): 'perhaps θερμότητα should be read here without κίνησιν.'

a 5 τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὅμοιον. Zeller, op. cit. 567 'The proposition that the All remained like to itself may have been enunciated by him (Xenophanes) in regard to the regularity of the course of the world and the invariableness of the universe. But that he absolutely denied all generation and destruction, all change and movement in the world, as more recent authors assert, we cannot think possible.'

a 7 οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. The various readings of A and H seem to betray a wish to make Xenophanes orthodox by inserting ἄνευ Θεοῦ: cf. 25 c 5 οὐδ' ὅλως Θεοῦ μνήμην ποιησαμένων: Ps.-Aristot. *De Xenophane, Zenone, et Gorgia*, i. 1 'Αΐδιον εἶναί φησιν, εἴ τι ἔστιν, εἴπερ μὴ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι μηδὲν ἐκ μηδενός: 13 μᾶλλον γὰρ λαμβάνεται εἰκὸς εἶναι γενέσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ἢ μὴ πολλὰ εἶναι. Zeller, op. cit. i. 545 quotes Simplic. *De Xenoph.* 3 ἀδύνατόν φησιν εἶναι, εἴ τι ἔστι, γενέσθαι, τοῦτο λέγων ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, and τὸ ὂν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντος ἂν γενέσθαι, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

a 8 τὰς αἰσθήσεις ψευδεῖς. Plat. *Phaed.* 65 'Have sight and hearing any truth for men? Or rather are not the very poets harping to us upon this theme, that there is nothing accurate in what we either see or hear?' Cf. *Theaet.* 157 E.

b 1 αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον διαβάλλει. Zeller, op. cit. i. 574, rejects the statements that Xenophanes wholly denied the possibility of knowledge, or that he recognized the perception of reason only, and not that of sense.

b 3 τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χωρεῖν. Hippol. op. cit. i. 14 Xenophanes asserts 'that shells are found in the midst of the

[illegible] also in the quarries in Syracuse the print [illegible] and of seals, and in Paros a print of an [illegible] the stone, and in Malta scales of all sorts of [illegible], and that these animals were formed when all [illegible] embedded in mud long ago, and an impression of [illegible] in the mud. Also all mankind are destroyed [illegible] the land is carried down into the sea and becomes mud, [illegible] begins to generate again, and these changes occur in [illegible] worlds.' Cf. Hdt. ii. 12, Strab. 49.

[illegible] (σπινθηρίδων). Hippol. ibid. 'He also says that the Sun is [illegible] each day from an assemblage of small sparks (ἐκ μικρῶν [illegible]).' Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 522 seq. Ξενοφάνης ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυ[illegible] εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον.

[illegible] περὶ θεῶν. Ps.-Arist. *De Xenoph. Z. et G.* iii. 2 Εἰ δ' ἔστιν [illegible] ἁπάντων κράτιστον, ἕνα φησὶν αὐτὸν προσήκειν εἶναι: Clem. Al. [illegible] Εὖ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος διδάσκων ὅτι εἷς καὶ [illegible] ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφέρει·

'Εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος.'

[illegible] ὁρᾶν καθόλου. Diog. L. ix. 19 Ὅλον δ' ὁρᾶν καὶ ὅλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν (sc. τὸν θεόν). Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* ix. 144, without mentioning Xenophanes,

Οὖλος ὁρᾷ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δέ τ' ἀκούει.

Ritter and Preller, 136, note a; cf. Zeller, op. cit. i. 561, note 2.

[illegible]0 2 τὴν γῆν ἄπειρον εἶναι. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13 'Some for these reasons assert that the underside of the earth is infinite, meaning that it is rooted upon an infinite, as Xenophanes the Colophonian says, in order that they may have no trouble in inquiring after the cause.' Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 580 conjectures καὶ τὸ κάτω πᾶν μέρος.

[illegible]0 6 Παρμενίδης. Theophrast. ap. Diels, 141 Παρμενίδης Πύρητος ὁ Ἐλεάτης. Cf. Plat. *Parm.* 127 'Parmenides and Zeno came to Athens, he said, at the great Panathenaea: the former was at the time of his visit about 65 years old, very white with age, but well-favoured. Zeno was nearly 40 years of age, of a noble figure and fair aspect' (Jowett). *Soph.* 237 'When we were boys the great Parmenides used to protest against this, from first to last, always repeating both in prose and verse:

'Things that be not thou ne'er wilt prove to be;
From this vain question keep thy thought away.'

d 2 τὰς αἰσθήσεις. Zeller, *Outlines*, 61, referring to Parmenides, 'Thought, moreover, is not distinct from being, for it is thought of the existent. Only *that* knowledge therefore has truth which shows us in all things this one invariable being, and this is reason (λόγος). The senses on the other hand, which show us a multiplicity of things, origin, decay, and change, are the sources of all error.' Cf. *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 586.

d 4 τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν. Simplic. *Phys.* f. 19 a

Χρή σε λέγειν τε νοεῖν τ' ἐὸν ἔμμεναι. ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι,
μηδὲν δ 'οὐκ εἶναι,

i. e. 'Being' is, and 'not-being' is nothing at all. Cf. Plat. *Parm.* 163 C.

d 5 τὸ ὂν ἀγένητον. R. and Pr. 145 'Parm. ap. Simplic. *Phys.* f. 31 a:

'One word alone remains, that "being" is;
And many signs in this direction show
This uncreate is indestructible,
Whole, of one kind, unmov'd, self-equipois'd;
Nor was, nor shall be, but is ever now
All one eternal.'

The idea seems to be taken from a homogeneous globe self-sustained. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 584, 587.

d 7 Ζήνων. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 261 'Do we not know that the Eleatic Palamedes (Zeno) speaks with such an art that the same things appear to his hearers like and unlike, and one and many, and at rest and in motion too?' 'Qui artificiosi et ingeniosi quidquam excogitat, is Palamedes dicitur, ipsumque inventum Palamedeum, ut Aristoph. *Ran.* 1488

Εὖ γ' ὦ Παλάμηδες, ὦ σοφωτάτη φύσις.

Et Eupolis ap. Athen. i. 30. 65

Παλαμηδικόν γε τοῦτο τοὐξεύρημα καὶ σοφόν' (Ast).

d 9 Δημόκριτος. 'Time, space, and motion (it was thus Democritus took up the strain) are all eternal' (Archer Butler, *Hist. Philos.* i. 325).

d 12 μηδεμίαν ἀρχήν. Aristot. *Phys.* viii. 1. 20 Ὅλως δὲ τὸ νομίζειν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἱκανήν, ὅτι ἀεὶ ἢ ἔστιν οὕτως ἢ γίγνεται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει ὑπολαβεῖν, ἐφ' ὃ Δημόκριτος ἀνάγει τὰς περὶ φύσεως αἰτίας, ὡς οὕτω καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐγίνετο· τοῦ δὲ ἀεὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ ἀρχὴν

ζητεῖν, λέγων ἐπί τινων ὀρθῶς, ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. On the doctrine of Democritus see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 210 ff.

d 13 ἐξ ἀπείρου χρόνου. Lucret. ii. 294

'Nec stipata magis fuit umquam materiai
Copia nec porro maioribus intervallis;
Nam neque adaugescit quidquam neque deperit inde.
Quapropter quo nunc in motu principiorum
Corpora sunt, in eodem anteacta aetate fuere
Et post haec semper simili ratione ferentur,
Et quae consuerunt gigni gignentur eadem
Condicione et erunt et crescent vique valebunt.'

24 a 1 Ἡλίου. Diog. L. ix. 33.

a 5 ὑποβολήν. *Lit.* 'foundation': cf. Plut. *Mor.* 320 B ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑποβολὰς καταтеθεῖσθαι.

a 6 ἐναπολήφθῆναι. See the note on 19 d 8 and 24 d 6.

b 1 Ἐπίκουρος. On Epicurus and his doctrine cf. 727 d 3 and Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* i. 19, and on τὸν περὶ θεῶν τῦφον see especially the well-known passage Lucret. i. 57, 58. Diog. L. x. 123 (Epicurus loquitur) θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσίν, ἐναργὴς δέ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις· οἵους δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν οὐκ εἰσίν.

b 2 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. Lucret. i. 149

'Principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet,
Nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus umquam.'

b 3 ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον. See the note on 23 d 13.

b 5 πᾶν ἐστι σῶμα. Epicurus ap. Diog. L. x. 39 τὸ πᾶν ἐστι σῶμα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα ὡς ἔστιν αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ.

b 6 ἡδονή. Diog. L. x. 128 τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος λέγομεν εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν.

b 7 On the elder Aristippus and his grandson of the same name see 763 d 14.

τὴν ἡδονήν. Diog. L. ii. 87 'They also think that there is a difference between the *summum bonum* and happiness: for the *summum bonum* is particular pleasure, but happiness the combination arising from particular pleasures, among which are reckoned pleasures past and to come. And particular pleasure is desirable for its own sake, but happiness not on its own account, but on account of the particular pleasures.' Ibid. 86 'They supposed two states of feeling, pain and pleasure, gentle motion being pleasure, and rough motion pain.'

b 8 *φυσιολογίαν*. Cf. de Faye, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, p. 79, note 2, on *Clem. Al.* 564 *τότε δὴ τὴν τῷ ὄντι γνωστικὴν φυσιολογίαν μέτειμεν τὰ μικρὰ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων μυηθέντες μυστήρια.* 'Le terme *φυσιολογία* ne doit pas être traduit par *science de la nature*, c'est un terme compréhensif qui, dans la dernière phrase, embrasse et la *κοσμολογία* et la *θεολογία*.' See note on 74 a 9.

c 1 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. See the account of Empedocles in Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* i. 3 and vii. 17, 18, where his system of dualism is said to have been adopted by Marcion; and Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* i. 30, quoted below on 749 d 6. Cf. K. O. Müller, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, p. 255 'To these he gave mythological names, calling fire *the all penetrating Zeus*; air *the life-giving Hera*; earth (as being the gloomy abode of exiled spirits) *Aidoneus*; and water, by a name of his own, *Nestis*.' Cf. Diog. L. viii. 67, 77.

c 2 *φιλίαν καὶ νεῖκος*. The causes of *μῖξις* and *διάλλαξις*: cf. Emped. *Carm.* 98 (Mullach).

> *Ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω· φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἁπάντων*
> *θνητῶν, οὐδέ τις οὐλομένου θανάτοιο τελευτή,*
> *ἀλλὰ μόνον μῖξίς τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων*
> *ἐστί, φύσις δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισιν.*

Plat. *Soph.* 242 E 'But certain Ionian and Sicilian Muses (Heracleitus and Empedocles) at a later period conceived that the safest course was to combine both principles and say that "being" is both one and many, and is held together by enmity and friendship.' See note on 725 a 8, Emped. *Carm.* 68.

c 4 *τὸν ἀέρα*. Plut. ibid. ii. 6 'Empedocles says that the air was first separated, and next the fire.'

c 6 *ἡμισφαίρια*. Ibid. ii. 11 'Empedocles says that the heaven is solid, consisting of air congealed by fire in the manner of ice, as it contains in each hemisphere the elements both of fire and air.' Zeller, *Outlines of Gk. Philos.*, p. 74 'The sky consists of two halves, one of fire, the other dark, with masses of fire sprinkled in it; the former is the heaven of the day time, the latter of the night.'

d 2 Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως. See Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 155, note 2.

d 3 On the cosmogony of Empedocles as described in his own poem and as criticized by Aristotle (*De Gen. et Corrupt.* ii. 6; *De Caelo*, iii. 2. 10), see Zeller, ibid. ii. 137–44.

ζητεῖν, λέγων ἐπί τινων ὀρθῶς, ὅτι [illegible] Plut. *De Pyth.*
doctrine of Democritus see Zell[illegible] [illegible]ng that the sun
d 13 ἐξ ἀπείρου χρόνου. [illegible] reflexion of the
'Nec stipata magis f[illegible]
Copia nec porro [illegible] [illegible]utless face."'
Nam neque adaug[illegible] [illegible]ing been formed out
Quapropter quo [illegible] [illegible]n the general whirl
Corpora sunt, in [illegible] [illegible]s formed from what is
Et post haec [illegible] [illegible]and cloudy air mixed
Et quae cons[illegible] [illegible] Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀέρα συνε-
Condicione [illegible] [illegible] ὥστε σύμμικτον. Zeller,
24 a 1 Ἡλίου. [illegible] the reading ἀποληφθέντος
a 5 ὑποβολήν. [illegible] [illegible]pedocles said of the heaven.
μὲν ὑποβολὰς κ[illegible] [illegible]μπεδοκλῆς στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν
a 6 ἐναπολη[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]κρυσταλλοειδῶς. Diels also
b 1 Ἐπίκ[illegible] [illegible]rsten, *Emped.* p. 432.
Hippol. *Ref.* [illegible] [illegible]pedocles is preserved in Stob.
especially [illegible] [illegible] (Mullach, i. 11)
123 (Ep[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]καρδιόν ἐστι νόημα.
ἡ γνῶσι[illegible] [illegible]pedocles animum esse censet cordi
b 2 [illegible] [illegible]so quoted below, 26 c 4.
[illegible] Diels brackets these words as
[illegible]stitute αἷμα for ἡγεμονικόν; but no
b [illegible] [illegible], *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 168, note 4.
[illegible] [illegible]shed *circ.* B.C. 330; he was said to
[illegible] [illegible] and was an absolute sceptic. The
[illegible] *Nature* is quoted below, 765 d
[illegible] not even this, whether we know or
[illegible] ii. 43. 73 'Nego scire nos scia-
[illegible] ne id ipsum quidem nescire
[illegible] aliquid an nihil sit.' Yet Zeller
[illegible] he can hardly have intended to deny
[illegible]

[illegible] Zeller, ibid. ii. 314, note 5
[illegible] to be impossible, since in the πᾶν, the
[illegible] the void and all the full are contained.'
[illegible] there is a lacuna which no doubt
[illegible] the compiler of the Eusebian
[illegible], which appears probable.

a 4 In cod. A the original reading ἀέρα has been corrected to αἰθέρα, which Zeller reads, op. cit. ii. 315, note 2. But ἀέρα is more appropriate to the present context. On αἰθήρ and ἀήρ compare Zeller, op. cit. ii. 355, Out of Chaos were formed by rotary motion 'two great masses according to the most universal distinctions of dense and rare, cold and warm, dark and bright, moist and dry. . . . Anaxagoras called them Aether and Air, including under Aether all that is warm, light, and rare; and under Air all that is cold, dark, and dense.' Zeller, ibid. note 3, *Anax. Fr.* 1 πάντα γὰρ ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθὴρ κατεῖχεν, ἀμφότερα ἄπειρα ἐόντα. *Fr.* 2 καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ τό γε περιέχον ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος. Aristot. *de Caelo*, iii. 3 τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα προσαγορεύει ταὐτό. Theophrast. *De Sensu*, 59 τὸ μὲν μανὸν καὶ λεπτὸν θερμόν, τὸ δὲ πυκνὸν καὶ παχὺ ψυχρόν, ὥσπερ Ἀναξαγόρας διαιρεῖ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα.

a 5 Metrodorus 'is said (*Plac.* iii. 9. 5) to have regarded the earth as a precipitate from the water, and the sun as a precipitate from the air (τοῦ ἀέρος).' Zeller, ii. 247, note 4.

a 6 ποιεῖν . . . ἀστέρας. Zeller (loc. cit.) raises the question whether these words mean that the stars are 'generated each day afresh through the influence of the sun on the atmospheric water,' or refer only to 'the *first* production of the stars.'

b 2 Διογένης. Diogenes of Apollonia, a pupil of Anaximenes and contemporary of Anaxagoras, is commended by Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corrupt.* i. 6, for teaching that all existing things are formed out of one primitive element by differentiation. Cf. Diog. L. ix. 57 'He maintained that air was the primal element of all things; that there was an infinite number of worlds, and an infinite void; that air condensed and rarefied produced the different members of the universe; that nothing was produced from nothing, or was reduced to nothing.' *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Biogr.* i. 1021; Zeller, op. cit. i. 285 ff.; R. and Pr. 59; Simplic. *Phys.* f. 326 ap. R. and Pr. 63 'From this primary element, which is the air, both man and the other animals have life, and soul, and thought.'

b 4 ὅτι . . . ποιῆσαι. On this construction see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 864, and Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* 539.

b 7 After quoting this passage R. and Pr. 68, remark that the references to the cosmological doctrines of Diogenes are 'obscure and scanty.' See Zeller, op. cit. i. 285 ff.

c 5 οὐδ' ὅλως Θεοῦ μνήμην. See the note on 23 a 7.

d 6 This and the following passage of the *Memorabilia Socratis* are quoted again and more fully at 853 c.

26 b 6 Περὶ ψυχῆς. On this and other titles by which the *Phaedo* is commonly described, see the first note on the *Phaedo* in Bekker's Plato.

b 8 On the text of this passage, Plat. *Phaed.* 96 A, and on the relation of cod. A of Eusebius to cod. Clark (B) of Plato, see vol. i. *Praef.* p. xliv seqq.

Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης. These words are omitted in Plat. B*, which passes from ἔφη ὁ Κέβης in the preceding line to νέος ὤν. In the margin the second hand (b) has supplied the missing words as they are found in A the Arethas MS. of Eusebius: βούλομαί γε. Ἄκουε τοίνυν ὡς ἐροῦντος· Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης. The obvious cause of the omission is the repetition of Κέβης.

b 9 ὑπερήφανον. Eus. codd., ὑπερήφανος Plato, agreeing with σοφία understood, of which εἰδέναι κ.τ.λ. is the epexegesis 'It seemed to me to be a magnificent kind of wisdom to know, &c.'

b 10 εἰδέναι τάς. Omitted in Plat. B*, but supplied by b (as in A*), partly in an erasure and partly outside the line. The insertion of ⟨καὶ⟩ before εἰδέναι (Burnet) is unnecessary.

c 1 πρῶτον τά. In Plat. B* πρῶτον was omitted, and τὰ stood at the end of the line, followed by τοιάδε in the next line. The ὰ of τὰ was erased and the omission supplied by b in the following manner: (1) Τὰ, (2) Τ|||, (3) Πρῶτον τὰ. Thus the first letter Π is within the line, but of a form not used in B*; the rest is written by b outside the line and in very small letters.

τὰ τοιάδε. Omitted in Eus. A*, but supplied in the margin by the second hand (b ?).

c 2 καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, A*. In Plat. B* τὸ is omitted, but supplied by Plat. b.

Schanz brackets [καὶ ψυχρόν] as an interpolation, and certainly 'cold' does not correspond well to 'putrefaction' (σηπεδόνα): but that ψυχρόν may be a corruption of ὑγρόν is suggested by two passages of Diogenes Laertius quoted by Heindorf; lib. ii. 3. 9 (Ἀναξαγόρας ἔλεγε) ζῶα γενέσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους. ibid. 4. 16 Ἔλεγε δὲ (Ἀρχέλαος) δύο αἰτίας εἶναι γενέσεως θερμὸν καὶ ὑγρόν, καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰλύος γεννηθῆναι.

c 3 *ξυντρέφεται.* Eus. A*, *συντρέφεται* Plat. B*, *ξυντρέφεται* (*ξ* in ras.) b.

τὸ αἷμα. Cf. 24 d 9, and for a collection of the various opinions of ancient philosophers see Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 391.

c 4 *ὁ ἀήρ.* Zeller, op. cit. i. 287 'Diogenes (Apolloniates) himself says that air is the essence in which reason dwells, and which guides and governs all things, because its nature is to spread itself everywhere, to order all and to be in all. *Fr.* 6, ap. Simplic. 33 a.'

τὸ πῦρ. The doctrine of Heracleitus: see Zeller, op. cit. ii. 22, 79 'In the soul, on the other hand, the infinite portion of man's nature, the divine fire in its purer form has been preserved. The soul consists of fire, of warm and dry vapours.'

c 5 *ὁ δ' ἐγκέφαλος.* *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1879, p. 77 'Whatever the organic process in the brain, it takes place, like the action of other elements of the body, quite out of the reach of consciousness. We are not aware how our general and abstract ideas are formed. The due material is consciously supplied, and there is an unconscious elaboration of the result': p. 83 'Here then we reach the limits to which physical science has attained. The moral and intellectual faculties of man belong to a region for which science has no language and no explanation. To investigate them is the task of a higher branch of Philosophy; for we still say with the old Schoolmen, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu . . . *nisi intellectus ipse*."'

ὁ τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχων. Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* iv. 8 *Πλάτων τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποφαίνεται ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐκτός· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις ψυχῆς, τὸ δ' ὄργανον σώματος· ἄμφω. δὲ διὰ φαντασίας ἀντιληπτικὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν γίνεται.* Cf. Diels, l. c. 394.

c 6 *μνήμη.* Aristot. *Anal. post.* ii. 19. 4 *ἐκ μὲν οὖν αἰσθήσεως γίνεται μνήμη, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ μνήμης πολλάκις τοῦ αὐτοῦ γινομένης ἐμπειρία· αἱ γὰρ πολλαὶ μνῆμαι τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐμπειρία ἐστίν.* *Metaph.* i. 1. 4 *Γίγνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς μνήμης ἐμπειρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ.*

d 1 *λαβούσης τὸ ἠρεμεῖν.* Aristot. l. c. *ἐκ δ' ἐμπειρίας, ἢ ἐκ παντὸς ἠρεμήσαντος τοῦ καθόλου ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τοῦ ἑνὸς παρὰ τὰ πολλά, ὃ ἂν ἐν ἅπασιν ἓν ἐνῇ ἐκείνοις τὸ αὐτὸ τέχνης ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἐὰν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν τέχνης, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τὸ ὂν ἐπιστήμης.* *Metaph.* l. c. 5 *Ἀποβαίνει δ' ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*

. ... way,' i. e. as memory from the

. . . ὐρανὸν καὶ Plat. B*, οὐρανόν τε καὶ b.
Cf. Viger, *de Idiotism.* p. 156.
. . . ἔμαθον Plat. B*.
. . . ταῦτα ἃ A*, καὶ ἃ Plat. B.
. . . in B:

. . . ἔμαθον ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ ταῦτα ἃ πρὸ τοῦ ᾤμην εἰδέναι, 'verbis . . . in marg. b' (Schanz).

. . . On this opinion of Anaxagoras see 750 b 1.

. . . On Diodorus see 18 d 5. The following quotation is . . .

. . . ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον. 'In every case in which . . . developed civilizations have culminated in comprehensive . . . systems, in Egypt, in India, and in Western Asia, investigation takes us back to the grand all-encompassing phaenomena . . . the heavens as the point of departure from which religious . . . have set out' (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, ii. 456). See Maspero . . . note on 17 b 4.

. . . Osiris was originally the god of the Delta, identified with the Nile (Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 33), but 'from the Hyksos period onwards the origin of all forms of religion was sought in Sun worship' (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 12). Cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.

c 4 ἐτύμου. The corrupt reading ἑτοίμου of the older MSS. AH and of the Vatican codex of Diodorus (C) is corrected in BO, probably from the better MSS. of Diodorus.

c 5 Μεθερμηνευομένων. In the margin of cod. A a cone and part of a circle are drawn as signs of Sun and Moon, with a note following: 'Why the Egyptians call the Sun Osiris: now Osiris is interpreted "many-eyed," the Sun being supposed to see by means of his rays. And the Moon they call Isis, which also when translated into the Greek tongue means "the ancient," from her ancient and eternal generation.' Compare Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* x 'For the king and lord, Osiris, they represent by an eye and a sceptre, and some even interpret the name as "Many-eyed," the "Os" signifying *many*, and the "iri" *eye*, in the Egyptian language.' 'The old religion of Egypt consisted,

broadly speaking, of the worship of the great solar gods. Rê, Horus, Atum, Osiris, were all different conceptions of the sun-god, either as the giver of life, or as the disperser of darkness, or as a being dying to-day, but rising again on the morrow' (Erman, p. 44).

d 2 Διόνυσον. On the identification of Dionysus with Osiris see Hdt. ii. 42, 48, 49, and G. W. (Birch, iii. 71).

Σείριον. Archiloch. *Fr.* xlii, preserved by Plut. *Mor.* 658 B

> Ἔλπομαι, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν Σείριος καταυανεῖ
> ὀξὺς ἐλλάμπων.

In this passage Plutarch understands by Σείριος the Sun. According to Hesychius it means in Soph. *Fr.* 941 Σειρίου κυνὸς δίκην, the Dog-star, but in Archilochus (l. c.) the Sun. See Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Gr.* iii. 112. In Hesiod, *Opp.* 415

> δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστὴρ
> βαιὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κηριτρεφέων ἀνθρώπων
> ἔρχεται ἠμάτιος

Goettling rightly rejects the reference to the Sun. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 454, note 3. Arat. *Phaen.* 331

> ὅς ῥα μάλιστα
> ὀξέα σειριάει καί μιν καλέουσ' ἄνθρωποι
> Σείριον.

Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 364 A 'The more learned among the priests not only call the Nile "Osiris," and the sea "Typhon," but give the name Osiris generally to every principle and power productive of *moisture*, regarding this as the cause of generation.' 372 D 'There are some that expressly assert that Osiris is the Sun, and is named Sirius by the Greeks, since the insertion of the article (ὁ σείριος) has caused the name to be misunderstood among the Egyptians.' In 375 E Plutarch gives a still more absurd derivation of Ὄσιρις from ὅσιος and ἱερός.

Εὔμολπος. The mythical founder of the Eleusinian mysteries. 'As Eumolpus was regarded as a priestly bard, poems and writings on the mysteries were fabricated and circulated at a later time under his name' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*).

d 4 The only Fragment of Eumolpus (Suidas).

d 5 Orph. *Fr.* vii. 3 Ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον. On this identification of Phanes and Dionysus see Orphica, *Argon.* 15, *Hymn.* v. 8, *Fr.* v. 8; *Clem. Recogn.* x. 17. On the Orphic

b 7 τὴν φθοράν. Aetius i. 3. 3 (ap. Diels, l. c.) Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους. Theophrast. ibid. ἄπειρόν τινα φύσιν, ἣς τὴν ἀΐδιον κίνησιν αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς τῶν ὄντων γενέσεως.

c 3 κυλινδροειδῆ. Hippol. l. c. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα αὐτῆς (τῆς γῆς) γῦρον στρογγύλον, κίονι λίθῳ παραπλήσιον.

d 1 ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων. Hippol. l. c., Diels, 135 'He says that the animals were made by exhalation from the Sun, and that man was at first like a different animal, that is to say a fish.'

d 6 Ἀναξιμένην. Clinton, *Epit. Fast. Hell.* p. 156 'The precise date of the birth and death of Anaximenes cannot be determined. But he was taught by Anaximander, and he instructed Anaxagoras; and therefore must have lived to B. C. 484.' See *Philol. Mus.* i. 86 ff.

d 7 τῷ μὲν γένει. Diels, 135, 579, reads τῷ μεγέθει: 'τῷ μὲν γένει libri: corr. Zeller conl. Simpl. in *Phys.* f. 5ᵛ. 45 καὶ πρὸς Ἀναξίμανδρον καὶ Ἀναξιμένην ἁρμόζει ἓν μέν, ἄπειρον δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τὸ στοιχεῖον ὑποτιθεμένους.' But see Zeller, *Pre.-Socr. Philos.* i. 268. Diels is not quite accurate in saying that Zeller corrects the reading: he quotes the passage from Eusebius with τῷ γένει, and does not suggest any alteration. τῷ μὲν γένει means 'in the genus, as a whole.' Zeller, *Outlines*, p. 42 'Anaximenes differs from Anaximander in taking for his first principle not infinite matter without more precise determination, but with Thales a *qualitatively determined* matter; but he again coincides with Anaximander in choosing for this principle a substance to which the essential qualities of Anaximander's primitive essence, unlimitedness and unceasing motion, equally appeared to belong. In the air both are found.'

d 8 πύκνωσιν, κ.τ.λ. Aristot. *Phys.* i. 4; *De Caelo*, iii. 5.

d 11 ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13. 16 'Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and Democritus say that its breadth is the cause of its stability: for it does not cut through the air beneath but covers it over like a lid, as broad bodies evidently do: for against the wind these are difficult to move because of their resistance.'

d 12 Hippol. op. cit. i. 7 (Diels, 136) 'And the stars were

produced out of earth, because from this arose the mist by the rarefaction of which fire was produced, and from the fire, as it mounted upward, the stars were formed.' Cf. Simplic. f. 32 'As Anaximenes says that the air when rarefied becomes fire, and when condensed becomes wind, then cloud, then more water, then earth, then stones.'

23 a 2 *†θερμοτάτην κάνησιν†*. An evident corruption in all MSS. except D, which has *θερμότητα*[τος], with *κίνησιν* in the margin. Usener rightly adopts *ἱκανῶς ⟨θερμότητος⟩ λαβεῖν*. For the construction see Plat. *Theaet.* 194 D *ἱκανῶς τοῦ βάθους ἔχοντα*: *Phileb.* 62 A *ἱκανῶς ἐπιστήμης ἕξει*. Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 580 follows Zeller (*Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 274, note 2): 'perhaps *θερμότητα* should be read here without *κίνησιν*.'

a 5 *τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὅμοιον*. Zeller, op. cit. 567 'The proposition that the All remained like to itself may have been enunciated by him (Xenophanes) in regard to the regularity of the course of the world and the invariableness of the universe. But that he absolutely denied all generation and destruction, all change and movement in the world, as more recent authors assert, we cannot think possible.'

a 7 *οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο*. The various readings of A and H seem to betray a wish to make Xenophanes orthodox by inserting *ἄνευ Θεοῦ*: cf. 25 c 5 *οὐδ' ὅλως Θεοῦ μνήμην ποιησαμένων*: Ps.-Aristot. *De Xenophane, Zenone, et Gorgia*, i. 1 *'Ἀΐδιον εἶναί φησιν, εἴ τι ἔστιν, εἴπερ μὴ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι μηδὲν ἐκ μηδενός*: 13 *μᾶλλον γὰρ λαμβάνεται εἰκὸς εἶναι γενέσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ἢ μὴ πολλὰ εἶναι*. Zeller, op. cit. i. 545 quotes Simplic. *De Xenoph.* 3 *ἀδύνατόν φησιν εἶναι, εἴ τι ἔστι, γενέσθαι, τοῦτο λέγων ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, and *τὸ ὂν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντος ἂν γενέσθαι, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον*.

a 8 *τὰς αἰσθήσεις ψευδεῖς*. Plat. *Phaed.* 65 'Have sight and hearing any truth for men? Or rather are not the very poets harping to us upon this theme, that there is nothing accurate in what we either see or hear?' Cf. *Theaet.* 157 E.

b 1 *αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον διαβάλλει*. Zeller, op. cit. i. 574, rejects the statements that Xenophanes wholly denied the possibility of knowledge, or that he recognized the perception of reason only, and not that of sense.

b 3 *τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χωρεῖν*. Hippol. op. cit. i. 14 Xenophanes asserts 'that shells are found in the midst of the

land and in mountains, also in the quarries in Syracuse the print of a fish was found, and of seals, and in Paros a print of an anchovy deep in the stone, and in Malta scales of all sorts of marine animals, and that these animals were formed when all things were imbedded in mud long ago, and an impression of them was dried in the mud. Also all mankind are destroyed whenever the land is carried down into the sea and becomes mud, and then it begins to generate again, and these changes occur in all the worlds.' Cf. Hdt. ii. 12, Strab. 49.

b 4 ⟨*πυριδίων*⟩. Hippol. ibid. 'He also says that the Sun is formed each day from an assemblage of small sparks (*ἐκ μικρῶν πυριδίων*).' Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 522 seq. *Ξενοφάνης ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον.*

b 5 *περὶ θεῶν*. Ps.-Arist. *De Xenoph. Z. et G.* iii. 2 *Εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς ἁπάντων κράτιστον, ἕνα φησὶν αὐτὸν προσήκειν εἶναι* : Clem. Al. 714 *Εὖ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος διδάσκων ὅτι εἷς καὶ ἀσώματος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφέρει·*

'*Εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος.*'

c 1 *ὁρᾶν καθόλου*. Diog. L. ix. 19 *Ὅλον δ' ὁρᾶν καὶ ὅλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν* (sc. *τὸν θεόν*). Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* ix. 144, without mentioning Xenophanes,

Οὖλος ὁρᾷ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δέ τ' ἀκούει.

Ritter and Preller, 136, note a; cf. Zeller, op. cit. i. 561, note 2.

c 2 *τὴν γῆν ἄπειρον εἶναι*. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13 'Some for these reasons assert that the underside of the earth is infinite, meaning that it is rooted upon an infinite, as Xenophanes the Colophonian says, in order that they may have no trouble in inquiring after the cause.' Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 580 conjectures *καὶ τὸ κάτω πᾶν μέρος.*

c 6 *Παρμενίδης*. Theophrast. ap. Diels, 141 *Παρμενίδης Πύρητος ὁ Ἐλεάτης*. Cf. Plat. *Parm.* 127 'Parmenides and Zeno came to Athens, he said, at the great Panathenaea: the former was at the time of his visit about 65 years old, very white with age, but well-favoured. Zeno was nearly 40 years of age, of a noble figure and fair aspect' (Jowett). *Soph.* 237 'When we were boys the great Parmenides used to protest against this, from first to last, always repeating both in prose and verse:

'Things that be not thou ne'er wilt prove to be;
From this vain question keep thy thought away.'

d 2 τὰς αἰσθήσεις. Zeller, *Outlines*, 61, referring to Parmenides, 'Thought, moreover, is not distinct from being, for it is thought of the existent. Only *that* knowledge therefore has truth which shows us in all things this one invariable being, and this is reason (λόγος). The senses on the other hand, which show us a multiplicity of things, origin, decay, and change, are the sources of all error.' Cf. *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 586.

d 4 τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν. Simplic. *Phys.* f. 19 a

Χρή σε λέγειν τε νοεῖν τ' ἐὸν ἔμμεναι. ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι,
μηδὲν δ 'οὐκ εἶναι,

i. e. 'Being' is, and 'not-being' is nothing at all. Cf. Plat. *Parm.* 163 C.

d 5 τὸ ὂν ἀγένητον. R. and Pr. 145 'Parm. ap. Simplic. *Phys.* f. 31 a:

'One word alone remains, that "being" is;
And many signs in this direction show
This uncreate is indestructible,
Whole, of one kind, unmov'd, self-equipois'd;
Nor was, nor shall be, but is ever now
All one eternal.'

The idea seems to be taken from a homogeneous globe self-sustained. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 584, 587.

d 7 Ζήνων. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 261 'Do we not know that the Eleatic Palamedes (Zeno) speaks with such an art that the same things appear to his hearers like and unlike, and one and many, and at rest and in motion too?' 'Qui artificiosi et ingeniosi quidquam excogitat, is Palamedes dicitur, ipsumque inventum Palamedeum, ut Aristoph. *Ran.* 1488

Εὖ γ' ὦ Παλάμηδες, ὦ σοφωτάτη φύσις.

Et Eupolis ap. Athen. i. 30. 65

Παλαμηδικόν γε τοῦτο τοὐξεύρημα καὶ σοφόν' (Ast).

d 9 Δημόκριτος. 'Time, space, and motion (it was thus Democritus took up the strain) are all eternal' (Archer Butler, *Hist. Philos.* i. 325).

d 12 μηδεμίαν ἀρχήν. Aristot. *Phys.* viii. 1. 20 Ὅλως δὲ τὸ νομίζειν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἱκανήν, ὅτι ἀεὶ ἢ ἔστιν οὕτως ἢ γίγνεται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει ὑπολαβεῖν, ἐφ' ὃ Δημόκριτος ἀνάγει τὰς περὶ φύσεως αἰτίας, ὡς οὕτω καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐγίνετο· τοῦ δὲ ἀεὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ ἀρχὴν

ζητεῖν, λέγων ἐπί τινων ὀρθῶς, ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. On the doctrine of Democritus see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 210 ff.

d 13 ἐξ ἀπείρου χρόνου. Lucret. ii. 294

'Nec stipata magis fuit umquam materiai
Copia nec porro maioribus intervallis;
Nam neque adaugescit quidquam neque deperit inde.
Quapropter quo nunc in motu principiorum
Corpora sunt, in eodem anteacta aetate fuere
Et post haec semper simili ratione ferentur,
Et quae consuerunt gigni gignentur eadem
Condicione et erunt et crescent vique valebunt.'

24 a 1 Ἡλίου. Diog. L. ix. 33.

a 5 ὑποβολήν. *Lit.* 'foundation': cf. Plut. *Mor.* 320 B ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑποβολὰς κατατεθεῖσθαι.

a 6 ἐναπολήφθῆναι. See the note on 19 d 8 and 24 d 6.

b 1 Ἐπίκουρος. On Epicurus and his doctrine cf. 727 d 3 and Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* i. 19, and on τὸν περὶ θεῶν τῦφον see especially the well-known passage Lucret. i. 57, 58. Diog. L. x. 123 (Epicurus loquitur) θεοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσίν, ἐναργὴς δέ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις· οἵους δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν οὐκ εἰσίν.

b 2 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. Lucret. i. 149

'Principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet,
Nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus umquam.'

b 3 ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον. See the note on 23 d 13.

b 5 πᾶν ἐστι σῶμα. Epicurus ap. Diog. L. x. 39 τὸ πᾶν ἐστι σῶμα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα ὡς ἔστιν αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ.

b 6 ἡδονή. Diog. L. x. 128 τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος λέγομεν εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν.

b 7 On the elder Aristippus and his grandson of the same name see 763 d 14.

τὴν ἡδονήν. Diog. L. ii. 87 'They also think that there is a difference between the *summum bonum* and happiness: for the *summum bonum* is particular pleasure, but happiness the combination arising from particular pleasures, among which are reckoned pleasures past and to come. And particular pleasure is desirable for its own sake, but happiness not on its own account, but on account of the particular pleasures.' Ibid. 86 'They supposed two states of feeling, pain and pleasure, gentle motion being pleasure, and rough motion pain.'

b 8 φυσιολογίαν. Cf. de Faye, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, p. 79, note 2, on *Clem. Al.* 564 τότε δὴ τὴν τῷ ὄντι γνωστικὴν φυσιολογίαν μέτειμεν τὰ μικρὰ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων μυηθέντες μυστήρια. 'Le terme φυσιολογία ne doit pas être traduit par *science de la nature*, c'est un terme compréhensif qui, dans la dernière phrase, embrasse et la κοσμολογία et la θεολογία.' See note on 74 a 9.

c 1 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. See the account of Empedocles in Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* i. 3 and vii. 17, 18, where his system of dualism is said to have been adopted by Marcion; and Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* i. 30, quoted below on 749 d 6. Cf. K. O. Müller, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, p. 255 'To these he gave mythological names, calling fire *the all penetrating Zeus*; air *the life-giving Hera*; earth (as being the gloomy abode of exiled spirits) *Aidoneus*; and water, by a name of his own, *Nestis*.' Cf. Diog. L. viii. 67, 77.

c 2 φιλίαν καὶ νεῖκος. The causes of μῖξις and διάλλαξις: cf. Emped. *Carm.* 98 (Mullach).

> Ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω· φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἁπάντων
> θνητῶν, οὐδέ τις οὐλομένου θανάτοιο τελευτή,
> ἀλλὰ μόνον μῖξίς τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων
> ἐστί, φύσις δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισιν.

Plat. *Soph.* 242 E 'But certain Ionian and Sicilian Muses (Heracleitus and Empedocles) at a later period conceived that the safest course was to combine both principles and say that "being" is both one and many, and is held together by enmity and friendship.' See note on 725 a 8, Emped. *Carm.* 68.

c 4 τὸν ἀέρα. Plut. ibid. ii. 6 'Empedocles says that the air was first separated, and next the fire.'

c 6 ἡμισφαίρια. Ibid. ii. 11 'Empedocles says that the heaven is solid, consisting of air congealed by fire in the manner of ice, as it contains in each hemisphere the elements both of fire and air.' Zeller, *Outlines of Gk. Philos.*, p. 74 'The sky consists of two halves, one of fire, the other dark, with masses of fire sprinkled in it; the former is the heaven of the day time, the latter of the night.'

d 2 Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως. See Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 155, note 2.

d 3 On the cosmogony of Empedocles as described in his own poem and as criticized by Aristotle (*De Gen. et Corrupt.* ii. 6; *De Caelo*, iii. 2. 10), see Zeller, ibid. ii. 137–44.

d 4 τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντανάκλασις. Zeller, ibid. 156; Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* xii 'You laugh Empedocles to scorn for saying that the sun having been illumined (περιαυγῆ γενόμενον) by reflexion of the light of heaven,

"Back on Olympus shines with dauntless face."'

d 6 ἀπολειφθέντος. The sun and stars having been formed out of the purer fire, which was 'caught up' in the general whirl (19 d 8, 24 a 6 ἐναποληφθῆναι), the moon is formed from what is 'left behind' (ἀπολειφθέντος), the dense and cloudy air mixed with a portion of fire. Cf. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 552 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀέρα συνεστραμμένον νεφοειδῆ πεπηγότα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ὥστε σύμμικτον. Zeller, op. cit. ii. 156, misled apparently by the reading ἀποληφθέντος (BO), applies to the moon what Empedocles said of the heaven. Cf. Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* ii. 11 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀέρος συμπαγέντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς. Diels also reads ἀποληφθέντος, and refers to Karsten, *Emped.* p. 432.

d 9 ἐν αἵματι. A verse of Empedocles is preserved in Stob. *Ecl.* i. 1026; *v.* Emped. *Carm.* 74 (Mullach, i. 11)

αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα.

Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 9 'Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem,' and Plato quoted below, 26 c 4.

d 10 τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, οἴεται. Diels brackets these words as spurious, Viger would substitute αἷμα for ἡγεμονικόν; but no change is necessary. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 168, note 4.

d 12 Μητρόδωρος. Flourished *circ.* B.C. 330; he was said to be a pupil of Democritus, and was an absolute sceptic. The first sentence of his work *On Nature* is quoted below, 765 d 'None of us knows anything, not even this, whether we know or do not know.' Cf. Cic. *Acad.* ii. 23. 73 'Nego scire nos sciamusne aliquid an nihil sciamus: ne id ipsum quidem nescire aut scire; nec omnino sitne aliquid an nihil sit.' Yet Zeller (*Outlines*, p. 83) says that 'he can hardly have intended to deny the possibility of knowledge.'

25 a 3 μεθίστασθαι . . . εἰς κενόν. Zeller, ibid. ii. 314, note 5 'But this would seem to be impossible, since in the πᾶν, the totality of things, all the void and all the full are contained.' After these words, Zeller says, there is 'a lacuna which no doubt is the fault, not of Plutarch, but of the compiler of the Eusebian extracts.' Diels adopts this view, which appears probable.

a 4 In cod. A the original reading ἀέρα has been corrected to αἰθέρα, which Zeller reads, op. cit. ii. 315, note 2. But ἀέρα is more appropriate to the present context. On αἰθήρ and ἀήρ compare Zeller, op. cit. ii. 355, Out of Chaos were formed by rotary motion 'two great masses according to the most universal distinctions of dense and rare, cold and warm, dark and bright, moist and dry. . . . Anaxagoras called them Aether and Air, including under Aether all that is warm, light, and rare; and under Air all that is cold, dark, and dense.' Zeller, ibid. note 3, *Anax. Fr.* 1 πάντα γὰρ ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθὴρ κατεῖχεν, ἀμφότερα ἄπειρα ἐόντα. *Fr.* 2 καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ τό γε περιέχον ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ πλῆθος. Aristot. *de Caelo*, iii. 3 τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα προσαγορεύει ταὐτό. Theophrast. *De Sensu*, 59 τὸ μὲν μανὸν καὶ λεπτὸν θερμόν, τὸ δὲ πυκνὸν καὶ παχὺ ψυχρόν, ὥσπερ Ἀναξαγόρας διαιρεῖ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα.

a 5 Metrodorus 'is said (*Plac.* iii. 9. 5) to have regarded the earth as a precipitate from the water, and the sun as a precipitate from the air (τοῦ ἀέρος).' Zeller, ii. 247, note 4.

a 6 ποιεῖν . . . ἀστέρας. Zeller (loc. cit.) raises the question whether these words mean that the stars are 'generated each day afresh through the influence of the sun on the atmospheric water,' or refer only to 'the *first* production of the stars.'

b 2 Διογένης. Diogenes of Apollonia, a pupil of Anaximenes and contemporary of Anaxagoras, is commended by Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corrupt.* i. 6, for teaching that all existing things are formed out of one primitive element by differentiation. Cf. Diog. L. ix. 57 'He maintained that air was the primal element of all things; that there was an infinite number of worlds, and an infinite void; that air condensed and rarefied produced the different members of the universe; that nothing was produced from nothing, or was reduced to nothing.' *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Biogr.* i. 1021; Zeller, op. cit. i. 285 ff.; R. and Pr. 59; Simplic. *Phys.* f. 326 ap. R. and Pr. 63 'From this primary element, which is the air, both man and the other animals have life, and soul, and thought.'

b 4 ὅτι . . . ποιῆσαι. On this construction see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 864, and Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* 539.

b 7 After quoting this passage R. and Pr. 68, remark that the references to the cosmological doctrines of Diogenes are 'obscure and scanty.' See Zeller, op. cit. i. 285 ff.

c 5 οὐδ' ὅλως Θεοῦ μνήμην. See the note on 23 a 7.

d 6 This and the following passage of the *Memorabilia Socratis* are quoted again and more fully at 853 c.

26 b 6 Περὶ ψυχῆς. On this and other titles by which the *Phaedo* is commonly described, see the first note on the *Phaedo* in Bekker's Plato.

b 8 On the text of this passage, Plat. *Phaed.* 96 A, and on the relation of cod. A of Eusebius to cod. Clark (B) of Plato, see vol. i. *Praef.* p. xliv seqq.

Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης. These words are omitted in Plat. B*, which passes from ἔφη ὁ Κέβης in the preceding line to νέος ὤν. In the margin the second hand (**b**) has supplied the missing words as they are found in A the Arethas MS. of Eusebius: βούλομαί γε. Ἄκουε τοίνυν ὡς ἐροῦντος· Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κέβης. The obvious cause of the omission is the repetition of Κέβης.

b 9 ὑπερήφανον. Eus. codd., ὑπερήφανος Plato, agreeing with σοφία understood, of which εἰδέναι κ.τ.λ. is the epexegesis 'It seemed to me to be a magnificent kind of wisdom to know, &c.'

b 10 εἰδέναι τάς. Omitted in Plat. B*, but supplied by **b** (as in A*), partly in an erasure and partly outside the line. The insertion of ⟨καὶ⟩ before εἰδέναι (Burnet) is unnecessary.

c 1 πρῶτον τά. In Plat. B* πρῶτον was omitted, and τὰ stood at the end of the line, followed by τοιάδε in the next line. The ὰ of τὰ was erased and the omission supplied by **b** in the following manner: (1) Τὰ, (2) Τ|||, (3) Πρῶτον τὰ. Thus the first letter Π is within the line, but of a form not used in B*; the rest is written by **b** outside the line and in very small letters.

τὰ τοιάδε. Omitted in Eus. A*, but supplied in the margin by the second hand (**b** ?).

c 2 καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, A*. In Plat. B* τὸ is omitted, but supplied by Plat. **b**.

Schanz brackets [καὶ ψυχρόν] as an interpolation, and certainly 'cold' does not correspond well to 'putrefaction' (σηπεδόνα): but that ψυχρόν may be a corruption of ὑγρόν is suggested by two passages of Diogenes Laertius quoted by Heindorf; lib. ii. 3. 9 (Ἀναξαγόρας ἔλεγε) ζῷα γενέσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους. ibid. 4. 16 Ἔλεγε δὲ (Ἀρχέλαος) δύο αἰτίας εἶναι γενέσεως θερμὸν καὶ ὑγρόν, καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰλύος γεννηθῆναι.

c 3 *ξυντρέφεται.* Eus. A*, *συντρέφεται* Plat. B*, *ξυντρέφεται* (*ξ* in ras.) b.

τὸ αἷμα. Cf. 24 d 9, and for a collection of the various opinions of ancient philosophers see Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 391.

c 4 *ὁ ἀήρ.* Zeller, op. cit. i. 287 'Diogenes (Apolloniates) himself says that air is the essence in which reason dwells, and which guides and governs all things, because its nature is to spread itself everywhere, to order all and to be in all. *Fr.* 6, ap. Simplic. 33 a.'

τὸ πῦρ. The doctrine of Heracleitus: see Zeller, op. cit. ii. 22, 79 'In the soul, on the other hand, the infinite portion of man's nature, the divine fire in its purer form has been preserved. The soul consists of fire, of warm and dry vapours.'

c 5 *ὁ δ' ἐγκέφαλος.* *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1879, p. 77 'Whatever the organic process in the brain, it takes place, like the action of other elements of the body, quite out of the reach of consciousness. We are not aware how our general and abstract ideas are formed. The due material is consciously supplied, and there is an unconscious elaboration of the result': p. 83 'Here then we reach the limits to which physical science has attained. The moral and intellectual faculties of man belong to a region for which science has no language and no explanation. To investigate them is the task of a higher branch of Philosophy; for we still say with the old Schoolmen, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu . . . *nisi intellectus ipse.*"'

ὁ τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχων. Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* iv. 8 *Πλάτων τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποφαίνεται ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐκτός· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις ψυχῆς, τὸ δ' ὄργανον σώματος· ἄμφω. δὲ διὰ φαντασίας ἀντιληπτικὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν γίνεται.* Cf. Diels, l. c. 394.

c 6 *μνήμη.* Aristot. *Anal. post.* ii. 19. 4 *ἐκ μὲν οὖν αἰσθήσεως γίνεται μνήμη, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ μνήμης πολλάκις τοῦ αὐτοῦ γινομένης ἐμπειρία· αἱ γὰρ πολλαὶ μνῆμαι τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐμπειρία ἐστίν.* *Metaph.* i. 1. 4 *Γίγνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς μνήμης ἐμπειρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ.*

d 1 *λαβούσης τὸ ἠρεμεῖν.* Aristot. l. c. *ἐκ δ' ἐμπειρίας, ἢ ἐκ παντὸς ἠρεμήσαντος τοῦ καθόλου ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τοῦ ἑνὸς παρὰ τὰ πολλά, ὃ ἂν ἐν ἅπασιν ἓν ἐνῇ ἐκείνοις τὸ αὐτὸ τέχνης ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἐὰν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν τέχνης, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τὸ ὂν ἐπιστήμης.* *Metaph.* l. c. 5 *Ἀποβαίνει δ' ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*

κατὰ ταὐτά, 'in the same way,' i. e. as memory from the senses.

d 3 *οὐρανόν τε καὶ* A*, *οὐρανὸν καὶ* Plat. B*, *οὐρανόν* (*τε* above) *καὶ* **b**.

d 4 *ὡς οὐδὲν χρῆμα*. Cf. Viger, *de Idiotism*. p. 156.

d 7 *ἀπέμαθον* A*, *ἄποτ' ἔμαθον* Plat. B*.

καὶ ταῦθ' ἃ] *καὶ ταῦτα ἃ* A*, *καὶ ἃ* Plat. B.

Marginal note in B:

(*οὕτω δεῖ* and *ἐν ἄλλῳ* above) *ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦτα ἃ πρὸ τοῦ ᾤμην εἰδέναι*, 'verbis *οὕτω δεῖ* additis in marg. **b**' (Schanz).

27 a 5 On this opinion of Anaxagoras see 750 b 1.

a 7 On Diodorus see 18 d 5. The following quotation is generally exact.

9] **c** 1 *ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον*. 'In every case in which fully developed civilizations have culminated in comprehensive religious systems, in Egypt, in India, and in Western Asia, investigation takes us back to the grand all-encompassing phaenomena of the heavens as the point of departure from which religious ideas have set out' (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, ii. 456). See Maspero in note on 17 b 4.

c 3 Osiris was originally the god of the Delta, identified with the Nile (Plut. *De Is. et Osir*. 33), but 'from the Hyksos period onwards the origin of all forms of religion was sought in Sun worship' (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 12). Cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.

c 4 *ἐτύμου*. The corrupt reading *ἑτοίμου* of the older MSS. AH and of the Vatican codex of Diodorus (C) is corrected in BO, probably from the better MSS. of Diodorus.

c 5 *Μεθερμηνευομένων*. In the margin of cod. A a cone and part of a circle are drawn as signs of Sun and Moon, with a note following: 'Why the Egyptians call the Sun Osiris: now Osiris is interpreted "many-eyed," the Sun being supposed to see by means of his rays. And the Moon they call Isis, which also when translated into the Greek tongue means "the ancient," from her ancient and eternal generation.' Compare Plut. *de Is. et Osir*. x 'For the king and lord, Osiris, they represent by an eye and a sceptre, and some even interpret the name as "Many-eyed," the "Os" signifying *many*, and the "iri" *eye*, in the Egyptian language.' 'The old religion of Egypt consisted,

broadly speaking, of the worship of the great solar gods. Rê, Horus, Atum, Osiris, were all different conceptions of the sun-god, either as the giver of life, or as the disperser of darkness, or as a being dying to-day, but rising again on the morrow' (Erman, p. 44).

d 2 *Διόνυσον*. On the identification of Dionysus with Osiris see Hdt. ii. 42, 48, 49, and G. W. (Birch, iii. 71).

Σείριον. Archiloch. *Fr.* xlii, preserved by Plut. *Mor.* 658 B

> Ἔλπομαι, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν Σείριος καταυανεῖ
> ὀξὺς ἐλλάμπων.

In this passage Plutarch understands by Σείριος the Sun. According to Hesychius it means in Soph. *Fr.* 941 Σειρίου κυνὸς δίκην, the Dog-star, but in Archilochus (l. c.) the Sun. See Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Gr.* iii. 112. In Hesiod, *Opp.* 415

> δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστὴρ
> βαιὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κηριτρεφέων ἀνθρώπων
> ἔρχεται ἠμάτιος

Goettling rightly rejects the reference to the Sun. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 454, note 3. Arat. *Phaen.* 331

> ὅς ῥα μάλιστα
> ὀξέα σειριάει καί μιν καλέουσ' ἄνθρωποι
> Σείριον.

Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 364 A 'The more learned among the priests not only call the Nile "Osiris," and the sea "Typhon," but give the name Osiris generally to every principle and power productive of *moisture*, regarding this as the cause of generation.' 372 D 'There are some that expressly assert that Osiris is the Sun, and is named Sirius by the Greeks, since the insertion of the article (ὁ σείριος) has caused the name to be misunderstood among the Egyptians.' In 375 E Plutarch gives a still more absurd derivation of Ὄσιρις from ὅσιος and ἱερός.

Εὔμολπος. The mythical founder of the Eleusinian mysteries. 'As Eumolpus was regarded as a priestly bard, poems and writings on the mysteries were fabricated and circulated at a later time under his name' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*).

d 4 The only Fragment of Eumolpus (Suidas).

d 5 Orph. *Fr.* vii. 3 Ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον. On this identification of Phanes and Dionysus see Orphica, *Argon.* 15, *Hymn.* v. 8, *Fr.* v. 8; *Clem. Recogn.* x. 17. On the Orphic

poems and Theogonies see Müller, *Hist. of Gk. Lit.* p. 25; Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 62, 98; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 41.

d 7 *ἔναμμα . . . τῆς νεβρίδος.* Eur. *Bacch.* 23

Πρώτας δὲ Θήβας τῆσδε γῆς Ἑλληνίδος
ἀνωλόλυξα, νεβρίδ' ἐξάψας χροός.

d 8 Ἰσιν. Hdt. ii. 41 'The statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representations of Io; and the Egyptians, one and all, venerate cows more highly than any other animal.' 'Herodotus was really describing Athor and not Isis . . . It is only when one adopts the attributes of the other, that Isis has the head of the spotted cow of Athor, or that this goddess takes the name of Isis.' G. W.

28 a 4 *Φοινίκων.* The following statement is an indirect quotation from Porphyry; see 34 b 1. The chief deities of the Phoenicians, Baal and Ashtaroth, represented the sun and moon. Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 5 'them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven.'

a 7 *τὰ τῆς γῆς . . . βλαστήματα.* Cf. Juv. *Sat.* xv. 9

'Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
Numina!'

b 1 *ἐπιχύσεις.* Cf. Polyb. xvi. 21. 12 τὰς ἐν τοῖς πότοις ἐπιχύσεις. Plut. *Demetr.* 25 ἡδέως ἤκουε τῶν παρὰ πότον ἐπιχύσεις λαμβανόντων Δημητρίου βασιλέως, where the meaning is 'a full glass drunk as a toast.'

b 7 *ἑξῆς ἀποδειχθήσεται.* See below, 33 b.

c 1 Porphyry, one of the most learned and most formidable enemies of Christianity, was born A. D. 232 in Batanea (Hieron. *Praef. in Epist. ad Galatas*; Chrysost. 1 *Ep. ad Cor.* Hom. vi. 47 E Βατανεώτην), or more probably in Tyre, since he calls himself a Tyrian (*Vit. Plotini*, vii. 107), and tells us that his own name, like his father's, was in his native language (κατὰ
πάτριον διάλεκτον, ibid. 120) Malchus. This Semitic
Greek Βασιλεύς, led his teacher, the celebrated Lo
him Porphyrius, in allusion to the royal pur
pius, *Porphyr.* 4568). In a passage quoted
iii. 19, Porphyry himself states that when ve

with Origen. But his language is hardly consistent with the notion that Origen had been his teacher. 'Porphyry's amazing knowledge of the doctrines and customs, the writings and interpretations of the Christians, is much better understood from the tradition, according to which at some period of his life, probably when dwelling at Tyre, he was in intimacy with Christians, and perhaps, after hearing Christian teaching as a Catechumen, read the books of the N. T. and the prophets of the O. T.' (A. Georgiadas, *De Porph. Fragmentis Adversus Christianos*, Leipz. 1891).

d 1 πλάνης. This is rendered in the Latin as a genitive, 'erroris indagator,' but is better taken as a nominative. In codex A. πλάνης ἐρευνητὴς μαστήρ, ἐρευνητής is a gloss on μαστήρ, which has crept into the text.

d 9 ἀπαθανατίζοντες. Plat. *Charm.* 156 E τῶν Ζαμόλξιδος ἰατρῶν, οἳ λέγονται καὶ ἀπαθανατίζειν, i. e. 'immortales facere.'

d 10 τὸ πῦρ ἀθάνατον ἐφύλαττον. On the lamp perpetually burning in the temple of Ammon see Plut. *On the Failure of Oracles*, 410 B, 411 C; and on the same custom as observed in the temples of Zeus at Olympia, of Pan, and of Ceres, see Pausanias 415, 677, 616. Cf. 35 b 1.

29 a 7 ἄρωμα, *a spice* or *sweet herb*. The derivation here given by Porphyry is merely fanciful.

b 5 ἀρᾶς. Cf. a 6 ἀρασαμένους.

c 7 θεῶν. Cf. Hdt. ii. 52 'In early times the Pelasgi, as I know by information which I got at Dodona, offered sacrifices of all kinds, and prayed to the gods, but had no distinct names or appellations for them; since they had never heard of any. They called them gods (θεοί, disposers), because they had disposed and arranged all things in such a beautiful order' (Rawlinson). ... the various derivations of θεός). Cf. 182 d 7.

... παρατεθησαυρισμένων. Cf. iv. 149-52.

... Deut. iv. 19 ... ἀνέτειλε Κύριος ὁ θεός σου ...

... Cf. Warburton, *Div. Leg.* iii. 4 (vol. ... which signifies the *inspection of the secret* ... of it, and ... the ... words appropriated to ... note E vol. 1. p. 196 ...

of the passage by Bolingbroke. Τῆς θεωρίας, a gloss inserted in the later MSS.

b 8 ὕστερον ἐφευρημένα. Hdt. ii. 53 'Whence each of the gods sprang, and whether they were all eternal, and what kind of forms they bore, the Greeks knew not until the other day, so to speak.' Athenag. xvii Ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος ὀλίγος τοσοῦτος ταῖς εἰκόσι καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ εἴδωλα πραγματείᾳ, ὡς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἑκάστου τεχνίτην θεοῦ.

c 7 πορνείας. Wisd. xiv. 12 '*spiritual* fornication' (A.V.) was an unnecessary limitation, rightly omitted in R.V., the worship of idols being so constantly associated with gross immorality.

d 6 Σαγχουνιάθων. The first mention of Sanchuniathon and his *Phoenician History* is the professed translation of his work by Philo Byblius, who lived from the reign of Nero to that of Hadrian. He is mentioned by the name Suniaethon in Athenaeus, iii. 126 (*circ.* 230 A.D.) παρὰ τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγεγραφόσι, Συνιαίθωνι καὶ Μοσχῷ. The next testimony is that of Porph. *De Abst.* ii. 56, and *Adv. Christ.* iv, the passage here quoted. The only extant portions of Philo's work are the fragments preserved by Eusebius, 31 d–42 b. Whether they are genuine extracts from a work of Sanchuniathon, or simply 'a forgery of Philon' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*; Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, 385), is much disputed. Movers (*Relig. d. Phoenizier*, p. 99) says that *San-choniâth* means *the whole law of Chon*, the god Chon being the same as Bel, or the Tyrian Hercules. On the other hand Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* iii. 3, suspects Eusebius himself of fraud. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 48. 'We are far from the time,' says Matter (*Dictionnaire des Sciences Philos.* v. 478), 'when Scaliger, Grotius, Bochart, Selden, Huet, Goguet, and Mignot, like Porphyry and Eusebius, saw in the fragments preserved by the last a sort of translation by Philo of the Phoenician original of Sanchuniathon. Just as little should we regard it, with Dodwell, van Dale, R. Simon, Leclerc, Meiners, Hissmann, as a mere fraud and forgery, though we must attribute a large part of it to the Byblian writer.' Similar views have been held in recent times by Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, pp. 281 ff.; Bunsen, *Aegypten*, v. 240; J. W. Donaldson, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, ii. 255–8; J. Conrad Orelli, *Sanchon. Fr. Praef.* iv.

Renan, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire phénicienne de Sanchoniathon*, 1858, concludes his inquiry thus (p. 92): 'L'œuvre indigeste qui nous est venue d'une manière fragmentaire sous le nom de Sanchoniathon justifie son titre en un sens très-véritable. Elle nous représente réellement la théologie de la Phénicie à l'époque où vécut l'auteur, c'est-à-dire de la Phénicie ayant subi de profondes influences et pénétrée par le syncrétisme religieux.

'Guide essentiellement trompeur, s'il s'agit des époques reculées, l'*Histoire phénicienne* est le tableau assez fidèle de la religion de la Phénicie à l'époque plus moderne où elle entra en contact avec les idées de la Grèce et des autres parties de l'Orient.'

d 10 ὁ Βύβλιος. 'The Greek name Byblos was obtained from Gubla or Gubli by substituting b for g, as in *βλέφαρον* from *γλέφαρον eyelid*' (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 153, quoted by Masp. ii. 172). Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* i. 174, identifies Gu-ub-li with Gebal (1 Kings v. 18 (R.V.), Ezek. xxvii. 9).

Among the Tell-Amarna tablets there are fifty letters from Rib-Adda, King of Gebal, to Amenophis, King of Egypt, asking in vain for help against the invasion of Aziru and other enemies. Gebal was said to have been founded by the god El at the beginning of time. Renan called it the 'Jerusalem of the Lebanon.' See an interesting paper by Dr. Bliss, *Palestine Exploration Report*, April, 1894. Byblos was close to the river Adonis (Strab. 755). Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 6, describes the rites of Adonis, and adds that the 'head of Osiris comes by sea every year to Byblos.'

31 a 1 In Constantine's letter to the bishops and people (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 9) it is stated that Pophyry's impious writings have been destroyed. Some fragments, however, certainly remained, and were found chiefly among the Christians themselves, as may be inferred from the statement of Chrysostom (*De S. Babyla*, 539 D) *εἰ δέ πού τι καὶ εὑρεθείη διασωθέν, παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς τοῦτο σωζόμενον εὕροι τις ἄν.*

In the year 448 A.D. the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinianus III ordered the books written against Christianity, and especially those of Porphyry, to be burned. The answers of Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Philostorgius, were also for the most part lost and forgotten. See A. Georgiadas, *On the*

Fragments of Porphyry Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, pp. 18–20; Wolff's Porph. *De Philos. ex Orac.* p. 33.

a 4 The following quotation from Porphyry's treatise Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν is repeated 485 a, and a similar account of Sanchuniathon is quoted 156 a from Porph. *Abst.* ii. 56; cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 9; Theodoret, *Graec. Affect. Cur.* p. 28. 10.

a 6 ὁ Βηρύτιος. Berytus, the modern Beirût, was the capital of Libanus and chief sea-port of Syria, and was famous as a school of Greek learning. Cf. 38 d.

Bochart tried to identify Hierombalus with Jerubbaal or Gideon, and Orelli with the θεὸς Σουρμουβηλός mentioned by Porphyry below, 40 b, but otherwise unknown.

a 7 Ἰευώ is one of the forms in which the Greeks represented the sacred name יהוה, which also appears as Ἰαώ in Diodorus Siculus, i. 94; Irenaeus, i. 4. 1; Theodoret, l. c., and as Ἰαού or Ἰαώ in Clem. Al. 666 Ἀτὰρ καὶ τὸ τετράγραμμον ὄνομα . . . λέγεται δὲ Ἰαώ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται Ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐσόμενος. See the Epigram, 520 a 1 and note there. Orelli supposes θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰευώ to be an addition made by Eusebius, but it is not likely that he would have used such a form. In Deissmann's elaborate treatise on the Tetragrammaton (*Bible Studies*, p. 321), no notice is taken of the form Ἰευώ nor of this passage.

The name Abibalus occurs also in a list of kings of Tyre taken from the Phoenician history of Dius in Joseph. *c. Apion.* i 'On the death of Abibalus his son Εἴρωμος (Hiram?) became king.' On Abibalus, or Abelbabus, cf. Deissmann, p. 325 note 'Observe the Divine names combined with αβ.'

a 8 ἐξεταστῶν τῆς ἀληθείας. This is probably an official title, the meaning of which, 'examiners of the truth,' is apparently similar to that of the καταλαθισταί described by Hesychius as ἐξηγηταί, ἢ ἐνδεικνύοντες τὰ δημόσια. 'Ἐξηγητάς hic intelligo prodigiorum, oraculorum, somniorum, &c., interpretes veridicos.' Hemsterhus. ap. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ἐξηγηταί, where a second definition, καὶ οἱ ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ πάτρια, comes nearer to the meaning required in our passage.

b 4 φιλαλήθως. For this reading, supported by all the MSS. of Eusebius, and well suited to the context, Theodoret's reading Φιλαλήθης is adopted by Bochart and Orelli, as an interpretation of 'Sanchoniathon' *a lover of the true law.*

b 6 ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως. According to Herodotus, i. 184, Semiramis reigned in Babylon five generations before Nitocris, who lived in the sixth century B. C. In the British Museum there is a statue of the god Nebo, which the artist has dedicated to 'his lord Iva-lush and his lady Sammuramit.' Iva-lush is identified by Rawlinson (Hdt. i. p. 467) with Pul, who is mentioned (2 Kings xv. 19, *circ.* B. C. 769). The mythical Semiramis of Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus is said to have been the wife of Ninus, the founder of Nineveh (Masp. ii. 617 'The legend of Ninos and Semiramis'). Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 14, 33, 39, and Diod. Sic. ii. 1–8, where the story of Ninus and Semiramis is told at great length.

d 2 τῶν ἐγγράφων. Polyb. iii. 21. 4 ὑπάρχειν ἔγγραφον οὐδέν.

d 3 ἐννέα βίβλους. In 156 a 6 the books are said to have been eight.

d 10 τὰ Τααύτου. Plat. *Phaedr.* 274 C 'I heard that near Naucratis in Egypt there was one of the old gods of that country, to whom the bird which they call ibis was sacred; and the god's own name was Theuth, and he was the first who invented number, and calculation, and geometry, and astronomy, draughts also and dice, and especially letters.' Cf. Plat. *Phileb.* 18 B; Hdt. ii. 67 with note (G. W.); Masp. i. 145 'Thot, the god of the city Hermopolis, represented as an ibis or a baboon, was essentially a moon-god, who measured time, counted the days, numbered the months, and recorded the years. . . . He was lord of the voice, master of words and of books, possessor or inventor of those magic writings, which nothing in heaven, on earth, or in Hades can withstand.' Cf. p. 207.

On the identification of Theuth (Thot, or Tat) with Hermes see Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 22 'Hunc (Mercurium) Aegyptii Theuth appellant, eodemque nomine anni primus mensis apud eos vocatur.' Clem. Al. 356 (Θωύθ).

The name Τάαυτος is variously corrupted in the oldest MSS. A, H; see 31 d 10, 36 a 3. In this place they have ταῦθ' ὅς, from which Gaisford has rightly adopted Ταυθός.

d 11 τῶν γραμμάτων τὴν εὕρεσιν. See Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, p. 3, who says that the difficulties of proving the descent of the 'Semitic' alphabet from the Egyptian 'combined to induce scholars to reject the ancient though vague tradition

handed down by Greek and Roman writers, that the Phoenicians had originally obtained their letters from Egypt. By recent investigations, however, the riddle has been solved, and the chain of connexion between our alphabet and hieroglyphic writing has, beyond reasonable doubt, been completed.'

32 a 7 ἱερολόγων. Cf. Lucian, *De Astrolog.* 10 ἐς γοητείην καὶ ἱρολογίην: *De Syr. Dea,* 26 ἱρολογέουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πρήγματι. (L. and Sc. *Lex.*)

b 3 Ἀμμουνέων. Hdt. ii. 42 'The Egyptians give their statues of Jupiter the face of a ram, and from them the practice has passed to the Ammonians, who are a joint colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians speaking a language between the two; hence also in my opinion the latter people took their name of Ammonians, since the Egyptian name for Jupiter is Amun.' The worship of Amun was celebrated chiefly at Thebes (*No-Ammon*), and in the oasis of the Libyan desert.

The following statement is from the correspondent of the *Times* at Cairo, February 8, 1891: 'A grand discovery has been made of a vast tomb of the high priests of Ammon, monarch of the gods, and local divinity of Thebes, on the exact spot in the limestone cliffs of the Libyan mountains, west of Thebes, near Debr El Babri, where Brugsch Bey made his famous find of royal mummies in 1881. The tomb is 25 mètres below the surface, and it has two stories, the upper one not yet opened. In the lower 240 sarcophagi have been already discovered, the oldest dating back to the Eleventh Dynasty, 2500 B.C. There were also in the tomb 100 papyri, and some large statues of the Theban triad, Osiris, Isis, Nephthis, with vast quantities of statuettes and votive offerings.'

d 2 The Παράδοξος ἱστορία of Philo is known only from this passage.

d 5 τὴν αὖθις σαφήνειαν. Cf. 34 c 11 τὰς αὖθις παρεκδοχάς.

d 8 θεοὺς . . . μεγίστους. On the 'greatest gods of the Egyptians' see Hdt. ii. 4, and Rawlinson's Appendix, ii. 288.

d 11 εἰς τὸ χρεών. Cf. 263 d τὸ χρεὼν εἰρῆσθαι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἱμαρμένην. Ps.-Plat. *Axioch.* 3 εὐθύμως, μόνον οὐχὶ παιανίζοντας, εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἀπιέναι, 'go to meet their fate.' Plut. *Mor.* 113 C τῶν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ὁδευόντων.

⟨μεταστάντας⟩. Wytt. *Annot. ad Plut. Mor.* 113 C 'Vulgo

legitur *εἰς τὸ χρεὼν καταστάντας*.' Cf. 119 D *ὡς θεοφιλεῖς νέοι μετέστησαν πρὸς τὸ χρεών*.

33 a 1 *στήλας*. Masp. i. 237, 253, has fine representations of the door-shaped stele, placed at the entrance of a tomb. 'It perpetuated the name and genealogy of the deceased, and gave him a civil status, without which he could not have preserved his personality in the world beyond. . . . The pictures and prayers inscribed upon it acte as so many talismans for ensuring the continuous existence of the ancestor, whose memory they recalled.' The more ordinary form of a *στήλη* was a pillar or upright stone tablet. See *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.*, 'Funus.'

στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους. Cf. 35 b. Both *ῥάβδος* and *στήλη* occur in the LXX in connexion with acts of worship by Jacob; Gen. xxviii. 18, 22 'this stone, which I have set for a pillar (*στήλην*), shall be God's house'; xlvii. 31, interpreted in Heb. xi. 21, 'worshipped upon the top of his staff'; where the LXX seem to have introduced *τῆς ῥάβδου* from reading in error הַמַּטֶּה, *the staff*, for הַמִּטָּה, *the bed*. On the practice of divination by rods (*ῥάβδοι*) see Hdt. iv. 67; and Hosea iv. 12 *My people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them* (*ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ*).

a 5 The same passage is quoted indirectly 28 a.

φυσικούς. 'What we call the gods of mythology were chiefly the agents supposed to exist behind the great phenomena of nature' (Max Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, p. 21; Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 58 ff.).

10] **b 4** *ὑποτίθεται*. The subject appears to be *ἡ Φοινικικὴ θεολογία*. In Canon Rawlinson's *History of Phoenicia*, xi, *Religion*, the account of the national deities is based on this passage of Philo.

c 1 *ἐρεβώδες*. Plut. *Mor.* 169 B *ἐρεβώδεος ἐκ θαλάσσης*: Hesiod, *Theog.* 123 Ἐκ Χάεος δ' Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο.

c 3 *ἀρχῶν*. Chaos and air are mentioned above as giving birth to wind. Renan (p. 5) draws attention to the similarity between this and other Semitic cosmogonies, of which he enumerates six, including Gen. i.

c 4 *πόθος*. Plat. *Sympos.* 178 A 'That he (Love) is the eldest of the gods is an honour to him; and a proof of this is, that of his

κατὰ ταὐτά, 'in the same way,' i. e. as memory from the senses.

d 3 οὐρανόν τε καὶ A*, οὐρανὸν καὶ Plat. B*, οὐρανόν (τε) καὶ b.

d 4 ὡς οὐδὲν χρῆμα. Cf. Viger, *de Idiotism.* p. 156.

d 7 ἀπέμαθον A*, ἄποτ' ἔμαθον Plat. B*.

καὶ ταῦθ' ἃ] καὶ ταῦτα ἃ A*, καὶ ἃ Plat. B.

Marginal note in B:

(οὕτω δεῖ) (ἐν ἄλλῳ) ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦτα ἃ πρὸ τοῦ ᾤμην εἰδέναι, 'verbis οὕτω δεῖ additis in marg. b' (Schanz).

27 a 5 On this opinion of Anaxagoras see 750 b 1.

a 7 On Diodorus see 18 d 5. The following quotation is generally exact.

9] c 1 ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον. 'In every case in which fully developed civilizations have culminated in comprehensive religious systems, in Egypt, in India, and in Western Asia, investigation takes us back to the grand all-encompassing phaenomena of the heavens as the point of departure from which religious ideas have set out' (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, ii. 456). See Maspero in note on 17 b 4.

c 3 Osiris was originally the god of the Delta, identified with the Nile (Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 33), but 'from the Hyksos period onwards the origin of all forms of religion was sought in Sun worship' (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 12). Cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.

c 4 ἐτύμου. The corrupt reading ἑτοίμου of the older MSS. AH and of the Vatican codex of Diodorus (C) is corrected in BO, probably from the better MSS. of Diodorus.

c 5 Μεθερμηνευομένων. In the margin of cod. A a cone and part of a circle are drawn as signs of Sun and Moon, with a note following: 'Why the Egyptians call the Sun Osiris: now Osiris is interpreted "many-eyed," the Sun being supposed to see by means of his rays. And the Moon they call Isis, which also when translated into the Greek tongue means "the ancient," from her ancient and eternal generation.' Compare Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* x 'For the king and lord, Osiris, they represent by an eye and a sceptre, and some even interpret the name as "Many-eyed," the "Os" signifying *many*, and the "iri" *eye*, in the Egyptian language.' 'The old religion of Egypt consisted,

broadly speaking, of the worship of the great solar gods. Rê, Horus, Atum, Osiris, were all different conceptions of the sun-god, either as the giver of life, or as the disperser of darkness, or as a being dying to-day, but rising again on the morrow' (Erman, p. 44).

d 2 Διόνυσον. On the identification of Dionysus with Osiris see Hdt. ii. 42, 48, 49, and G. W. (Birch, iii. 71).

Σείριον. Archiloch. *Fr.* xlii, preserved by Plut. *Mor.* 658 B

Ἔλπομαι, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν Σείριος καταυανεῖ
ὀξὺς ἐλλάμπων.

In this passage Plutarch understands by Σείριος the Sun. According to Hesychius it means in Soph. *Fr.* 941 Σειρίου κυνὸς δίκην, the Dog-star, but in Archilochus (l. c.) the Sun. See Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Gr.* iii. 112. In Hesiod, *Opp.* 415

δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστὴρ
βαιὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κηριτρεφέων ἀνθρώπων
ἔρχεται ἠμάτιος

Goettling rightly rejects the reference to the Sun. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 454, note 3. Arat. *Phaen.* 331

ὅς ῥα μάλιστα
ὀξέα σειριάει καί μιν καλέουσ' ἄνθρωποι
Σείριον.

Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 364 A 'The more learned among the priests not only call the Nile "Osiris," and the sea "Typhon," but give the name Osiris generally to every principle and power productive of *moisture*, regarding this as the cause of generation.' 372 D 'There are some that expressly assert that Osiris is the Sun, and is named Sirius by the Greeks, since the insertion of the article (ὁ σείριος) has caused the name to be misunderstood among the Egyptians.' In 375 E Plutarch gives a still more absurd derivation of Ὄσιρις from ὅσιος and ἱερός.

Εὔμολπος. The mythical founder of the Eleusinian mysteries. 'As Eumolpus was regarded as a priestly bard, poems and writings on the mysteries were fabricated and circulated at a later time under his name' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*).

d 4 The only Fragment of Eumolpus (Suidas).

d 5 Orph. *Fr.* vii. 3 Ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον. On this identification of Phanes and Dionysus see Orphica, *Argon.* 15, *Hymn.* v. 8, *Fr.* v. 8; *Clem. Recogn.* x. 17. On the Orphic

poems and Theogonies see Müller, *Hist. of Gk. Lit.* p. 25; Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 62, 98; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 41.

d 7 *ἔναμμα . . . τῆς νεβρίδος.* Eur. *Bacch.* 23

> Πρώτας δὲ Θήβας τῆσδε γῆς Ἑλληνίδος
> ἀνωλόλυξα, νεβρίδ' ἐξάψας χροός.

d 8 Ἰσιν. Hdt. ii. 41 'The statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representations of Io; and the Egyptians, one and all, venerate cows more highly than any other animal.' 'Herodotus was really describing Athor and not Isis . . . It is only when one adopts the attributes of the other, that Isis has the head of the spotted cow of Athor, or that this goddess takes the name of Isis.' G. W.

28 a 4 *Φοινίκων.* The following statement is an indirect quotation from Porphyry; see 34 b 1. The chief deities of the Phoenicians, Baal and Ashtaroth, represented the sun and moon. Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 5 'them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven.'

a 7 *τὰ τῆς γῆς . . . βλαστήματα.* Cf. Juv. *Sat.* xv. 9

> 'Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
> O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
> Numina!'

b 1 *ἐπιχύσεις.* Cf. Polyb. xvi. 21. 12 τὰς ἐν τοῖς πότοις ἐπιχύσεις. Plut. *Demetr.* 25 ἡδέως ἤκουε τῶν παρὰ πότον ἐπιχύσεις λαμβανόντων Δημητρίου βασιλέως, where the meaning is 'a full glass drunk as a toast.'

b 7 *ἑξῆς ἀποδειχθήσεται.* See below, 33 b.

c 1 Porphyry, one of the most learned and most formidable enemies of Christianity, was born A. D. 232 in Batanea (Hieron. *Praef. in Epist. ad Galatas*; Chrysost. 1 *Ep. ad Cor.* Hom. vi. 47 E Βατανεώτην), or more probably in Tyre, since he calls himself a Tyrian (*Vit. Plotini*, vii. 107), and tells us that his own name, like his father's, was in his native language (κατὰ μὲν πάτριον διάλεκτον, ibid. 120) Malchus. This Semitic name, in Greek Βασιλεύς, led his teacher, the celebrated Longinus, to call him Porphyrius, in allusion to the royal purple of Tyre (Eunapius, *Porphyr.* 4568). In a passage quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 19, Porphyry himself states that when very young he had met

with Origen, but his language is hardly consistent with the notion that Origen had been his teacher. 'Porphyry's amazing knowledge of the doctrines and customs, the writings and interpretations of the Christians, is much better understood from the tradition, according to which at some period of his life, probably when dwelling at Tyre, he was in intimacy with Christians, and perhaps, after hearing Christian teaching as a Catechumen, read the books of the N. T. and the prophets of the O. T.' (A. Georgiadas, *De Porph. Fragmentis Adversus Christianos*, Leipz. 1891).

d 1 *πλάνης*. This is rendered in the Latin as a genitive, 'erroris indagator,' but is better taken as a nominative. In codex A, *πλάνης ἐρευνητὴς μαστήρ, ἐρευνητής* is a gloss on *μαστήρ*, which has crept into the text.

d 9 *ἀπαθανατίζοντες*. Plat. *Charm.* 156 E *τῶν Ζαμόλξιδος ἰατρῶν, οἳ λέγονται καὶ ἀπαθανατίζειν*, i. e. 'immortales facere.'

d 10 *τὸ πῦρ ἀθάνατον ἐφύλαττον*. On the lamp perpetually burning in the temple of Ammon see Plut. *On the Failure of Oracles*, 410 B, 411 C; and on the same custom as observed in the temples of Zeus at Olympia, of Pan, and of Ceres, see Pausanias 415, 677, 616. Cf. 35 b 1.

29 a 7 *ἄρωμα*, *a spice* or *sweet herb*. The derivation here given by Porphyry is merely fanciful.

b 5 *ἀράς*. Cf. a 6 *ἀρασαμένους*.

c 7 *θέειν*. Cf. Hdt. ii. 52 'In early times the Pelasgi, as I know by information which I got at Dodona, offered sacrifices of all kinds, and prayed to the gods, but had no distinct names or appellations for them; since they had never heard of any. They called them gods (*θεοί*, disposers), because they had disposed and arranged all things in such a beautiful order' (Rawlinson. See his note on the various derivations of *θεός*). Cf. 182 d 7.

30 a 6 *ἑξῆς παρατεθησομένων*. Cf. iv. 149–52.

a 9 *ἀπονενεμῆσθαι*. Deut. iv. 19 *ἃ ἀπένειμε Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου αὐτὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι*.

b 1 *τὴν ἐποπτείαν*. Cf. Warburton, *Div. Leg.* ii. 4 (vol. i. p. 225) '*Ἐποπτεία*, which signifies the *inspection of the secret*, *Θεωρία*, the *contemplation* of it, and *Δημιουργός*, *the Creator*, the subject of it, are all words appropriated to the *secret of the greater mysteries*.' See also note B vol. ii. p. 196 as to the use made

of the passage by Bolingbroke. Τῆς θεωρίας, a gloss inserted in the later MSS.

b 8 ὕστερον ἐφευρημένα. Hdt. ii. 53 'Whence each of the gods sprang, and whether they were all eternal, and what kind of forms they bore, the Greeks knew not until the other day, so to speak.' Athenag. xvii Ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος ὀλίγος τοσοῦτος ταῖς εἰκόσι καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ εἴδωλα πραγματείᾳ, ὡς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἑκάστου τεχνίτην θεοῦ.

c 7 πορνείας. Wisd. xiv. 12 '*spiritual* fornication' (A.V.) was an unnecessary limitation, rightly omitted in R.V., the worship of idols being so constantly associated with gross immorality.

d 6 Σαγχουνιάθων. The first mention of Sanchuniathon and his *Phoenician History* is the professed translation of his work by Philo Byblius, who lived from the reign of Nero to that of Hadrian. He is mentioned by the name Suniaethon in Athenaeus, iii. 126 (*circ.* 230 A.D.) παρὰ τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγεγραφόσι, Συνιαίθωνι καὶ Μοσχῷ. The next testimony is that of Porph. *De Abst.* ii. 56, and *Adv. Christ.* iv, the passage here quoted. The only extant portions of Philo's work are the fragments preserved by Eusebius, 31 d–42 b. Whether they are genuine extracts from a work of Sanchuniathon, or simply 'a forgery of Philon' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*; Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, 385), is much disputed. Movers (*Relig. d. Phoenizier*, p. 99) says that *San-choniâth* means *the whole law of Chon*, the god Chon being the same as Bel, or the Tyrian Hercules. On the other hand Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* iii. 3, suspects Eusebius himself of fraud. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 48. 'We are far from the time,' says Matter (*Dictionnaire des Sciences Philos.* v. 478), 'when Scaliger, Grotius, Bochart, Selden, Huet, Goguet, and Mignot, like Porphyry and Eusebius, saw in the fragments preserved by the last a sort of translation by Philo of the Phoenician original of Sanchuniathon. Just as little should we regard it, with Dodwell, van Dale, R. Simon, Leclerc, Meiners, Hissmann, as a mere fraud and forgery, though we must attribute a large part of it to the Byblian writer.' Similar views have been held in recent times by Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, pp. 281 ff.; Bunsen, *Aegypten*, v. 240; J. W. Donaldson, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, ii. 255–8; J. Conrad Orelli, *Sanchon. Fr. Praef.* iv.

Renan, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire phénicienne de Sanchoniathon*, 1858, concludes his inquiry thus (p. 92): 'L'œuvre indigeste qui nous est venue d'une manière fragmentaire sous le nom de Sanchoniathon justifie son titre en un sens très-véritable. Elle nous représente réellement la théologie de la Phénicie à l'époque où vécut l'auteur, c'est-à-dire de la Phénicie ayant subi de profondes influences et pénétrée par le syncrétisme religieux.

'Guide essentiellement trompeur, s'il s'agit des époques reculées, l'*Histoire phénicienne* est le tableau assez fidèle de la religion de la Phénicie à l'époque plus moderne où elle entra en contact avec les idées de la Grèce et des autres parties de l'Orient.'

d 10 ὁ Βύβλιος. 'The Greek name Byblos was obtained from Gubla or Gubli by substituting **b** for **g**, as in *βλέφαρον* from *γλέφαρον eyelid*' (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 153, quoted by Masp. ii. 172). Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* i. 174, identifies Gu-ub-li with Gebal (1 Kings v. 18 (R.V.), Ezek. xxvii. 9).

Among the Tell-Amarna tablets there are fifty letters from Rib-Adda, King of Gebal, to Amenophis, King of Egypt, asking in vain for help against the invasion of Aziru and other enemies. Gebal was said to have been founded by the god El at the beginning of time. Renan called it the 'Jerusalem of the Lebanon.' See an interesting paper by Dr. Bliss, *Palestine Exploration Report*, April, 1894. Byblos was close to the river Adonis (Strab. 755). Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 6, describes the rites of Adonis, and adds that the 'head of Osiris comes by sea every year to Byblos.'

31 a 1 In Constantine's letter to the bishops and people (Socrates, *H. E.* i. 9) it is stated that Pophyry's impious writings have been destroyed. Some fragments, however, certainly remained, and were found chiefly among the Christians themselves, as may be inferred from the statement of Chrysostom (*De S. Babyla*, 539 D) *εἰ δέ πού τι καὶ εὑρεθείη διασωθέν, παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς τοῦτο σωζόμενον εὕροι τις ἄν*.

In the year 448 A. D. the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinianus III ordered the books written against Christianity, and especially those of Porphyry, to be burned. The answers of Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Philostorgius, were also for the most part lost and forgotten. See A. Georgiadas, *On the*

Fragments of Porphyry Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, pp. 18–20; Wolff's Porph. *De Philos. ex Orac.* p. 33.

a 4 The following quotation from Porphyry's treatise Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν is repeated 485 a, and a similar account of Sanchuniathon is quoted 156 a from Porph. *Abst.* ii. 56; cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 9; Theodoret, *Graec. Affect. Cur.* p. 28. 10.

a 6 ὁ Βηρύτιος. Berytus, the modern Beirût, was the capital of Libanus and chief sea-port of Syria, and was famous as a school of Greek learning. Cf. 38 d.

Bochart tried to identify Hierombalus with Jerubbaal or Gideon, and Orelli with the θεὸς Σουρμουβηλός mentioned by Porphyry below, 40 b, but otherwise unknown.

a 7 'Ιευώ is one of the forms in which the Greeks represented the sacred name יהוה, which also appears as 'Ιαώ in Diodorus Siculus, i. 94; Irenaeus, i. 4. 1; Theodoret, l. c., and as 'Ιαού or 'Ιαώ in Clem. Al. 666 'Ατὰρ καὶ τὸ τετράγραμμον ὄνομα . . . λέγεται δὲ 'Ιαώ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται 'Ο ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐσόμενος. See the Epigram, 520 a 1 and note there. Orelli supposes θεοῦ τοῦ 'Ιευώ to be an addition made by Eusebius, but it is not likely that he would have used such a form. In Deissmann's elaborate treatise on the Tetragrammaton (*Bible Studies*, p. 321), no notice is taken of the form 'Ιευώ nor of this passage.

The name Abibalus occurs also in a list of kings of Tyre taken from the Phoenician history of Dius in Joseph. *c. Apion.* i 'On the death of Abibalus his son Εἴρωμος (Hiram?) became king.' On Abibalus, or Abelbabus, cf. Deissmann, p. 325 note 'Observe the Divine names combined with αβ.'

a 8 ἐξεταστῶν τῆς ἀληθείας. This is probably an official title, the meaning of which, 'examiners of the truth,' is apparently similar to that of the καταλαθισταί described by Hesychius as ἐξηγηταί, ἢ ἐνδεικνύοντες τὰ δημόσια. ''Εξηγητάς hic intelligo prodigiorum, oraculorum, somniorum, &c., interpretes veridicos.' Hemsterhus. ap. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* 'Εξηγηταί, where a second definition, καὶ οἱ ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ πάτρια, comes nearer to the meaning required in our passage.

b 4 φιλαλήθως. For this reading, supported by all the MSS. of Eusebius, and well suited to the context, Theodoret's reading Φιλαλήθης is adopted by Bochart and Orelli, as an interpretation of 'Sanchoniathon' *a lover of the true law.*

b 6 ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως. According to Herodotus, i. 184, Semiramis reigned in Babylon five generations before Nitocris, who lived in the sixth century B. C. In the British Museum there is a statue of the god Nebo, which the artist has dedicated to 'his lord Iva-lush and his lady Sammuramit.' Iva-lush is identified by Rawlinson (Hdt. i. p. 467) with Pul, who is mentioned (2 Kings xv. 19, *circ.* B. C. 769). The mythical Semiramis of Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus is said to have been the wife of Ninus, the founder of Nineveh (Masp. ii. 617 'The legend of Ninos and Semiramis'). Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 14, 33, 39, and Diod. Sic. ii. 1–8, where the story of Ninus and Semiramis is told at great length.

d 2 τῶν ἐγγράφων. Polyb. iii. 21. 4 ὑπάρχειν ἔγγραφον οὐδέν.

d 3 ἐννέα βίβλους. In 156 a 6 the books are said to have been eight.

d 10 τὰ Τααύτου. Plat. *Phaedr.* 274 C 'I heard that near Naucratis in Egypt there was one of the old gods of that country, to whom the bird which they call ibis was sacred; and the god's own name was Theuth, and he was the first who invented number, and calculation, and geometry, and astronomy, draughts also and dice, and especially letters.' Cf. Plat. *Phileb.* 18 B; Hdt. ii. 67 with note (G. W.); Masp. i. 145 'Thot, the god of the city Hermopolis, represented as an ibis or a baboon, was essentially a moon-god, who measured time, counted the days, numbered the months, and recorded the years. . . . He was lord of the voice, master of words and of books, possessor or inventor of those magic writings, which nothing in heaven, on earth, or in Hades can withstand.' Cf. p. 207.

On the identification of Theuth (Thot, or Tat) with Hermes see Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 22 'Hunc (Mercurium) Aegyptii Theuth appellant, eodemque nomine anni primus mensis apud eos vocatur.' Clem. Al. 356 (Θωύθ).

The name Τάαυτος is variously corrupted in the oldest MSS. A, H; see 31 d 10, 36 a 3. In this place they have ταῦθ' ὅς, from which Gaisford has rightly adopted Ταυθός.

d 11 τῶν γραμμάτων τὴν εὕρεσιν. See Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, p. 3, who says that the difficulties of proving the descent of the 'Semitic' alphabet from the Egyptian 'combined to induce scholars to reject the ancient though vague tradition

handed down by Greek and Roman writers, that the Phoenicians had originally obtained their letters from Egypt. By recent investigations, however, the riddle has been solved, and the chain of connexion between our alphabet and hieroglyphic writing has, beyond reasonable doubt, been completed.'

32 a 7 *ἱερολόγων.* Cf. Lucian, *De Astrolog.* 10 *ἐς γοητείην καὶ ἱρολογίην*: *De Syr. Dea*, 26 *ἱρολογέουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πρήγματι.* (L. and Sc. *Lex.*)

b 3 *Ἀμμουνέων.* Hdt. ii. 42 'The Egyptians give their statues of Jupiter the face of a ram, and from them the practice has passed to the Ammonians, who are a joint colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians speaking a language between the two; hence also in my opinion the latter people took their name of Ammonians, since the Egyptian name for Jupiter is Amun.' The worship of Amun was celebrated chiefly at Thebes (*No-Ammon*), and in the oasis of the Libyan desert.

The following statement is from the correspondent of the *Times* at Cairo, February 8, 1891: 'A grand discovery has been made of a vast tomb of the high priests of Ammon, monarch of the gods, and local divinity of Thebes, on the exact spot in the limestone cliffs of the Libyan mountains, west of Thebes, near Debr El Babri, where Brugsch Bey made his famous find of royal mummies in 1881. The tomb is 25 mètres below the surface, and it has two stories, the upper one not yet opened. In the lower 240 sarcophagi have been already discovered, the oldest dating back to the Eleventh Dynasty, 2500 B.C. There were also in the tomb 100 papyri, and some large statues of the Theban triad, Osiris, Isis, Nephthis, with vast quantities of statuettes and votive offerings.'

d 2 The *Παράδοξος ἱστορία* of Philo is known only from this passage.

d 5 *τὴν αὖθις σαφήνειαν.* Cf. 34 c 11 *τὰς αὖθις παρεκδοχάς.*

d 8 *θεοὺς . . . μεγίστους.* On the 'greatest gods of the Egyptians' see Hdt. ii. 4, and Rawlinson's Appendix, ii. 288.

d 11 *εἰς τὸ χρεών.* Cf. 263 d *τὸ χρεὼν εἰρῆσθαι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἱμαρμένην.* Ps.-Plat. *Axioch.* 3 *εὐθύμως, μόνον οὐχὶ παιανίζοντας, εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἀπιέναι,* 'go to meet their fate.' Plut. *Mor.* 113 C *τῶν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ὁδευόντων.*

⟨*μεταστάντας*⟩. Wytt. *Annot. ad Plut. Mor.* 113 C 'Vulgo

legitur *εἰς τὸ χρεὼν καταστάντας.'* Cf. 119 D *ὡς θεοφιλεῖς νέοι μετέστησαν πρὸς τὸ χρεών.*

33 a 1 *στήλας.* Masp. i. 237, 253, has fine representations of the door-shaped stele, placed at the entrance of a tomb. 'It perpetuated the name and genealogy of the deceased, and gave him a civil status, without which he could not have preserved his personality in the world beyond. . . . The pictures and prayers inscribed upon it acte as so many talismans for ensuring the continuous existence of the ancestor, whose memory they recalled.' The more ordinary form of a *στήλη* was a pillar or upright stone tablet. See *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.*, 'Funus.'

στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους. Cf. 35 b. Both *ῥάβδος* and *στήλη* occur in the LXX in connexion with acts of worship by Jacob; Gen. xxviii. 18, 22 'this stone, which I have set for a pillar (*στήλην*), shall be God's house'; xlvii. 31, interpreted in Heb. xi. 21, 'worshipped upon the top of his staff'; where the LXX seem to have introduced *τῆς ῥάβδου* from reading in error הַמַּטֶּה, *the staff*, for הַמִּטָּה, *the bed*. On the practice of divination by rods (*ῥάβδοι*) see Hdt. iv. 67; and Hosea iv. 12 *My people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them* (*ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ*).

a 5 The same passage is quoted indirectly 28 a.

φυσικούς. 'What we call the gods of mythology were chiefly the agents supposed to exist behind the great phenomena of nature' (Max Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, p. 21; Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 58 ff.).

10] **b 4** *ὑποτίθεται.* The subject appears to be *ἡ Φοινικικὴ θεολογία.* In Canon Rawlinson's *History of Phoenicia*, xi, *Religion*, the account of the national deities is based on this passage of Philo.

c 1 *ἐρεβώδες.* Plut. *Mor.* 169 B *ἐρεβώδεος ἐκ θαλάσσης*: Hesiod, *Theog.* 123 *Ἐκ Χάεος δ' Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο.*

c 3 *ἀρχῶν.* Chaos and air are mentioned above as giving birth to wind. Renan (p. 5) draws attention to the similarity between this and other Semitic cosmogonies, of which he enumerates six, including Gen. i.

c 4 *πόθος.* Plat. *Sympos.* 178 A 'That he (Love) is the eldest of the gods is an honour to him; and a proof of this is, that of his

parents there is no memorial; neither poet nor prose-writer has ever affirmed that he had any. As Hesiod says:

"First Chaos came, and then broad-bosom'd Earth,
The everlasting seat of all that is,
And Love."

In other words, after Chaos, the Earth and Love, these two, came into being. Also Parmenides sings of the generation of the gods:

"First in the train of gods he fashioned Love."

And Acusilaus agrees with Hesiod' (Jowett). Cf. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* ix. 550.

c 8 *ζῶα οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν.* 'Une théorie de la génération spontanée, caractérisée par les deux mots sacramentels de *Μώτ* et de *Ζωφασημίν*' (Renan).

Ζωφασημίν. 'Clarum est *τὸ Σημίν* esse Hebr. שָׁמַיִם, *caelos*, *Ζωφά* vero צפה *contemplari*' (Viger). Orelli notes that the word has been variously understood as describing living beings (Cumberland), or the latent germs of animal life (Herder, Wagner).

Renan, p. 14 'La physionomie sémitique de Zophasemin n'est point méconnaissable, et le rôle de ces *Contemplateurs du ciel* ressemble fort à celui des Chérubins d'Ezéchiel (i.).'

d 2 *ᾠοῦ σχήματι.* 'De diis ex ovo genitis res nota. Cf. Hug. Grot. i. 16 *De Verit. Rel. Chr.*' [Or.]. Athenag. *Leg.* xviii *ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη, ἐκ δὲ ἑκατέρων ἐγεννήθη ζῷον δράκων προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος ⟨καὶ ἄλλην ταύρου⟩, διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Χρόνος. οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ᾠόν, ὃ . . . εἰς δύο ἐρράγη· τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ Οὐρανὸς εἶναι ἐτελέσθη, τὸ δὲ κάτω ἐνεχθὲν Γῆ.* Aristoph. *Aves* 694

τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νὺξ ἡ μελανόπτερος ᾠόν,
ἐξ οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλαστεν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός.

d 3 *ἐξέλαμψε Μώτ.* As Môt is identified with slime (*ἰλύς*) 'or the putrescence of a watery compound,' the word *ἐξέλαμψε* does not seem to be very applicable to it. Renan suggests that *Μώτ* should be placed immediately after *σχήματι*, thus leaving *ἐξέλαμψε* to be referred to *ἥλιος*. Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, p. 386, takes *Μώτ* as a genitive, 'from Môt shone forth the sun, &c.' Cf. Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 205 'Môt produced first of all the sun, moon, and stars.'

34 a 6 Τααύτου . . . ὑπομνήμασιν. Cf. 31 d 12. Masp. i. 281 'The Masters of the secrets of Heaven, those who see what is in the firmament, on the earth, and in Hades . . . drew their inspirations from the books of Magic written by Thot.'

b 2 οὗτοί γε. The Phoenicians are meant, as is clear from 28 a 4, where the same passage is quoted without any mention of the author.

b 7 This sentence also is tacitly quoted 28 b 5.

b 9 Κολπία. In this and the following names Renan finds direct proof that Philo did translate a Phoenician work. 'Ventus ille Colpia idem est quod קול פי יה, *Vox oris Dei*, cuius inspiratione et verbo factus est homo' (Bochart). Renan (p. 16) accepts this interpretation, and thinks it is borrowed from the Rabbinical interpretations of Gen. i. 2. 'Colpias is most probably a transliteration of the composite name Kol-piakha, "the Voice of the Breath"' (Masp. ii. 167, note 3).

Βάαυ . . . νύκτα ἑρμηνεύει. Masp. i. 671 'The five planets . . . were not long before they took to themselves consorts . . . Ninib (Saturn) chose for wife in the first place Bau, the daughter of Anu.' Note 1. Bau 'was at the beginning the mother of Ea, and a personification of the dark waters and chaos' (Hommel, *Die Semit. Völker*, pp. 379–82). See notes on 33 c 1 and d 1.

Renan makes Βάαυ the same as Heb. בֹּהוּ in Gen. i. 2, as does Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, p. 387. 'Ce mot (Βααύ) se retrouve en Ialdebaoth (ילד בהו, *fils de Boou*) des Gnostiques, et peut-être dans leur Βυθός, comme le תֹּהוּ, qui lui est parallèle, se retrouve dans la ταυθέ (תהותא) de la cosmogonie chaldéenne conservée par Damascius' (Renan, p. 17). Cf. Iren. i. 30. 5; Epiphan. *Haer.* xxxvii. 4; Mansel, *Gnostic Heres.* 98.

b 10 Αἰῶνα καὶ Πρωτόγονον. Grotius, *Ver. Rel. Chr.* p. 58 '*Primogenitus*, i.e. Adam; Αἰών est חוה *Chavva, Eva, vita.* Hos itaque mortalium primos repertores fructus arborum statuit Sanchuniathon, secutus procul dubio narrationem Mosaicam de arbore vetita.' [Or.]

c 1 τὸν Αἰῶνα. Cumberland and Fourmont without any MS. read τὴν Αἰῶνα to agree with the theory that Eve is meant. 'Renan has shown that the words Αἰών and Πρωτόγονος in the Greek text correspond to . . . *Olâm*, in Phoenician *Ulom*, . . . and

Kadmôn' (Masp. l. c.). As Πρωτόγονος certainly means the first man, Adam, with allusion perhaps to the Adam Kadmon of the rabbis and early mystics, so Αἰών, which originally corresponded to eternity, must rightly or wrongly be meant for Eve (Renan, p. 18). *Orph. Hymn.* vi. 1

Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον
ᾠογενῆ . . .
. . . γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

Cf. *Hymn.* xiv. 2

Πότνα 'Ρέα, θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο.

c 2 Γένος καὶ Γενεάν. Cumberland understood these to be names of Cain and his wife. Renan says that they are undoubtedly translations of two Phoenician words derived from the root ילד, '*to beget.*' In the words τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὀρέγειν there may be a reference, as Orelli suggests, to Gen. vi. 26.

c 5 οὐρανοῦ κύριον Βεελσάμην, 'i. e. בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם *Dominus Caelorum.* Plautus in *Poenulo* A. v. Scen. ii. Punice scribit *Balsamen*' (Bochart, ap. Orelli). 'Baalsamîn is an Aramaic form of Baal-Samîn or Baalsamen' (Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 131, note 2, p. 175; Masp. ibid.).

c 7 Ἕλλησιν αἰτιᾶται. The dative is unusual.

c 8 τὰς αὖθις παρεκδοχάς. On αὖθις see 32 d 5. The meaning of παρεκδοχάς, 'misinterpretations,' is determined by the following ἐξεδέξαντο.

d 6 Φῶς καὶ Πῦρ καὶ Φλόξ. Such combinations of names, however puerile, are common in ancient genealogies. (Renan, p. 21.)

d 7 ἐκ παρατριβῆς ξύλων. An ingenious apparatus for striking a light by friction of a fire-stick is shown in Masp. i. 318. Cf. 556 c πυρείων εὑρέσεις.

d 10 τὸ Κάσσιον. The proper form Κάσιον, not found in any MS. of Eusebius here or at 60 d, is applied by Strabo both to the Egyptian Mons Casius (pp. 38, 758–96) and to the Syrian mountain (pp. 742, 750, 751), which is here meant. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 21 'Above Seleucia is Mount Casius, whose lofty summit beholds the sun rising through the clouds in the fourth watch, and by a slight turn of the body shows both day and night.' Cf. Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, p. 12.

τὸ Βραθύ. The word used here as the name of a mountain occurs in the versions of Symmachus and Theodotion, where the

Hebrew has בְּרוֹשׁ, meaning a 'cypress' or (R.V.) 'pine'; Isa. xxxvii. 24, xli. 19, lv. 13, lx. 13. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1272 n. 'I fear that the author of this Cosmology invented the whole thing as a joke. Because "libanus," *the frankincense tree*, and "casia," are sweet-scented shrubs, very like "herb sabin," which is called "brathy" (L. and Sc. Diosc. i. 104), he thought it would be a witty jest to add "Brathy" as a brother to Libanus, Antilibanus, and Casius.'

d 11 **Μημροῦμος**. A name otherwise unknown. Bochart, followed in part by Scaliger, adopts a different reading, ἐγεννήθη Σαμημροῦμος (cod. D) ὁ καὶ Ὑψουράνιος (codd. EO), but this is excluded by the plural verb ἐχρημάτιζον.

d 12 τῶν τότε γυναικῶν. Gen. vi. 1, 2. [Or.]

35 a 5 **Οὔσωον**. Cumberland refers this name to Uz (Gen. x. 23), whom Josephus (*Ant. J.* i. 6) calls Οὖσος, and makes him the founder of Damascus. The mention of the skins led Scaliger to think of Esau, and this view is confidently adopted by Renan (p. 22), and partly admitted by Movers and Ewald (Renan, p. 25, nn. 5, 6).

b 1 δύο στήλας πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι. Cf. 33 a. Julius Firmicus, *De errore profan. relig.* p. 9, ed. Ouzel 'Assyrii et pars Afrorum aerem ducatum habere elementorum volunt, et hunc imaginata figuratione venerantur' [Or.]. Hdt. iii. 16 'The Persians hold fire to be a god . . . but by the Egyptians fire is believed to be a live animal.' Compare Hdt. i. 131; Plut. *Sympos.* 703, and Rawlinson's Hdt., Essay V, i. 426.

b 3 ῥάβδους . . . ἀφιερῶσαι. See notes on 33 a 1.

b 6 Ἀγρέα καὶ Ἁλιέα. Scaliger supposes these to be the Greek translations of Phoenician words corresponding to צִיד, 'hunting,' and צִידוֹן, 'fishing.' 'The root signifies both hunting and fishing, and from it is derived the name Sidon' (Renan, p. 26).

ἁλιείας. On the various reading ἀλείας compare Lobeck, *Phryn.* 423 'ὑγεια, ἄλεια, ταμεῖον, ut nonnullis scribere placitum.'

The Egyptian methods of hunting and fishing are illustrated in Masp. i. 556–69.

c 2 θάτερον. 'Later and less correct writers use a nom. θάτερος even with the art. ὁ θάτερος . . . θατέραν, θατέρων, &c., Joseph. and Eccl.' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

Χρυσώρ. Bochart supposes the name to be derived from

חרש אש, 'a worker with fire,' Πυρίτης, Lucian, *Sacrif.* 6 [Or.]. 'The better form Χουσώρ corresponds to Ἁρμονία' (Renan, p. 27).

c 2 λόγους ἀσκῆσαι. 'The Phoenicians seem to have ascribed to their god Chrysor all the arts which the Greeks attributed to their three gods Hephaestus, Hermes, and Apollo' [Or.].

c 4 πρῶτον . . . πλεῦσαι. The same is said of Ousoüs 35 a 9.

c 6 Δία Μειλίχιον. Zeus was so called as the friendly protector of those who invoked him with propitiatory offerings (μειλίγματα). Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 107; *Choeph.* 15; *Pers.* 610; Thuc. i. 126; Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8. 4 Ἐμπόδιος γάρ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 130 ff.; Pausan. x. 897 νυκτεριναὶ δὲ αἱ θυσίαι Θεοῖς τοῖς Μειλιχίοις εἰσί.

d 2 Renan (p. 27) identifies Τεχνίτης with Cain or Tubal-cain, and Γήϊνος Αὐτόχθων with Adam, in the two senses אדם, 'earth' and 'man,' the Phoenician word being the same as the Hebrew.

d 3 φορυτόν. This, like ἄχυρον Ex. v. 12 (Sept.) καλάμην εἰς ἄχυρα, means short straw.

d 4 στέγας. Vitruv. ii. 1 'Non minus etiam Massiliae animadvertere possumus sine tegulis subacta cum paleis terra tecta' [Or.].

d 6 Ἀγρότης. Either a 'hunter' (ἄγρα), or a 'husbandman' (ἀγρός), as here. See below d 9 ἀγρόται καὶ κυνηγοί.

ναὸν ζυγοφορούμενον. Possibly an allusion to the Ark brought out of the land of the Philistines on a cart drawn by oxen.

d 7 θεῶν ὁ μέγιστος. Scaliger thinks that Philo confused the word meaning 'field' (Heb. שָׂדֶה) with שַׁדַּי, 'Almighty,' and Renan thinks this is strongly confirmed by the reference to the Ark (ζυγοφορούμενον).

d 10 Ἀλῆται. 'Wanderers,' applied to 'hunters' by Orelli, to the Planets by Wagner.

Τιτᾶνες. *Etym. M.* 760. 40 Τιτὰν παρὰ τὸ τιταίνω, οἱονεὶ οἱ τείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸ κόψαι τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς Κρόνου. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 207

> Τοὺς δὲ πατὴρ Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέεσκεν, . . .
> Φάσκε δὲ τιταίνοντας ἀτασθαλίῃ μέγα ῥέξαι
> Ἔργον.

Cf. *Orphica*, *Fr.* viii. 40.

d 11 'Je n'ose rien conjecturer sur Ἄμυνος et Μάγος' (Renan,

p. 28). Wagner makes Ἄμυνον represent the military class and Μάγον the priestly.

36 a 1 *Μισὼρ καὶ Συδύκ.* These names are seemingly akin to מִישׁוֹר, 'straight' (יָשָׁר), and צַדִּיק, 'just.' *εὔλυτος*, however, means 'agile' rather than 'straight.' Cf. 37 d *Συδύκῳ δὲ τῷ λεγομένῳ δικαίῳ.* Masp. ii. 167 'Some regarded Baal as the personification of Justice, Sydyk,' but this view is rejected by Masp. ii. 59, note 1, who denies the supposed connexion between *Συδύκ*, and Sûtkhû, 'the great Sît,' the brother and enemy of Osiris, with whom Baal was identified.

a 3 *Τάαυτος.* Cf. 31 d 10. The words Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θώθ in a 4 are omitted by AH, being probably an interpolation from the previous passage 32 a 2. 'Thoth, in Egyptian Ḏḥût. i, "belonging to the Ibis"' (Wiedemann, op. cit. p. 225).

Renan connects *Μισώρ* with Mesraim, *Τάαυτος* or Thoth being a purely Egyptian god borrowed by the Phoenicians.

a 5 *Διόσκουροι.* Castor and Pollux were by some writers confused, as here, with the Samothracian Cabeiri or Corybantes. Strab. vii. *Fr.* 51 *Τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τιμωμένους θεοὺς εἰρήκασι πολλοὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Καβείροις, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες λέγειν τοὺς Καβείρους οἵτινές εἰσι, καθάπερ τοὺς Κύρβαντας καὶ Κορύβαντας, ὡς δ' αὔτως Κουρῆτας καὶ Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους.* See Preller, *Gr. Myth.* Anhang, *Die Kabiren*, 695; Hermann, *Orphica*, *Hymn.* 37, 38.

Καβειροί. 'The name Cabiri was doubtless derived from the Semitic word *kabir*, "great," . . . The eight great gods of the Phoenicians, the offspring of one great father, Sydyk, "the just," were called Cabiri, of whom Esmoun was the youngest, or the eighth (as his name implies), the *shmoun*, "eight" of Coptic, and שְׁמֹנָה of Hebrew. This Esmoun was also called Asclepius.' G.W. note on Hdt. ii. 51.

Σαμοθρᾷκες. There is a long discussion concerning the Curetes, Corybantes, and Cabiri in Strab. x. 472 ff., who quotes Pherecydes as saying that they dwelt in Samothrace.

a 6 *πρῶτοι πλοῖον εὗρον.* Cf. 35 a 9, c 4. Thus Sanchuniathon mentions three first inventors of navigation.

a 8 *Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος.* Heb. עֶלְיוֹן, 'Most High.' Cf. Gen. xiv. 18, 22. But in b 6 *ὁ Ὕψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερώθη* we see that Adonis is meant.

a 9 *Βηρούθ.* Renan, following Scaliger, thinks that the

goddess Berouth was confounded with Βάαλ Βερείθ, Judges viii. 33, ix. 4, who was a male deity, 'Lord of the covenant, worshipped by the Shechemites,' and that the mistake arose from the fact that בְּרִית the latter part of the name is feminine.

b 1 Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων. Cf. 35 d 2 Γήϊνον Αὐτόχθονα.

b 2 Οὐρανόν. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 126

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μὲν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι.

On 60 c 5 Uranus is said to have been so-called because he was the first to honour the gods of heaven. Here he is said to have given his own name to the heaven.

b 6 ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων. This appears to be an allusion to the death of Adonis, whose name meaning 'Lord' may have led to his being here identified with ὁ Ὕψιστος. See notes on 36 a 8 and 37 a 6.

c 1 τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. Cf. 60 c 1.

πρὸς γάμον. In this 'bridal of the earth and sky,' Uranus is the generative power of heat and moisture by which the heaven promotes the fertility of the earth. See Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 43, and the fragment of Aesch. *Danaides* there quoted:

Ἐρᾷ μὲν ἁγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν.
ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον.

A similar fragment of Euripides (*Fr. Incert.* iv) is quoted by Athenaeus in the same place (xiii. 599). Renan (p. 32) observes that this mythical cosmogony is not originally Semitic but Aryan, bearing close analogy to Hesiod's *Theogony* (vv. 126–36), and that it was widely diffused in the East in the time of the Seleucidae; but to suppose that it 'represents the Phoenician religion of a very ancient date would be an error similar to that of regarding Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a picture of the religion of the ancient Latins' (p. 34).

c 2 In the long theogony which follows Renan (p. 31) recognizes first a Phoenician basis Ἦλος, El; c 3 Βαίτυλος, Bethel; Δαγών, Dagon, &c.

Ἦλον, i. e. אֵל, *Deus fortis.* 'Ita Κρόνον vocatum a Phoenicibus docent haec Damascii verba apud Photium cod. 242

Φοίνικες καὶ Σύριοι τὸν Κρόνον Ἦλ καὶ Βὴλ καὶ Βολάθην ἐπονομάζουσιν' (Bochart ap. Or. p. 26). In Ἶλον the reading of BIO there is the same confusion of vowels as in LXX of Gen. xli. 45, 50 Ἰλίου πόλις for Ἡλίου πόλις.

c 3 Δαγών, derived from דָּג, 'a fish.'

Σίτων. At Ashdod Dagon was worshipped as a god who protected the crops, especially from mice, and hence golden mice were dedicated to him, 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5 (Or.). Cf. 37 d 8 Ὁ δὲ Δαγών, ἐπειδὴ εὗρε σῖτον καὶ ἄροτρον, ἐκλήθη Ζεὺς Ἀρότριος.

Ἄτλαντα. In the preceding names we may recognize traces of a genuine Phoenician mythology, but those which follow must have been borrowed by Philo from the Grecian mythology of a later date.

c 4 In the use of the names Οὐρανός and Γῆ Voss finds a great difference between the Greek mythology and the Phoenician: in the former they represent no human beings, but parts of the natural world; in the latter they appear as mortals who, after their decease, were associated both in name and in worship with the said parts of nature (G. I. Voss, *De Idololatria*, i. 22. 63). [Or.]

d 3 Ἑρμῇ τῷ τρισμεγίστῳ. Preller, p. 419 'A much later figure is the so-called Hermes Trismegistos, who in the first centuries of the Christian era is still usually called only μέγας καὶ μέγας or μέγιστος.' Hermes, being identified with the Egyptian Thot, was regarded as the source of all knowledge, thought, and literature. Hence the name Hermes Trismegistos was assumed by several authors of works on philosophy and religion in the early centuries of Christianity. The chief work extant under this name is the 'Poëmandres,' probably written by some Neo-Platonist in the third or fourth century (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* ii. 414 b), or, as others think, by an author of the early part of the second century. The dates and character of the extant works are discussed by J. D. Chambers, F.S.A., in the Preface to an English translation of the 'Poëmandres' in the 'Ante-Nicene Library' of T. and T. Clark, which also contains the allusions to Hermes Trismegistos in the Christian Fathers.

d 6 ἐτελεύτα. The reading τελευτᾷ in H seems to be better in itself, but is not found in A or any other MS. Plat. *Phaed.* 57 A πῶς ἐτελεύτα is not quite parallel.

This early death of Persephone corresponds to her being carried off by Pluto, in Greek mythology.

d 8 *ἅρπην*. According to Hesiod, *Theog.* 175, it was from his mother Gé that Kronos received the sickle:

Γήθησεν δὲ μέγα φρεσὶ Γαῖα πελώρη,
εἷσε δέ μιν κρύψασα λόχῳ· ἐνέθηκε δὲ χερσὶ
ἅρπην καρχαρόδοντα.

Cf. Apollod. i. 1. 4. In the bronze statue at Florence of Kronos, so-called, the outstretched arm holding a sickle is a late addition, and the statue probably represents Ulysses. See Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 54 and *Nachtrage*, 865.

37 a 5 *Δημαροῦν*. Demarûs is mentioned below (38 a 5) as father of Melcathrus or Hercules. He is identified by Movers (*Phoeniz.* i. 661) with Tamyras (בעל־תמר). (Renan, p. 31 note.)

a 6 *Βύβλον*. Cf. Armitage Robinson, *The Apology of Aristides, Texts and Studies*, i. 45 'When Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, Isis fled with her son Horus to Byblos in Syria.' Note, p. 60 'We know from Lucian (*De Syr. Dea*, 6) that the great sanctuary at Byblos was a sanctuary of Aphrodite Βυβλίη.' Strab. xvi. 2. 755 ἡ μὲν οὖν Βύβλος, τὸ τοῦ Κινύρου βασίλειον, ἱερά ἐστι τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος. Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* xv. 357 A, tells how Isis found the chest containing the body of Osiris washed up at Byblus, and sat down beside a spring dejected and weeping. Byblus thus became the seat of worship both of Isis mourning over Osiris, and of Aphrodite weeping over Adonis, that is of Astarte over Tammuz. Osiris was in fact identified with Adonis, as Movers shows from Stephanus of Byzantium Ἀμαθοῦς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἄδωνις Ὄσιρις ἐτιμᾶτο ὃν Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦντο. (A. Robinson.)

a 7 *Ἄτλαντα*. This story about the death of Atlas differs entirely from the Greek legend.

b 4 *Ἐλωείμ*. These allies of El are identified by Renan with the 'sons of Elohim,' Gen. vi. 2.

b 6 *Σάδιδον*. 'The name שַׁדִּי among the Arabs means *a brave strong man*, and is akin to שַׁדַּי *Shaddai*' [Or.].

c 4 *Ἀστάρτην*. Cic. *de Nat. D.* iii. 23. 59 distinguishes four representations of Venus, the fourth described as 'Syria Cyproque concepta, quae Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum est.' Cf. d 3, 38 c 7, d 1.

Ῥέας. Cf. Aristid. *Apolog.* 36 and 41.

c 5 *Διώνης*. In Apollod. *Biblioth.* i. 1. 3 Dione is mentioned

with Rhea among the Titanides as daughters of Uranus and Gé: but Dione, who appears in Hesiod, *Theog.* 353, as one of the Oceanides, is omitted in his list of the Titanides, *Theog.* 135.

c 7 Εἱμαρμένην. The three Fates are here represented as one, and the three Horae, Eirene, Eunomia, and Diké, also as one. Vid. Apollod. i. 3. 1; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 901.

d 2 Βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους. Cf. Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, 'Bethel.' 'The name Bethel' (Sept. Βαιθήλ) 'passed into Greek and Latin as Βαιτύλιον and *baetylus*, the λίθοι λιπαροί, λίθοι ἔμψυχοι (prob. aerolites), which were worshipped as divine.' The worship of stones was very general, both in Phoenicia and in Phoenician colonies. 'We find everywhere, in the inmost recesses of the temples, at cross-roads, and in the open fields, blocks of stone hewn into pillars, isolated boulders or natural rocks, sometimes of meteoric origin, which are recognized by certain mysterious marks to be the house of the god, the Betyli or Beth-els in which he enclosed a part of his intelligence and vital force' (Masp. ii. 160). Cf. Wiedemann, p. 153.

The chief ancient authority on the subject is Damascius the Neo-Platonist (circ. A. D. 500–527), who quotes Isidore as saying (Dam. 94) that 'at Heliopolis (Baal-bec) in Syria Asclepiades ascended Mount Libanus, and saw many of the so-called Baetulia or Baetuli, of which he tells countless marvels worthy of an impious tongue.' Again a certain Eusebius is quoted (Dam. 203) as saying that 'he saw a ball of fire rush suddenly down from the sky, and standing by the ball a great lion, who immediately vanished; and he ran up to the ball when the fire went out and found that it was the Baetylus, and took it up, and asked to which of the gods it belonged, and the stone said "To Gennaeus," Gennaeus being worshipped by the people of Heliopolis, who set up an image of a lion in the temple of Zeus.' He adds a description of the shape, colour, and size of the stones, which, however, were not all alike, and were consecrated to different gods, Kronos, Zeus, Helios, and the rest. 'As to the *Betyli* and their history, cf. the very exhaustive article by Fr. Lenormant, *Lés Betyles*, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, ii. 31–53, and Ph. Berger, Note sur les pierres sacrées, extracted from the *Journal Asiatique*, 1877' (Masp. ibid.).

d 3 Τιτανίδες. These were usually represented as the daughters, not of Kronos and Astarte, but of Uranus and Gé, named by Hesiod, *Theog.* 135

Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε, Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε,
Φοίβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν. [Or.]

d 5 ἀφιερώθη, 'was deified' (cf. 38 b 3), not, as Orelli suggests, 'consecrated' as a priest, that he might not aspire to the kingdom of Kronos. On the forms ἀφιερόω and καθιερόω see Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 192, and Rutherford, *New Phryn.* p. 279.

d 6 Ἀστάρτης. On the identification of Astarte with Aphrodite see notes on 37 c 4 and 38 c 5. Cf. Lucian, *Dialog. Deorum*, xx. 15. 266, where Aphrodite encourages Paris to carry off Helen: 'Do not be afraid on that account; for I have two fair boys, Desire and Love, and I will lend you them to guide you on your way.'

d 9 Ἀσκληπιόν. This legend that the mother of Aesculapius was a Titanis may be connected with the worship of Aesculapius at Titane in Sicyon, where was a temple built by his grandson Alexanor son of Machaon: cf. Pausan. 136.

38 a 1 Βῆλος. The Greek form in the Septuagint (Jer. xxvii. [l] 2) of Bel or Baal, the supreme god of the Phoenicians and Canaanites. Cf. Hdt. i. 181 Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον.

a 2 Τυφών. See note on 37 a 6.

a 3 Βήλου δὲ παῖς. In the Greek legend Nereus is neither the father of Pontus nor the son of Belus, but the son of Pontus and Gé (Apollod. i. 2. 6). Cf Hesiod, *Theog.* 233

Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος.

Σιδών. The name means a *fishing place* (Masp. ii. 180).

a 4 Ποσειδῶν. In calling Poseidon a son of Pontus, Sanchuniathon is opposed to all Greek authors, who make him a son of Kronos and Rhea, and brother of Zeus.

a 5 Μέλκαθρος. Cf. Eus. *Orat. de Constant.* xiii. 5 'The Phoenicians deified Melcathrus, Usorus, and others, mere mortals.' Herodotus (ii. 44) visited the temple of Hercules at Tyre, and was told by the priests that it was of the same date as the city, 2300 years before his time. 'Cartha,' the 'city,' was first applied to Tyre, from which Hercules obtained the title of Melcarthus, or Melek-Kartha, 'Lord of the City,' corrupted into Melicertes or Melicartus, who, Sanchuniathon says, 'was Hercules,' and who in a Phoenician inscription at Malta is called Adonin Melcarth,

Baal Tzura, ארנן מלקרת בעל צרא, 'our Lord Melcarth, Baal of Tyre' (G. W., Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 32). Cf. Arrian, *de Exped. Alex.* ii. 30 'There is in Tyre a temple of Hercules most ancient of all within the memory of man, not the Argive Hercules, son of Alcmena; for Hercules has been worshipped in Tyre many generations before Cadmus came from Phoenicia.' On the Phoenician Hercules see Renan, p. 4, and 2 Macc. iv. 18–20.

b 1 λοχήσας. The story is told in Hesiod, *Theog.* 154–98, where the words *κρύψασα λόχῳ* and *ἐκ λοχεοῖο* confirm the reading λοχήσας. Athenag. xx *Κρόνος μὲν ὡς ἐξέτεμε τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρός.*

b 3 *ἀπηρτίσθη*. Lit. 'his breath was ended.' Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 448; Rutherford, *New Phryn.* p. 502, who quotes Hippocr. *de Morb.* 4. 11. 608 A *ἀπηρτισμένης τῆς περιόδου.*

c 1 Hesiod, *Opp.* 109

> *Χρύσεον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*
> *ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν.*

c 5 *ἡ μεγίστη*. 'Astarte the greatest' is the chief female divinity of the Phoenicians, the great Syrian goddess, 'worshipped first by the Assyrians as Venus Urania, and then at Paphos in Cyprus and at Ascalon in Palestine by the Phoenicians' (Pausan. i. 14. 6). As the goddess of the Moon (Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 4. 453) she is identified with Artemis, 'the great goddess Diana' of the Ephesians, and her cult is said to be found in all Phoenician colonies, in Sardinia, Malta, Spain, and Etruria. On this universality of her worship see especially Rawlinson, Hdt. bk. iii, Appendix, Essay i (G. W.). 'The Accadian language possesses no genders, and Istar accordingly, though denoting a female deity, has no feminine suffix in Assyrian. This was added by the Canaanites, among whom Istar became Ashtor-eth. On the Moabite Stone, however, Ashtar is used' (Smith, *Dict. Bib.*). See also Gen. xiv. 5; Judges ii. 13; Deut. i. 4; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 23. 59; Preller, *Gk. Myth.* p. 355.

Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν. 'Hadad was a Semite deity, who presided over the atmosphere, and whom we find later on ruling over the destines of Damascus' (Masp. ii. 16). 'Hadad and Rimmon are represented in Assyrio-Chaldean by one and the same ideogram, which may be read either Dadda-Hadad or Rammânu' (ibid. 156). 'Kingship over the other gods was attributed both to Rimmon and to Hadad' (ibid. n. 2).

c 7 *κεφαλὴν ταύρου.* Astarte, Milton's 'Queen of heaven, with crescent horns,' 'was even said by Sanchuniathon to have had a cow's head (like Athor, the Venus of Egypt), whence called Ashteroth-Karnaim or Astaroth-Kornim (*sic*), i.e. "of the horns,"' Gen. xiv. 5 (G. W. ibid.). Other titles by which Maspero speaks of Astarte are 'the warrior goddess Ishtar' (i. 538), 'the lady of life, the goddess with the beautiful voice' (i. 569), 'the mistress of life' (i. 570), 'an armed goddess, who throws the arrows of lightning made by her father Ana the heaven' (i. 570, note 4).

c 8 *ἀεροπετῆ ἀστέρα.* See the note on Βαιτύλια, 37 d 2.

d 4 *μονογενῆ.* The one son of Anobret; cf. 40 d 1. By Rhea Kronos had seven sons, 37 d 4.

ὁλοκαρποῖ. Cf. Aristid. *Apolog.* p. 41 'Before everything else the Greeks introduce as a god Kronos, which is interpreted Chiun; and the worshippers of this deity sacrifice to him their children; and some of them they burn alive.' Cf. 2 Kings iii. 27; Ps. cvi. 2; Jer. vii. 31; Ezek. xvi. 20, 21. Compare εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν in Gen. xxii. 2, 3, 7, 8, 13.

d 7 Μούθ. Heb. מָוֶת, constr. מוֹת, 'death.' Ps. xlix. 14. On Θάνατος as personified see Preller, *Gk. Myth.* p. 843.

d 9 Βααλτίδι. 'Baaltis sive, ut apud Hesych. Βῆλθις, quasi uxor Baalis' [Or.]. Among the ancient Sumerian divinities identified by the Semites with deities 'better known and represented under a less barbarous aspect Inlil is Bel, Ninursag is Beltis' (Masp. i. 637). 'The 12th of the month Elul was set apart at Babylon for the worship of Bel and Beltis' (ibid. 676). Cf. Rendel Harris, *Aristidis Apol.* p. 61.

Διώνῃ. In Greek mythology the name Dione, though common to several deities, was given most usually to one of the Titanides who was the mother of Aphrodite. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 1. 3; i. 2. 7. Sanchuniathon applies it to Aphrodite herself; cf. 37 c 5.

d 10 Βηρυτόν. Cf. 31 a 6.

39 a 1 Πόντου λείψανα. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 554; Apollod. i. 2. 6. Cumberland notices this as the earliest consecration of relics.

a 2 Tαυθός. Cf. 31 d 10.

τῶν συνόντων. The reading *τὸν οὐρανόν* of cod. A has been variously interpreted. Cf. Warburton, *Div. Leg.* iv. 4. 3 'We are told in that exquisite fragment of Sanchuniathon, preserved

by Eusebius, that "the God Taautus, having imitated Ouranus's art of picture-writing, drew the portraits of the gods Cronus, Dagon, and the rest, and delineated the sacred characters which formed the elements of this kind of writing."' Orelli thinks that 'Taautus had made an imitation of the celestial sphere before he painted the portraits of the gods.' With the right reading (*τῶν συνόντων*) the meaning seems to be that Thot made pictures to represent his fellow gods, and so formed 'the sacred characters of the letters,' in other words 'the hieroglyphics.' Thus the first kind of hieroglyphics was the iconographic or imitative, representing the object itself. See the engraving in Maspero, i. 221, of Thot recording the years of Rameses II, and compare G. W. in Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 307; Lenormant, *Essai sur la propag. de l'alph. phénicien*, i. 1–52; Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. der Alten Aegypten*, p. 446.

a 6 *μερῶν*. 'Post *μερῶν* tale quid excidisse videtur, *δύο μὲν* ...' (Gaisf.).

a 7 *πτερὰ τέσσαρα*. 'Hos quattuor Saturni alas Dupuis, *L'Origine de tous les cultes*, i. 529 note 1, comparat cum quattuor Cherubinorum alis' [Or.].

c 2 *ὄγδοος*. This reading of BIO is to be preferred to *ἴδιος* (AH): for at 36 a 5 the Cabiri are mentioned as sons of Sydyk, and here they are said to be seven in number, and Asclepius, another son of Sydyk and a Titanis, makes an eighth. Damascius says, Ὅτι ὁ ἐν Βηρυτῷ Ἀσκληπιὸς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἕλλην οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιος ἀλλά τις ἐπιχώριος Φοῖνιξ. Σαδύκῳ γὰρ ἐγένοντο παῖδες οὓς Διοσκούρους ἑρμηνεύουσι καὶ Καβείρους. Ὄγδοος δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἔσμουνος, ὃν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἑρμηνεύουσιν. Dam. *Vit. Isidori*, 302. Cf. G. W., Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 51.

c 3 *Θαβίων*. Cumberland and Wagner, reading *Θαβίωνος παῖς* with BO (cf. I), think this is Sanchuniathon himself; but as he is said (31 a) to have learned his theology from Hierombalus the priest of Ieuo, it is not likely that he himself, or his father, was a Hierophant.

c 4 *ἱεροφάντης*. '*τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνειν*, daher der Hierophant,' Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 796.

d 1 *Εἰσίριος*. I have not found this name elsewhere.

τῶν τριῶν γραμμάτων. To the sixteen letters of the Phoenician alphabet Cadmus is said to have added three, but which

these three were is uncertain. Orelli thinks they were the three Greek letters Z Θ Ξ.

d 2 Χνᾶ. By the Greeks the name Χνᾶ, *Ch'na*, was used for Phoenicia, i. e. the seaside plain north of the 'Tyrian ladder,' Smith, *Dict. Bib.* (2nd ed.) 'Canaan.' The root כנע means 'to bow down,' and the name Canaan means 'a low-lying plain.'

Φοίνικος. According to the Greek legend Phoenix was the father (Hom. *Il.* xiv. 321) or brother (Apollod. *Bibl.* iii. 1. 12) of Europa, and in search of her went to Phoenicia, where he settled and gave his own name to the country.

d 5 προκοσμήμασι. Cf. Diog. L. *Prooem.* 7 προκοσμήματά τε καὶ χρυσοφορίας ἀπαγορεύειν.

d 7 ἐποίκιλλον. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* ii. 378 C πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς καὶ ποικιλτέον.

d 8 γιγαντομαχίας. Hesiod, *Theog.* 185, says that the Earth (Gaea) received the drops of blood which fell from Uranus, and gave birth to the Erinnyes and Gigantes, but says nothing of a Gigantomachia. Homer, *Od.* vii. 59, describes the Giants as an arrogant and savage race of men; but, as the Scholiast observes, he knows nothing of the stories current in later authors, that they were monsters with legs like serpents, such as they paint them, nor that they inhabited Phlegra, nor that they fought with the gods. Cf. Pausan. viii. 29; Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 7. 17 'Serpentipedesque Gigantas'; *Metam.* i. 152 'Affectasse ferunt regnum caeleste Gigantas.' They were commonly confused with the Titans and Aloidae: Hom. *Od.* xi. 305 ff. The Titans were an elder race than the Gigantes, but of the same parents. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 4. 42

'Scimus ut impios
Titanas immanemque turmam
Fulmine sustulerit caduco.'

d 9 ἐξενίκησαν. Cf. Thuc. i. 21 τὰ πολλὰ ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα.

40 a 3 δυσεξίτητον. 'Hesychius explicat δυσκόλως ἐξοδευόμενα' (Heikel). Diod. Sic. iii. 44 σκολιὸν καὶ δυσέξιτον ἔχει τὸ στόμα.

a 7 δοκιμασθείσης δὲ ὡς ⟨ἀληθοῦς⟩. Viger's conjectural emendation for ἀληθῶς has been rightly adopted by Heinichen and Dindorf as necessary to the sense.

b 5 ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν. Cf. 2 d 6, note.

b 6 Σουρμουβηλός. 'Thoth, the civiliser of Phoenicia (31 d 11), is succeeded by Sourmoubelus, and Thuro or Chousarthis.' *Thuro* is without doubt the Hebrew word תּוֹרָה (*Torah*). On the other hand, *Surmubel* et *Chusarthis*, feminine of Chusor, are words peculiar to Phoenicia. '*Surmubel*, which hitherto has received no satisfactory explanation, is, I doubt not, שְׁמֻרֵי־בַעַל, *Observances* or *laws* of Baal. . . . The parallelism of the word *Torah* seems to me to leave no doubt of the truth of this explanation' (Renan).

c 1 Ἔθος ἦν κ.τ.λ. Cf. 38 d 4. The present passage is quoted again 156 d 3, where see notes.

c 5 Ἦλον. The Phoenician name for Κρόνος is found in various forms in the MSS. of Eusebius. 36 c 2 Ἦλον (AH), ἥλιον (D), Ἶλον (cet.); 38 a ἦλος (A), Ἶλος (IO); 40 c 6 ἦλ (A), Ἠλ (H), Ἰσραήλ (I). Thus the best attested forms are Ἦλος and Ἶλος, and either of these may have been meant to represent the Semitic name אֵל, as Valckenäer argues, *De Aristobulo*, 15. Cf. 36 c 2, note.

c 6 Κρόνου ἀστέρα. 'The locus classicus on this star is in the *Liber de Mensibus*, p. 25, of Johannes Lydus, ed. Schow: Τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ Χαλδαῖοι προσφωνοῦσι Φαίνοντι, οὕτω κατ' αὐτοὺς προσαγορευομένῳ ἀστέρι τῷ πάντων ἀνωτάτῳ, ψύχοντι ἄκρως καὶ προσεχῶς ξηραίνοντι. Κρόνον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἕλλησιν ἔθος καλεῖν' [Or.].

c 7 Ἀνωβρέτ. Bochart tried to identify her with Sarah, and her son with Isaac. Sanchuniathon's story is possibly a corruption of the history of Isaac. Renan derives it from עַיִן, 'a fountain,' and thinks that the spring had in the Greek translation become a nymph, 'Hebrew Fountain.' Cf. 156 d 9.

d 1 μονογενῆ. Kronos had seven sons by Rhea, but only this one by Anobret.

Ἰεδούδ. Heb. יְדִיד, 'beloved.' Cf. Jedidiah, 2 Sam. xii. 25.

d 5 ὁ δ' αὐτός. Porphyry according to Orelli: but the translator of Sanchuniathon was Philo not Porphyry.

d 9 δυσαλθῆ. Ps.-Plato, *Axioch.* 367 B Τὸ γῆρας, εἰς ὃ πᾶν συρρεῖ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπίκηρον καὶ δυσαλθές.

41 a 5 τῶν ἔκτοθεν. Theocr. *Id.* x. 9

τίς δὲ πόθος τῶν ἔκτοθεν ἐργάτᾳ ἀνδρί;

G. Dindorf, who reads ἔκτοσθεν here, had previously written on

Soph. *El.* 803 'ἔκτοσθεν apographa pleraque. Ἔκτοσθεν ubique inferunt librarii, ne metri quidem ratione habita, ut apud Aesch. *Sept.* 629, *Pers.* 871.' Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 49.

b 1 τὸ γῆρας. Cf. 112 d 7 τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος.

b 4 ἐν ἱεροῖς. On sacred serpents see Hdt. ii. 74 'These snakes, when they die, are buried in the temple of Jupiter, the god to whom they are sacred.'

b 5 ἐν μυστηρίοις συμπαρείληπται. Arnob. *Adv. Gentes*, v. 21 'Lastly the sacred rites themselves, which are called Sebadia, may be a witness to the truth: for in them a golden snake is let down into the bosom of the initiated, and drawn out again from the lower parts.' See 64 b 4, and note.

b 6 Ἐθωθιῶν. Ἐθώθων AH. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1340, suspects that ὀφίων is part of the true reading underlying this strange and otherwise unknown title. Viger derives it from the Hebrew עִתּוֹת, 'times,' i.e. 'Chronicles.' Orelli thinks ἐθωθιῶν may be a contraction or corruption of Ἐθῶν θείων, the title of a treatise on sacred rites. Renan (p. 43) makes ἐθωθία identical with אוֹתִיּוֹת, 'letters,' a word found in Chaldee and Syriac, the treatise being the same that is mentioned above *On the Phoenician letters*.

c 1 ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα. Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 603 ''Αγαθοδαίμων apud antiquos non occurrit, et Latine magis quam Graece dicitur.' 'The name (Agathodaemon) occurs in coins and inscriptions of the Roman Empire, the god himself being there represented as a serpent' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Aesculapius'). 'The usual symbol of Asclepius was the serpent, perhaps as an emblem of self-renovation' (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 525); cf. note on 41 b 1. The symbol of the serpent led to the opinion that Aesculapius was identical with the Egyptian serpent-god Cneph or Knuphi, and this name is said to signify in the Coptic language 'the good spirit,' like Agathodaemon (Jablonsky, *Panth. Aegypt.* i. 4; *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Cnuphis'). Cf. G. W., Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 289, Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 541, Pausan. 673, Athen. 693 de poculo Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος dicto: Ἔριφος, *Meliboea*, Ἐκπίῃ δέκ' ἂν πρὶν Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος πρῶτον λαβεῖν.

c 3 ἱέρακος κεφαλήν. 'It is the characteristic of all solar deities that they are hawk-headed, many being supposed, according to Egyptian belief, to become incarnate in hawks; when any

god is so represented, his solar nature may be confidently assumed' (Wiedemann, p. 26). There is a figure of the hawk-headed Horus in Masp. i. 100. Orelli quotes a line of Anticleides the Athenian, who wrote Περὶ Νόστων,

Ἥλιος δὲ Νότοιο ἄναξ, ἱέραξ πολύμορφε.

c 4 Ἐπήεις. Neither Epeis nor Areius is known except from this passage.

c 6 Ἡρακλεοπολίτης. There are two cities in Egypt called Heracleopolis, Magna and Parva. Heracleopolis Magna lies south-east of the Fayûm towards the Nile.

d 1 ἐν τῇ πρωτογόνῳ χώρᾳ. 'Coelo scilicet' [Or.].

d 3 διηγήσατε. The word is not included in the quotation, but must have occurred in the context.

d 5 Φερεκύδης. Pherecydes, son of Babys, of Syros or Syra, born B. C. 600 (Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*), flourished about Ol. 59, B.C. 544, was a hearer of Pittacus, and teacher of Pythagoras (Clem. Al. *Strom*. i. 351), was sometimes reckoned among the Seven Sages, and is said by Theopompus to have been the first who wrote for the Greeks on Nature and on the gods. His *Theologia*, or *Heptamychos*, is described, in a letter which professes to have been written by himself to Thales, as written in enigmas (ἅπαντα γὰρ αἰνίττομαι). Diogenes Laertius (i. 11) gives some marvellous tales about his prophetic powers, and several epigrams written upon him. Tatian (*Orat. ad Gr.* iii) ridicules the philosophy of Pherecydes, saying, 'I laugh also at the old wife's talk (γραολογίαν) of Pherecydes.' Cf. Clem. Al. 767 'It seems to me that those who profess to philosophize, do so that they may learn what is the winged oak, and the variegated robe on it, to all of which Pherecydes has given an allegorical and theological sense, having taken them from the prophecy of Cham.' This refers to a previous passage, 741 'Again Homer had said in the passage concerning the shield made by Hephaestus (*Il.* xviii. 483, 607)

ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν . . .
ἐν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο.

Whereupon Pherecydes of Syros says Ζὰς ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλόν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει γῆν καὶ Ὠγηνὸν καὶ τὰ Ὠγήνου δώματα.' These passages have given rise to much ingenious speculation on the philosophic doctrines supposed to be held by Pherecydes con-

cerning the cosmogony, a summary of which is given by Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 93 'When Zeus, in order that he might fashion the world, had changed himself into Eros (who, according to the ancient theory, must be the world-forming force), he made, we are told, a great robe, on which he embroidered the earth and Ogenos (Oceanos), and the chambers of Ogenos; he spread this robe over an oak upborne by wings (*ὑπόπτερος*), that is, he clothed the framework of earth floating in space with the varied surface of land and ocean. Ophioneus, with his hosts, representing probably the unregulated forces of nature, opposes this creation of the world, but the divine army under Cronos hurls them into the deep of the sea, and keeps possession of heaven . . . This is the essential result to be gathered from scattered fragments and traditions respecting the doctrine of Pherecydes. If we compare it with the Hesiodic cosmogony, it undoubtedly evinces progress of thought.' A curious and interesting light has recently (1897) been thrown upon these speculations concerning Pherecydes by a fragment of the third century discovered in Egypt by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and published by them in *New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri*, Oxford, 1897. It now appears that the great cloak or veil (*φᾶρος μέγα*), which was supposed to be the visible surface of the earth, meant nothing more than an embroidered veil given by Zeus to Hera at the *ἱερὸς γάμος*. 'By extraordinary good fortune this small fragment included one of the known quotations from Pherecydes, which was recognized by Mr. Leaf, and the identity of the author thus established. It adds something to our knowledge of early Greek prose, and (as usual) subverts the theories which had been based on the extant fragments.' Cf. Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report*, 1896–7, p. 59, and an interesting article by M. Henri Weil in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, x. 37, Jan.—Mars, 1897.

d 6 Ὀφίονος θεοῦ. Ophion was one of the Titans. Cf. Ap. Rh. i. 503

> *Ἤειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε*
> *Ὠκεανὶς νιφόεντος ἔχον κράτος Οὐλύμποιο·*
> *Ὥς τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶν ὁ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἴκαθε τιμῆς*
> *Ἡ δὲ Ῥέῃ, ἔπεσον δ' ἐν κύμασιν ὠκεανοῖο.*

Origen (*c. Cels.* vi. 42) refers to Pherecydes as describing a mythical battle between Cronos and Ophioneus, and adds (ibid.

43) that this Ophioneus is derived from the serpent (ὄφις) in Gen. iii.

αὖθις λέξομεν. This promise seems to have been forgotten.

d 9 ἱερακόμορφον. Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* iii. 219 κυνοπροσώπους καὶ ἱερακομόρφους . . . νομιζόντων τοὺς θεούς.

42 a 1 συνεκτικὸν τούτου. Sc. τοῦ κύκλου.

a 2 Zoroaster, the founder of the Magian religion at an uncertain but very early date, is said to be first mentioned by Plato, *Alcib.* i. 122 A, where he is called the son of Oromazus (Ormuzd). The Scholiast on the passage gives the following account of him: 'Zoroaster is said to have been 6000 years older than Plato. Some say that he was a Greek, others a son of those who came from the continent beyond the great sea, and that he learned all wisdom from the Agathodaemon, that is, from successful thought. His name translated into the Greek language means Star-worshipper (Ἀστροθύτης). He preferred a life of retirement from the multitude, abstained from animal food, and left behind him various writings, from which it is shown that in his system there are three parts of philosophy, Physical, Economical, Political.' Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xlvi. 369 D; Arnob. *Adv. Gentes,* i. 52; Mansel, *Gnostic Heres.* p. 25; Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* i. 485, with Mosheim's notes. Cudworth (p. 488) quotes our present passage to prove that Zoroaster believed in one supreme God, but omits the important words ὁ δὲ Θεός ἐστι κεφαλὴν ἱέρακος ἔχων. On the supposed connexion of Zoroaster with Pythagoras and Heracleitus see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 328, 528, and ii. 115. Cf. 184 b 5, note.

b 1 Ὀστάνης. '*Haustanes* is a name which appears under many forms. It is probably identical with the *Osthanes* of Pliny, the *Ostanes* of Tatian, the *Hystanes* of Herodotus, and even the *Histanes* of Arrian' (Rawlinson, Hdt. v. 26). Cf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 2; Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* xvii; Diog. L. *Prooem.* 2. 202 b; Cyprian, *De Idol. Vanit.* iv; Routh, *Opuscula,* i. 172. Arethae Schol. in Tatian, l. c. Ὀστάναι οἱ μάγοι παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐκαλοῦντο.

b 5 τὰ διὰ τῶν ὄφεων. On the Egyptian worship of serpents see Masp. i. 121; Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 74, 171; with the notes of G. W.

b 10 ἧς. AH pro ἦν. The genitive after the simple verb

φεύγειν is extremely rare, but not without examples. Hom. *Od.* i. 18 πεφυγμένος ἦεν ἀέθλων; Soph. *Philoct.* 1044 τῆς νόσου πεφευγέναι; Eur. *Med.* 1300 τῶνδε φεύξεσθαι δόμων; Pausan. iv. 22. 2 ὑπὸ δειλίας φυγεῖν τότε ἤδη Ἀριστοκράτην τῆς μάχης. Cf. Bernhardy, *Gk. Synt.* 53.

ἀμεταστρεπτί. Plat. *Laws* ix. 854 C. Cf. 43 a, 162 d.

c 5 λογογράφων. Müller, *Literature of Greece*, p. 265 'The first Greek to whom it occurred that fiction was not necessary for this purpose (to amuse and interest), and that a narrative of true facts might be made intensely interesting was Herodotus the Homer of history.' His predecessors were called λογογράφοι, 'prose writers,' of whom Thucydides (i. 21) says λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον.

c 6 τό τε πιστὸν τῶν λόγων. When Eusebius appeals to customs still existing in his time, his testimony must not be disregarded in estimating the veracity of Philo's account of the Phoenician theology.

M. Renan in concluding his treatise expresses a hope (p. 92 n.) that excavations at the spots where the Phoenician worship was longest maintained, as at Byblos, may produce a stele or a plaque like that on which the *Periplus* of Hanno was written at Carthage.

BOOK II

43 d 1 The first part of this Preface is a mere repetition of the last paragraph of Book I, where see the notes.

44 b 2 τροπολογίας. Clem. Al. *Eclog. Proph.* 998 P μὴ κεκαττυμένα σοφιστικῇ τροπολογίᾳ.

c 8 Μανεθῶς. Manetho ('given by Thoth') of Sebennytus flourished in the reigns of the Ptolemies, Soter and Philadelphus. His history is 'shrouded in a mist of legend,' and many spurious works were ascribed to him. 'The genuine works of Manetho were (1) his *Holy Book* (Ἱερὰ Βίβλος), which discussed the religion of Isis, Osiris, Apis, Sarapis, and other deities, and was probably the basis of Plutarch's well-known treatise, our most valuable authority on the subject; (2) his *Sketch of Natural History* (Φυσικῶν Ἐπιτομή, or Φυσιολογικά), which seems to have explained

the elementary origin of the Egyptian religion, as it stated, among other things, the identity of Osiris and Isis with the Sun and the Moon'; and several other books relating to Egypt (Donaldson, *History of Lit. of Ancient Greece*, i. 327). Manetho is mentioned again by Eusebius, 88 a, 155 d, 415 d, 500 c. See also Routh, *Rell. S.* ii. 246–63; Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Report*, July, 1896, p. 256; and Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (Birch, i. 12–27), passages referring to Manetho's lists of the Egyptian Dynasties. Manetho is charged with inaccuracy in chronology and with slandering the Israelites as lepers by Theophilus, *ad Autol.* iii. 21.

d 1 On Diodorus see 18 d 8 and notes there.

1] **45 a** 2 πρώτους ἀνθρώπους. On the ancient belief in the antiquity of the Egyptians, compare Hdt. ii. 2 'The Egyptians, before the reign of their king Psammetichus, believed themselves to be the most ancient of mankind'; ibid. ii. 15 'I think they have always existed, ever since the human race began.' Masp. i. 45 'The bulk of the Egyptian population presents the characteristics of those white races which have been found from all antiquity on the Mediterranean slope of the Libyan continent; this population is of African origin, and came to Egypt from the West or South-West.'

b 3 τοὺς δὲ θεούς. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 4, asserts 'the impossibility of deciding as to which was the oldest form of the Egyptian religion, and of demonstrating whether this was monotheistic—as on general grounds it has often been assumed—or whether, as others assert, it was based upon pantheism, polytheism, ancestor worship, worship of animal and vegetable life and their reproductive powers, belief in the divine power of the sun, or other religious ideas. All these forms of belief are to be found more or less clearly represented in Egyptian religion, but it cannot be proved historically which are the earlier and which the later.' Herodotus was assured by the Egyptian priests that for more than 11,000 years 'no god had ever appeared in a human form' (ii. 142), but that in still earlier times 'Egypt had gods for its rulers, who dwelt upon the earth with men, one being always supreme above the rest. The last of these was Horus, the son of Osiris, called by the Greeks Apollo' (ii. 144). Cf. Hdt. ii. 43,

Rawlinson, note 1. Compare Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 360 A, who vehemently attacks Euemerus for reducing the deities to mortal men. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 19; Cudworth, *Int. Syst.*, i. 535 ff., with Mosheim's notes. The statement in Gardiner Wilkinson (Birch, i. 11), and Birch's note, that 'no Egyptian deity was ever supposed to have lived on earth,' is incorrect. He regards 'the story of Osiris's rule in the world as purely allegorical, and intimately connected with the most profound and curious mystery of their religion.' Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 382 E; G. W. (Birch, iii. 65).

b 6 ὁμωνύμους. Hdt. ii. 50 'Almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt.'

b 7 Ἥλιον. The Egyptian deities most nearly corresponding to the Greek were the following: Helios = Re, or Phrah; Kronos = Seb; Rhea = Netpe; Zeus = Amun, Cneph; Hera = Saté; Hephaestus = Pthah; Vesta = Anouké; Hermes = Thoth. See Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 288 f. But there is great confusion in the supposed identifications. 'Manetho gives them in this order: 1. Vulcan = Ptah; 2. Helios = Re, the Sun; 3. Agathodaemon = Hor-Hat, or possibly Noum; 4. Kronos = Seb; 5. Osiris; 6. Typhon, properly Seth; and 7. Horus. In the (Turin) papyrus there remain only Seb, Osiris, Seth, Horus, Thoth, Thmei (or Mei, "Truth"), and apparently Horus (the Younger), who was "the last god who reigned in Egypt"' (G. W., Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 4).

c 7 Ὄσιριν. Hdt. ii. 42 'The Egyptians do not all worship the same gods, excepting Isis and Osiris, the latter of whom, they say, is the Grecian Bacchus'; ibid. 171, note 3 'the sufferings and death of Osiris were the great mystery of the Egyptian religion; and some traces of it are perceptible among other people of antiquity' (G. W.).

d 2 Τυφῶνα. 'As Osiris signified "good," Typhon (or rather Seth) was "evil"; and the remarkable notion of good and evil being brothers is abundantly illustrated in the early sculptures' (G. W. ibid.).

d 3 Ἶσιν τὴν Δήμητραν. Hdt. ii. 59 'Next in importance is the assembly which is held at Busiris, a city situated in the very middle of the Delta; it is in honour of Isis, who is called in the Greek tongue Demeter.' Isis, like Demeter, represented the earth,

the fruitful mother of all things. On the form Δήμητραν see Cobet, *Var. Lect.* xvi 'Δημήτρα dicebant Graeculi pro Δημήτηρ, unde tam saepe foeda barbaries τῆς Δημήτρας τὴν Δημήτραν (Δήμητραν) insinuat sese in Antiquorum libros.'

d 6 ἑκατόμπυλον, Hom. *Il.* ix. 381

> Θήβας
> Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
> αἵ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστας
> ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

'The name of Thebes is almost always written in the plural by the Greeks and Romans—Θῆβαι, Thebae—but Pliny writes, "Thebe portarum centum nobilis fama." The Egyptian name of Thebes was Ap, or Ápé, the "head" or "capital." This, with the feminine article, became Tápé, and in the Memphitic dialect Thapé, pronounced, as by the Copts, Thaba, whence Θῆβαι in Ionic Greek' (G. W. Hdt. ii. 3).

d 10 ψιλῷ χρήσασθαι. Aristot. *Polit.* i. 9. 2 εἶτα περὶ γεωργίας, καὶ ταύτης ἤδη ψιλῆς τε καὶ πεφυτευμένης. The reading οἴνῳ is well suited to its context in Diodorus, but is not supported by MSS. in Eusebius. The use of ψιλός without a substantive is uncommon.

46 a 2 κεχορηγημένον. Both the word and the whole form of the sentence seem to be borrowed from Polybius (a favourite author of Eusebius); cf. *Hist.* iv. 77. 9 πολλαῖς ἀφορμαῖς ἐκφύσεως κεχορηγημένος πρὸς πραγμάτων κατάκτησιν.

a 6 ἑρμηνείαν, 'interpretation.' Hermes was the messenger and interpreter between gods and men. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xliv 'Anubis appears to have the same office with the Egyptians that Hermes has with the Greeks, being both infernal and celestial, Some however think that Anubis signifies *Time*, wherefore as he brings forth all things *out* of himself, and conceives all things *within* himself, he gets the title of *Dog*.' Cf. Masp. i. 113 'Anubis the jackal, lord of sepulture'; i. 134, the child of Osiris and Nephthys; i. 178, who invented the art of mummifying, and so secured the everlasting existence of the flesh; i. 250, who dwelt in the 'Divine Palace' of Osiris, and acted as usher of the dead. Representations of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis will be found in Masp. i. 131–5.

b 1 Βούσιριν. Busiris is not properly the name of a god, but of a city (*Abousir*) near Memphis, and of another in lower Egypt

(*Busyr* or *Abousir*), which was regarded as the birth-place of Osiris. See *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.*; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 359 C.

b 7 Πανὸς πόλιν. Panopolis was the Greek name for Chemmis, Pan being identified with Chem, whose symbol was the goat. Hdt. ii. 46 'Pan is represented in Egypt by the painters and sculptors, just as he is in Greece, with the face and legs of a goat.' Masp. i. 73 'Apû was the Panopolis or Chemmis of the Greeks, the town of the god Min, or ithyphallic Khimû.' 'The Greeks considered Pan to be both Mendes and Khem; they called Chemmis in Upper Egypt Panopolis, and gave the capital of the Mendesian nome to Pan, who was said by Herodotus (ii. 46) to have been figured with the head and legs of a goat. Unfortunately no monuments remain at *Ashmoun* to give the name and form of the god of Mendes: but it is certain that he was not Khem, the "Pan of Thebes" (Πὰν Θηβῶν), who had the attributes of Priapus, and was one of the great gods' (G. W., Hdt. ii. 42 note).

Ταφόσιριν, 'Tomb of Osiris,' Strab. 799. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 359 C 'Eudoxus states that though there are many so-called Tombs (of Osiris) in Egypt, yet the true monument was erected at Busiris, for *that* was the birth-place of Osiris; for the name "Taphosiris" requires no explanation, since the name itself means "Tomb of Osiris."' Cf. 358 A 'There are many places called "Tombs of Osiris," because Isis, whenever she came upon a fragment of the body, there celebrated a funeral. Some deny this, but say that she made images and gave them to the several cities.' Wiedemann, p. 215 'The burial of Osiris is the subject of long texts, and the lament which Isis and her sister Nephthys are supposed to have chanted at his coffin, and which represents him sometimes as a Sun-god pure and simple, is preserved in several examples, varying in detail only. The annual festivals in commemoration of his death, which were held in the month Khoiak, and which set forth his burial and resurrection, are described minutely in a long text in the temple of Denderah, and at the same time there is given an enumeration of the different places containing the "graves of Osiris." Other texts amplify this list, and state also what portion of the god's body was preserved as a sacred relic in each of the sanctuaries named.

The story of Osiris is told at some length by Aristid. *Apolog.* xii; Athenag. *Apolog.* xxii; Hippol. v. 7; Clem. Al. 43 P.

d 1 Τριπτολέμῳ. Triptolemus, usually called by the Greeks the son of Celeus, was the favourite of Demeter, and inventor of the plough,

'Uncique puer monstrator aratri'

(Verg. *Georg.* i. 19), and the hero of the Eleusinian Mysteries. But Tibullus (*Eleg.* i. 7. 29) transfers the attributes of Triptolemus to Osiris:

'Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum;
Primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae,
Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.'

47 a 7 Τοὺς δὲ ταύρους. On Apis and Mnevis, see more in 49 a 7; 50 b 4; 61 b, c; 117 d; 433 b. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 353 A 'They are said also to give the Apis drink out of a well of his own, but to keep him away from the Nile,' because the water of the Nile was too fattening. 359 B 'Apis is the "Image of the Soul" of Osiris.'

c 8 τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀργιασμούς. Hdt. ii. 49 'I therefore maintain that Melampus, who was a wise man, and had acquired the art of divination, having become acquainted with the worship of Bacchus through knowledge acquired from Egypt, introduced it into Greece, with a few slight changes.'

d 3 Θήβαις ταῖς Βοιωτικαῖς. Hdt. *ibid.* 'My belief is that Melampus got his knowledge of them from Cadmus the Tyrian, and the followers whom he brought from Phoenicia into the country which is now called Boeotia.' See Rawlinson's note.

d 5 τῶν Διονυσιακῶν. Hdt. ii. 81 'In these customs they resemble the rites called Orphic and Bacchic, but which are in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean.' Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 244.

48 a 5 εἰς Δία. Hom. *Hymn. ad Dionys.* 56

Εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, ὃν τέκε μήτηρ
Καδμηὶς Σεμέλη Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

b 3 γενέσθαι. ἐγγενέσθαι A, Heikel. I have not ventured to reject γενέσθαι, which is the reading in Diodorus (except in one MS. C, mentioned by Heikel), and is found in all MSS. of Eusebius (except A) including H the copy of A. The preceding syllable -ον might lead to the change in A.

b 5 Ἡρακλέα. Hdt. ii. 43 'Of the other Hercules, with whom the Greeks are familiar, I could hear nothing in any part of Egypt. That the Greeks however (those I mean who gave the son of

Amphitryon that name) took the name from the Egyptians, and not the Egyptians from the Greeks, is, I think, clearly proved, among other arguments, by the fact that both the parents of Hercules, Amphitryon as well as Alcmena, were of Egyptian origin.' Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 3 τό γε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τὸ ἐν Τύρῳ, οὐ τούτου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τὸν Ἕλληνες ἀείδουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγὼ λέγω, πολλὸν ἀρχαιότερος, καὶ Τύριος ἥρως ἐστίν.

c 2 Ἰῶ. On Isis as identified with Io, daughter of Inachus, cf. Lucian. *Dial. Deor.* iii (208); Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 686

'Medio noctis spatio sub imagine somni
Inachis ante torum, pompa comitata suorum,
Aut stetit aut visa est. Inerant lunaria fronti
Cornua cum spicis nitido flaventibus auro
Et regale decus; cum qua latrator Anubis,
Sanctaque Bubastis, variusque coloribus Apis,
Quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet;
Sistraque erant, numquamque satis quaesitus Osiris.'

c 4 Δήμητραν. Hdt. ii. 59 Ἶσις δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ.

Θεσμοφόρον. Hdt. ii. 171 says that the Greeks received the Thesmophoria from Egypt.

c 5 Ἆπιν. Σάραπιν EO Diod. 'In the Greek times there were forty-two of these Osirian temples, and the Greeks called them Serapeums, borrowing the name from the Serapeum at Memphis, without regard to the distinction between the tomb of a dead bull which had become an Osiris and the sepulchre of the god-man Osiris himself.' Wiedemann, 217.

d 1 τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον. The invention of *The medicine of immortality* is here ascribed to Isis by Diodorus more than a century before this phrase was applied to the Eucharistic Bread by Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* xx ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅ ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.

d 5 Ὧρον. On the various forms and relations of Horus see Masp. i. 86, 88, 100–36; Wiedemann, 27 ff.

d 11 γαμεῖν ἀδελφάς. 'Diodorus supposes that the custom—the marriage of brother and sister—was owing to and sanctioned by that of Isis and Osiris; but this was purely an allegorical fable, and these ideal personages never lived on earth' (G. W.,

Birch, i. 319). Ibid. 'The same occurs in the Greek mythology. Jupiter and Juno were brother and sister (Verg. *Aen.* i. 47; Hor. *Od.* iii. 3. 64; Hom. *Il.* xvi. 432).'

49 a 1 ἀδελφῷ. Cf. 116 b; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 373 B.

a 3 ἀφιερωμένων ζώων. Strab. 812. The Egyptian worship of animals is mentioned by most of the early Christian Apologists: see Aristid. *Apolog.* 12; Just. M. *Apolog.* i. 24; Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos*, ix, and the classical authors quoted on Juven. *Sat.* xv. 1–9 by Professor Mayor. Cf. G. W. (Birch, ii. 468).

Lotze, *Microcosmus*, ii. 454 'One of the errors that seem to us most strange is the paying of divine honours to animals, and yet there is an intelligible cause for it in dawning religious feeling. . . . When man has once begun to contrast himself and his fellows and all his human interests with the world and that strange power residing in it which constitute the first object of his confused reverence, he can find nothing in which this power appears more expressively than in the activity of the animal kingdom, which in all its manifestations impresses us the more on account of its voicelessness and our inability to understand the extraordinary instincts which it displays.'

a 5 Diod. Sic. i. 68, much abridged by Eusebius. Cf. G. W. (Birch, iii. 250).

a 7 According to Manetho (Masp. i. 238) the bulls, Apis in Memphis and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were appointed to be gods in the reign of the second king of the second Dynasty, Kaiekhôs (Masp. i. 786). On the Mendesian goat see Hdt. ii. 46. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 72 'The notion that the gods changed themselves into these animals out of fear of Typhon, as it were hiding themselves in the bodies of ibises, dogs, and hawks, exceeds in absurdity every kind of jugglery and fabulous tale.' Cf. Masp. ibid. 175. Ovid, *Metam.* v. 321

'Emissumque ima de sede Typhoëa terrae
Caelitibus fecisse metum, cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugae, donec fessos Aegyptia tellus
Ceperit et septem discretus in ostia Nilus.
Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typhoëa narrat,
Et se mentitis superos celasse figuris:
Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Iuppiter; unde recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon:

Delius in corvo, proles Semeleïa capro,
Fele soror Phoebi, nivea Saturnia vacca,
Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius ibidis alis.'

Cf. Milton, *Par. L.* i. 476.

b 4 γνώρισμα τῆς ἀρχῆς. Cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 514

ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων
αἰετὸν ὄρνιν ἕστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασιλεὺς ὤν,
ἡ δ' αὖ θυγάτηρ γλαῦχ', ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὥσπερ θεράπων ἱέρακα.

c 4 Ἄνουβιν. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 698

'Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis.'

The line was imitated by Propertius, *El.* iv (iii). 10 (11). 41

'Ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim.'

Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 690 'latrator Anubis'; Juven. *Sat.* xv. 8 'oppida tota Canem venerantur.'

d 2 ἰχνεύμονα. Hdt. ii. 67. The ichneumon (*viverra*) a kind of weasel still common in Egypt, 'is now called "Pharaoh's cat," probably from the reverence it formerly received in Egypt. This was from its hostility to cats; and above all for its antipathy to serpents, which it certainly has a remarkable facility for destroying' (G. W.). See also G. W. (Birch, iii. 279). Cf. Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* ix. 6. 5 'The ichneumon in Egypt, when it sees the serpent which is called the asp, before attacking it calls others to its assistance; and to guard against wounds and bites, they plaster themselves over with mud; for they first wet themselves in the water, and so roll on the ground.'

d 3 κροκοδείλων ᾠά. 'Aelian and other ancient writers have overloaded the truth with so many idle tales, that the feats of the ichneumon appear altogether fabulous: the destruction of the crocodile's eggs having been converted into a direct attack upon the crocodile itself, and a cuirass of mud against a snake having been thought necessary to account for what is really done by its extreme quickness' (G. W. note on Hdt. ii. 67).

d 6 ἶβιν. Hdt. ii. 76 'The ibis is a bird of a deep black colour, with legs like a crane; its beak is strongly hooked, and its size is about that of the landrail. This is a description of the black ibis, which contends with the serpents.' Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* ix. 27) says that only the black ibis is found in

Pelusium, and only the white in the rest of Egypt. Juven. *Sat.* xv. 2

'Crocodilon adorat;
Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.'

d 7 ἀκρίδας. Locusts are not mentioned by this name in Herodotus. See the note by G. W. on ii. 75. The ἀττέλαβος (Hdt. iv. 172) was a kind of locust described by Aristot. *Hist. An.* v. 29.

d 8 κεράστας. The bite of the horned snake (*vipera cerastes*) is deadly (G. W. on Hdt. ii. 74 'they are of small size, and have two horns growing out of the top of the head').

d 9 συμβάλλεσθαι ταῖς μαντείαις. The hawk was sacred to Apollo, the chief god of divination. Aristoph. *Av.* 516.

d 10 τράγον. Hdt. ii. 46 καλέεται δὲ ὅ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. Cf. ii. 42.

50 b 4 Ἆπιν. See above 47 a 7 and 51 c 1.

b 6 Τοὺς δὲ λύκους. 'Herodotus is quite correct in saying (ii. 67) that wolves in Egypt were scarcely larger than foxes. . . . The wolf is an animal of Upper and Lower Egypt. Its Egyptian name is Ouônshi' (G. W.).

c 1 τῆς Ἴσιδος. The legend of Isis, Osiris, Horus, and Typhon is discussed at large by Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 371 A–374 B.

c 5 Λυκόπολιν. Strab. 813 Λύκων πόλις: 812 λύκον τε τιμῶσι Λυκοπολῖται. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 380 B 'Even at the present day the people of Lycopolis are the only Egyptians that eat the sheep, because the wolf, whom they worship, does the same.' Lycopolis was in the Thebaid on the western bank of the Nile; mummies of wolves are found there in chambers excavated in the rocks. There is another Lycopolis in the Delta. *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.*

c 6 On the crocodile, see Hdt. ii. 68–70.

d 1 βασιλέων. Diodorus adds the name τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Μηνᾶν. On Menes, or Menas, see Hdt. ii. 4, 99.

d 2 τὴν λίμνην. Diod. τὴν Μοίριδος καλουμένην λίμνην.

d 6 ἐπινοῆσαι. Scholium in marg. A. 'τοὺς βασιλέας δηλονότι.'

51 a 1 ἐν ἱεραῖς θήκαις. Cf. Hdt. ii. 67 'The dogs they bury in the cities to which they belong in sacred burial-places (θήκαις).'

a 5 ξυρῶνται. Hdt. ii. 66 'If a cat dies in a private house by a natural death, all the inmates of the house shave their eyebrows; on the death of a dog they shave the head and the whole body.'

b 3 Μένδητι. Cf. Hdt. ii. 42. The city Mendes is now called *Ashmoun*, on the canal leading to Ménzaleh. G.W.

Μύριδος. The MSS. of Eusebius agree in substituting this form for the right name Μοίριδος. Hdt. ii. 148, speaks of 'Lake Moeris (τῆς Μοίριος) in the neighbourhood of the place called the city of Crocodiles.' It appears that there was both a natural lake (*Birket el Korn*) and also an artificial lake, described by Hdt. ii. 149, the site of which, discovered by M. Linant, is now part of the cultivated plain of the Fayoum. See G. W. note on the passage. On Lake Moeris see Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayoum Towns*, pp. 1 ff. Strab. 811 Ἀρσινόη· κροκοδείλων δὲ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον. Strabo saw the crocodiles fed by the priests, some of them holding the mouth open, and others putting in cake, and roast meat, and a kind of mead or metheglin (μελίκρατον).

c 1 Ἆπις. Hdt. iii. 28 'Now this Apis or Epaphus is the calf of a cow which is never afterwards able to bear young. The Egyptians say that fire comes down from heaven upon the cow, which thereupon conceives Apis. The calf which is so called, has the following marks:—He is black with a square spot of white upon his forehead, and on his back the figure of an eagle; the hairs in his tail are double, and there is a beetle upon his tongue.' Compare the description of Apis quoted from Porphyry below, 117 d, and Strab. 807.

ταφῇ. 'The burial-place of the Apis has been discovered by M. Mariette close to the pyramids of Aboaseer near Memphis. It is an arched gallery 2,000 feet in length, and about 20 feet in height and breadth, on each side of which is a series of chambers or recesses, every one containing an immense granite or basalt sarcophagus, 15 feet by 8, in which the body of the sacred bull was deposited' (G. W. note on Hdt. ii. 29). Cf. Hdt. ii. 38, 153; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 362 C; Strab. 807.

c 7 Ὀσίριδος ψυχήν. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 359 B 'In Memphis is kept the Apis, the image of the soul of Osiris, where also his body is said to lie.' Strab. 807; G. W. (Birch, iii. 86); Wiedemann, 240–3.

52 a 1 The clause Ἀλλὰ γὰρ λεκτέον καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων is not found in the oldest MSS. AH, and seems to be superfluous after the similar statement in 51 d 10.

b 3 τὰς βιβλιοθήκας. 'Bibliotheca' is the title of the work of Diodorus.

b 8 χρονογραφιῶν. Eusebius himself was the author of the well-known *Chronica* founded on the earlier work of Africanus.

b 9 κατὰ καιρόν. The age of Moses is discussed in Book x, 483 b.

c 1 πρότερον. Scilicet ὄντα. Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 682. 3.

2] **52 d** 1–**54 d** 4 corresponds to Diod. Sic. iv. 2–7, but the quotation is not free from alterations both of constructions and words; cf. Heikel, p. 57.

d 1 Κάδμον. Rendel Harris (Aristid. *Apolog.* ii. note) 'The Armenian has "Kadmus the Sidonian and Dionysus the Theban." Cf. Hdt. ii. 49 παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης.' Eur. *Bacch.* 171; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 571.

53 a 1 τελευτῆσαι. According to Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 25, Semele after death was carried up to Olympus and lived among the gods,

ζώει μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις ἀποθανοῖσα βρόμῳ
κεραυνοῦ τανυέθειρα Σεμέλα, φιλεῖ δέ μιν Παλλὰς αἰεὶ
καὶ Ζεὺς πατὴρ μάλα, φιλεῖ δὲ παῖς ὁ κισσοφόρος.

Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 260 ff.

a 3 Νύσῃ. From Nysa in Boeotia, where Dionysus was said to have been born, the name was transmitted to several places where the vine was specially cultivated. One Nysa is mentioned as lying between Phoenicia and the Nile in Hom. fragm. *Hymn. ad Dionys.* l. 8

ἔστι δέ τις Νύσῃ, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλῃ,
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων.

a 7 ζῦθον. Diodorus mentions in an earlier passage (i. 20) that 'the Egyptians prepare a drink from barley not much inferior to the fragrance of wine, and call it *zythus*.' Athenaeus, *Deipnosoph.* x. 418 'Hecataeus says that the Egyptians . . . grind down barley to make a drink'; ibid. 447 'But, as Aristotle says in his treatise on drunkenness, those who have drunk barley wine which they call πῖνον fall on their backs'; ibid. 'Barley wine is also called by some βρῦτον.' A drink made from barley is also mentioned by Hdt. ii. 77, by Xen. *Anab.* iv. 5. 26, and by Tacit. *Germ.* 23.

b 3 τριετηρικάς. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 134 τριετηρίδων αἷς χαίρει Διόνυσος. At Athens in later times there were four Dionysiac festivals in each year. *Philolog. Mus.* ii. 272 *On the Attic Dionysia.*

b 9 Σαβάζιον. Sabazius, or Sabos, was a deity worshipped in Phrygia (Strab. x. 470) and Thrace (Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 9), where he was identified with Dionysus. In the *Orphic Hymn*, xlviii. 1

Κλῦθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱὲ Σαβάζιε,

he is identified with Zeus. Demosthenes (*De Corona*, 313) represents Aeschines as marching at the head of a rout of Bacchanals and shouting Εὐοῖ Σαβοῖ. Plutarch (*Mor.* 671 F) says that many still call Bacchus 'Sabbos,' and also tries to connect the name with Sabbath, and so with the God of the Jews. Cicero (*De Legibus*, ii. 15), referring to a lost play of Aristophanes, writes 'Novos vero deos, et in his colendis nocturnas pervigilationes sic Aristophanes, facetissimus poeta veteris Comoediae, vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius et quidam alii Dei peregrini iudicati e civitate eliciantur.' Lucian (533, 783) classes together Pan, Attis, Corybas, and Sabazius as foreign deities of doubtful character. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 23, makes Sabazius a son of Cabirus, and king of Asia. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 9, *Aves* 875, *Lysistr.* 388.

d 2 ψυχαγωγεῖν. (1) to bring back souls from Hades, as Orpheus did, or to conduct to Hades, as Hermes; (2) to charm the soul. Xen. *Memor.* iii. 10. 6 ψυχαγωγεῖ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

d 3 πρὸς ἀρετήν. Silenus was commonly represented as a drunken Satyr, 'Inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho' (Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 15). But he also appears as the philosopher who sings of the creation of the world (ibid. 31), or moralizes to Midas on the theme that it is best for man never to have been born, and next best to die as soon as possible. Cf. Eur. *Cresph. Fr.* xiii., Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 48. See Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 729, on the Sileni.

d 5 Διμήτορα. The two mothers were Semele and Persephone (53 c 1). Cf. *Orphic Hymn*, xlix. 1 ἐπιλήνιε Βάκχε διμήτωρ.

d 10 Βάκχιον. Dionysus was called 'Bacchus' as the 'riotous' god.

54 a 1 Ληναῖον. At Athens the Lenaea were held in the month Gamelion late in the year, when few strangers were present. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 504

αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν οὑπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών.

a 4 τραγῳδίαις. Müller, *Lit. of Ancient Greece*, xxi. 5; Hor. *A. P.* 220, 231.

b 4 Ἶσιν. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 358 B 'Isis instead of it made a

model and consecrated it, namely the phallus, in honour whereof the Egyptians hold a festival.' Compare 47 a.

c 2 Ἑρμαφρόδιτον. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 288 seqq.

'Mercurio puerum diva Cythereide natum
Naides Idaeis enutrivere sub antris;
Cuius erat facies, in qua materque paterque
Cognosci possent; nomen quoque traxit ab illis.'

d 3 μυεῖν. A different derivation is given in Plat. *Cratyl.* 406 A τὰς δὲ Μούσας τε καὶ ὅλως τὴν μουσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μῶσθαι. 'Etym. Mag. v. Μοῦσα. Μοῦσα—Μῶσά τίς ἐστι· μῶ γὰρ καὶ μῶμαι τὸ ζητῶ . . . Aliter Diodor. Sic. iv. 7, ubi vide Wesseling' (Heind).

d 6 Περσέα. See the beautiful fragment of Simonides on Danaë and Perseus Ὅτε λάρνακι (δ') ἐν δαιδαλέᾳ, and Hor. *Od.* iii. 16.

d 8 Ἡρακλέα. Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 1–56.

55 a 1 τὰς ὠδῖνας. The story of the birth of Eurystheus is told in Hom. *Il.* xix. 95 ff.

a 2 προσαγορεύσαντος . . . βασιλεῦσαι. For this use of the aorist infinitive, where the future might be expected, compare Thuc. iii. 46, iv. 28, 52 κακώσειν καὶ . . . χειρώσασθαι, and Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 753.

b 5 τοὺς δράκοντας. The story is told by Pindar (*Nem.* i. 44 δισσαῖσι δοιοὺς αὐχένων μάρψαις ἀφύκτοις χερσὶν ἑαῖς ὄφιας), and more fully by Theocritus, *Idyll* xxiv.

c 2 τοὺς ἰδίους παῖδας. Cf. Eur. *Herc. F.* 969

φαρέτραν δ' εὐτρεπῆ σκευάζεται
καὶ τόξ' ἑαυτοῦ παισί, τοὺς Εὐρυσθέως
δοκῶν φονεύειν.

c 6 Χείρωνα. According to another story Cheiron dropped one of the arrows of Hercules on his own foot. Ovid, *Fast.* v. 397

'Dumque senex tractat squalentia tela venenis,
Excidit et laevo fixa sagitta pede est.
Ingemuit Chiron, traxitque e corpore ferrum.'

Compare Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 1.

c 8 τῇ Φορωνέως. This Argive Niobe was distinct from Niobe the daughter of Tantalus. Cf. Apollod. ii. 1. 1, 3 Νιόβης δὲ καὶ Διός, ᾗ πρώτῃ γυναικὶ θνητῇ ἐμίγη Ζεύς, παῖς Ἄργος ἐγένετο . . . καὶ Πελασγός.

d 3–**d** 7 Diodorus has abridged this passage from Apollod. ii. 6. 1. 2, who states that Iole was offered by her father Eurytus as a prize to any one who could defeat him and his sons in archery; but when defeated by Heracles Eurytus refused to give him his daughter, lest he should again go mad and kill her children.

d 6 χρησμόν. In Apollod. ii. 6. 2. 3 the story is told at large.

d 9 Ὀμφάλης. Soph. *Trach.* 248 ff.

τὸν μὲν πλεῖστον ἐν Λυδοῖς χρόνον
κατεῖχεθ' ὥς φησ' αὐτός, οὐκ ἐλεύθερος,
ἀλλ' ἐμποληθείς. τοῦ λόγου δ' οὐ χρὴ φθόνον,
γύναι, προσεῖναι, Ζεὺς ὅτου πράκτωρ φανῇ.
[κεῖνος δὲ πραθεὶς Ὀμφάλῃ τῇ βαρβάρῳ
ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξέπλησεν, ὡς αὐτὸς λέγει.]

56 a 2 παῖδας, cod. A., Λάμον Diod. Cf. Dionys. i. 28 Τυρρηνόν, Apollod. ii. 7. 8. 8 ἐξ Ὀμφάλης δὲ Ἀγέλαος, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Κροίσου γένος.

a 6 τετελευτηκότος ἤδη. On the death of Meleager, the brother of Deianeira, see Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 445 ff. Bacchylides (*Od.* v. 76–175) gives a long description of the meeting between Hercules and the shade of Meleager, who assents to his wish to marry Deianeira (170):

Τὸν δὲ μενεπτολέμου
ψυχὰ προσέφα Μελεάγρου·
Λίπον χλωραύχενα
ἐν δώμασι Δαϊάνειραν
νῆιν ἔτι χρυσέας
Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου.

a 9 Τληπόλεμον. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 653

'Valiant and tall the son of Hercules
Tlepolemus nine vessels brought from Rhodes:
. . . .
These all renown'd Tlepolemus obeyed,
Who to the might of Hercules was born
Of fair Astyoche; his captive she.' (Derby.)

Cf. Apollod. ii. 7. 6. 1.

b 1 κονδύλῳ. ὃ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ γρόνθον φαμέν. Schol. in marg. A.

b 2 Νέσσον. On the story of Nessus see Bacchylides, *Od.* xvi. 24 ff., the main subject of the poem being the last sacrifice and death of Hercules. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 555–77; Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 103 ff.; Apollod. ii. 7. 7. 7.

b 8 φίλτρον. Ovid, *Heroid.* ix. 161

'Nessus, ut est avidum percussus harundine pectus,
Hic, dixit, vires sanguis amoris habet.'

c 6 Ἀντίοχον. Apollod. ii. 8. 3. 2 Ἱππότης ὁ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τυχὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.

c 8 Κτήσιππον. Apollod. ii. 7. 8. 10 Ἀστυδαμείας τῆς Ἀμύντορος Κτήσιππος.

d 5 Θεσπιάδων. Apollodorus (ii. 7. 8. 1–7) gives names to the fifty daughters of Thespias and their sons.

d 6 Ἰόλην. Apollod. ii. 7. 7. 6. The death of Hercules is the subject of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, and the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides.

57 a 4 Κορωνίδος. Apollod. iii. 10. 3. 6 τινὲς δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν οὐκ ἐξ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. The story of Coronis is told at length by Pind. *Pyth.* iii. See also Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 542–34; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 514 ff.

b 1 Κύκλωπας. Apollod. iii. 10. 4. 1; Athenag. *Leg.* § 104, (Schwartz, p. 25), ἀλλὰ καὶ θητεύουσιν ἀνθρώποις

Ὦ δώματ' Ἀδμήτεια κ.τ.λ. (Eur. *Alcest.* 1.)

καὶ βουκολοῦσιν

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν τήνδ' ἐβουφόρβουν ξένῳ
καὶ τόνδ' ἔσωζον οἶκον. (ibid. 8.)

οὐκοῦν κρείττων Ἄδμητος τοῦ θεοῦ.

c 1 Οὐρανόν. Apollod. i. 1. 1. 1 Οὐρανὸς πρῶτος τοῦ παντὸς ἐδυνάστευσε κόσμου, γήμας δὲ Γῆν ἐτέκνωσε πρώτους τοὺς ἑκατόγχειρας κ.τ.λ. Cf. Athenag. xviii b.

c 4 Τιταίας. The name in Diodorus is corrupted in the MSS. of Eusebius into Τεταία or Τετέα. Titaea itself is thought to be a name of Gé, invented to explain the origin of the Titans, at a time when they began to be confused with the giant sons of Earth. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 45.

c 6 Ῥέαν. Rhea is called Pandora, as being identified with the earth the source of all gifts. The usual story of Pandora (Hesiod, *Theog.* 570 ff.) is referred to below 780 d.

d 2 Ὑπερίονι. According to Hesiod, *Theog.* 371, the wife of Hyperion was called Theia.

d 5 Ἠριδανόν. The sun setting in the west would seem to sink into the river Eridanus, the Po. But Hdt. iii. 115 says 'I do not allow that there is any river, to which the barbarians give the name of Eridanus, emptying itself into the northern sea, whence (as the tale goes) amber is procured.' Rawlinson thinks that Herodotus is here over-cautious, and rejects as fable what we can see to be truth. 'The amber district upon the northern sea is the coast of the Baltic about the gulf of Dantzig.... The very name, Eridanus, lingers there in the Rhodaune, the small stream which washes the west side of the town of Dantzig.... The word Eridanus (= Rhodanus) seems to have been applied by the early inhabitants of Europe especially to great and strong-running rivers.' The Rhodaune joins the Vistula at Dantzig.

d 10 περιπέτειαν. Aristot. *Poet.* xi. 1 Ἔστι δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν ἡ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολή.

58 a 1 Φρύγες. For an account of the Phrygian worship of Cybele see Strab. 469, who quotes from Pindar, Euripides, and Sophocles. Cf. Arnob. v. 5.

a 4 αὐλούς. Two flutes were usually fastened together, *tibiae pares* or *tibiae impares.* Athen. *Deipn.* iv. 184 Μητρόδωρος δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Τρωικοῖς σύριγγα μέν φησιν εὑρεῖν Μαρσύαν καὶ αὐλὸν ἐν Κελαιναῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἑνὶ καλάμῳ συριζόντων. Ibid. xiv. 616 ff. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐλῶν . . . τὸν Μελανιππίδην καλῶς ἐν τῷ Μαρσύᾳ.

a 6 Ἄττιδι. The story of Atys is told in various forms, as in the celebrated poem of Catullus, in Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes,* v. 5, in Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 223 ff.; Pausan. 573; Aristid. *Apolog.* (Syriac Version) xi with note by Rendel Harris; Tatian, *Ad Graecos,* 8; Hippol. *Haeres. Refut.* v. 2; Theocr. xx. 40; Tertull. *Ad Natt.* i. 10, *Apolog.* xv. See Preller, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 645 ff.

b 2 Μαρσύαν. Hdt. vii. 26 'Here too (at Celaenae) in the market-place is hung up to view the skin of the Silenus Marsyas, which Apollo, as the Phrygian story goes, stripped off and placed there.' Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 8; Livy, xxxviii. 13.

c 2 Πισινοῦντι. Strab. 567 'Pessinus is the greatest mart in these parts, and has a temple of the Mother of the gods, which is regarded with great veneration.... The Romans made the temple illustrious, by sending to fetch hence the statue of the goddess

according to the oracles of the Sibyl.' The story is told fully by Livy, xxix. 10.

d 4 Μαῖαν. Apollod. iii. 10. 2. 1 Μαῖα μὲν οὖν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Διὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Κυλλήνης Ἑρμῆν τίκτει. Bacchyl. xix. 25 ff. οὐδὲ Μαίας | υἱὸς δύνατ' οὔτε κατ' εὐ|φεγγέας ἁμέρας λαθεῖν νιν | οὔτε νύκτας ⟨ἁγνάς⟩.

d 5 ἀσεβείᾳ. This reading of AH and Diodorus is to be preferred to ἀσελγείᾳ, which Gaisford adopts from the later MSS.

d 10 Κουρῆτας. On the Curetes see Strab. 472.

59 a 1 τάφον. The Idaean cave was said to be both the birthplace and the grave of Zeus. Callimach. *in Iov.* 8

> 'Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται·' καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
> Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.

Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 21; Lucian, *Philopatr.* 10; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 133, 135.

The recent (1901) excavations of *The Cretan Exploration Fund* seem to show that the Cretans were not 'always liars.' *Report*, p. 3 'Mr. Hogarth . . . successfully explored the great cave of Zeus on Mount Dicta, discovering remains of a prehistoric sanctuary, and large deposits of votive bronze figures and other objects, among which the double axe, the symbol of the Cretan and Carian Zeus, was specially conspicuous.'

b 7 Τούτοις . . . συγχρῆσθαι. These words are added by Eusebius to his abbreviated extract from Diodorus: but a similar statement precedes the account of the Atlanteans in Diod. iii. 56 διὰ τὸ μὴ πολὺ διαλλάττειν αὐτὰ τῶν μυθολογουμένων παρ' Ἕλλησιν.

b 9 Euemerus, a Cyrenaic who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, is mentioned by Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 360 A: 'Euemerus the Messenian by making copies himself of his false and unfounded mythology, disseminated all kinds of atheism over the world, reducing all deities alike to the names of generals, admirals, and kings pretended to have flourished in old times, and to have been described in letters of gold set up at Panchon, which said inscriptions no foreigner nor Greek, save Euemerus alone, as it seems, had met with, when he made his voyage to the Panchoans and Triphyllans, people that never were, nor are, in any part of the globe.' The full description of Panchaea by Euemerus is in Diod. Sic. *Biblioth.* v. 42. Cf. Strab. 104, quoted on d 8.

d 3 ἱερὰν ἀναγραφήν. The name given by Euemerus to his work which he professed to have based upon inscriptions found in his voyage to Panchaea.

d 8 Κασσάνδρου vel Κασάνδρου. Vid. Schweigh. *Polyb.* xxiii. 13. 3; 14. 1, 5; *Athenae.* i. 31 (18). This statement of Euemerus is twice mentioned by Strabo as a well-known instance of the incredible nature of travellers' tales. Strab. 104 'Polybius says it would be much better to believe the Messenian than this man (Pytheas): the former says that he sailed to one country Panchaea, but the other that he surveyed the whole of the Northern portion of Europe even to the ends of the world; and no one would believe even Hermes if he said this; but that Eratosthenes calls Euemerus a Bergaean, yet believes Pytheas.' Berga was the birthplace of Antiphanes whose marvellous tales gave rise to the word βεργαΐζειν. Cf. Strab. 299; Ovid, *Metam.* x. 308

'Sit dives amomo,
Cinnamaque costumque suam sudataque ligno
Tura ferat, floresque alios Panchaia tellus.'

Ib. 478

'Palmiferos Arabas Panchaeaque rura reliquit.'

60 b 3 ἀναγεγράφαμεν. See Diod. v. 42 ff.

c 5 Πᾶνα. For this Vogel would substitute Τιτᾶνα.

61 b 2 'Pro ἐχούσης fortasse scribendum est ἐχούσας (Viger), ut correxit secunda manus in A: *utrum divinae theologias signum aliquod deo dignum complectentes ferant, . . .*' (Heikel). The correction in cod. A, made by inserting εἰς before θείας and changing ἐχούσης into ἐχούσας, was a mere conjecture, and quite unnecessary. H retains the original reading.

3] c 4 βαράθρων στόματα. Strab. 419 'They say that the oracle is a deep hollow cave not very wide at the mouth, and that from it rises a vapour which produces inspiration, and over it is set a high tripod, on which the Pythia mounts and inhales the vapour.' This oracular seat of the priestess is 'the Cirrhaean tripod' mentioned immediately below, Cirrha being the port of Delphi.

d 2 Δωδωναῖον. Dodona appears to have been situated on the borders of Thesprotia and Molossis, and Strab. 318 says 'Dodona was in old times under the Thesprotians, and so was

mount Tomarus or Tmarus (for it is called both ways) under which lies the temple. And the tragic poets and Pindar have called Dodona Thesprotian; but afterwards it was under the Molossians.' The 'Thesprotian cauldron' is therefore probably the same as the 'urn of Dodona'; and in distinguishing the places Clement seems to have fallen into the common confusion between the Thesprotian Dodona, the seat of the famous oracle, and another Dodona in Thessaly referred to in Homer, *Il.* ii. 750; see *Dict. of G. and R. Geogr.* 'Dodona.'

χαλκεῖον. Strab. 329. *Epit. Fr.* 3 'The proverb, τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ χαλκίον, was named from this. There was in the temple a brazen urn having above it a statue holding a brazen scourge, an offering of the Corcyraeans. And the scourge had three thongs of chainwork, with knuckle-bones fitted to it, which striking the brazen urn continually, whenever they were swayed by the winds, made loud noises, until one who measured the time from the beginning to the end of the noise reached as much as four hundred. Hence also the proverb—"The Corcyraeans' scourge."'

γεράνδρυον. (γεραιὰν δρῦν): cf. Plut. *Mor.* 796 τὰ βάσκανα γεράνδρυα: the name refers to the story of the doves in the oak of Dodona (Strab. vii. 329 2). Hdt. ii. 55 'The story told by the priestesses who deliver the oracles at Dodona is as follows:—Two black doves flew away from Egyptian Thebes, and one of them came to Libya, the other to them: she settled upon an oak (φηγόν), and sitting there began to speak with a human voice, and told them that there must be an oracle of Zeus on that spot. They understood the announcement made to them to be divine, and thereupon they built the shrine. The dove which went to Libya bade the Libyans to establish an oracle of Ammon: this also is an oracle of Zeus.' The tree at Dodona is called, as here, φηγόν in a fragment of Hesiod preserved by Strab. vii. 327 Δωδώνην φηγόν τε, Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον, ἧκεν. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 171

ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν αὐδῆσαί ποτε
Δωδῶνι δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη.

In other passages the tree is called δρῦς. Hom. *Od.* xiv. 327

Τὸν δ' ἐς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὄφρα θεοῖο
ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσαι,

Aesch. *Prom. V.* 829

> ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα,
> τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
> μαντεῖα θῶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός,
> τέρας τ' ἄπιστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες.

Soph. *Trach.* 1168

> πολυγλώσσου δρυός.

Plat. *Phaedr.* 275 B ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δωδωναίου ἱερῷ δρυὸς λόγους ἔφασαν μαντικοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι. The use of the two names is explained by the fact that the φηγός is not the same tree as the Latin 'fagus,' 'a beech,' but one of the four or five kinds of oak (δρῦς) mentioned by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iii. 8. 2, as bearing a sweet acorn (*quercus aescula*).

ψάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετιμημένον. Schol. Clem. Al. λέγει τὸ ἐν Ἄμμωνι μαντεῖον. Dr. J. B. Mayor (*Notulae Crit. in Clem. Al. Protrepticum*) suggests τετηρημένον, which may mean either 'guarded,' or 'inclosed,' 'imprisoned.' With τετιμημένον, the reading of all the MSS., ψάμμοις must be taken as the dative of place, a construction which is usually limited to poetry or proper names. 'ἐν Ψάμμοις scribendum videtur' (Heikel). The reading τετιμημένον finds some support in the language of Strab. 813 τὸ ἐν Ἄμμωνι σχεδόν τι ἐκλέλειπται χρηστήριον, πρότερον δὲ ἐτετίμητο. This oracle was situated in the most northerly of the Oases, now called El-Siwah, in the Libyan desert. It is first mentioned by Herodotus (i. 46; ii. 32, 42, 55; iii. 25, 26; iv. 181), who records the expedition sent by Cambyses which perished in the desert, and the embassage of Croesus to consult the oracle. It was also visited by Lysander, by Alexander, Hannibal, and the younger Cato. In modern times a few Europeans have visited El-Siwah at the risk of their lives: of these the most recent and most successful was Arthur Silva White, author of the work *From Sphinx to Oracle*, 1899, which contains the best account of the state of the ruined temple of Ammon. There is an engraving of the ruined gate of the temple in Masp. *The Passing of the Empires*, p. xi; see also pp. 552, 664.

d 4 Κασταλίας πηγή. The sacred fountain of Delphi, in which those who came to consult the oracle were required to purify themselves. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 163

> μεμάντευμαι δ' ἐπὶ Κασταλίᾳ.

Eurip. *Ion* 94

'Ἀλλ', ὦ Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες,
τὰς Κασταλίας ἀργυροειδεῖς
βαίνετε δίνας, καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις
ἀφυδρανάμενοι στείχετε ναούς.

Phoen. 222

Ἔτι δὲ Κασταλίας ὕδωρ
ἐπιμένει με κόμας ἐμὰς
δεῦσαι, παρθένιον χλιδάν,
Φοιβείαισι λατρείαις.

Bacchyl. *Od.* iii. 19

Τόθι μέγιστον ἄλσος
Φοίβου παρὰ Κασταλίας ῥεέθροις
Δελφοὶ διέπουσι.

d 5 Κολοφῶνος. Cf. Strab. 642 Ἡ Κολοφὼν πόλις Ἰωνικὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλσος τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖόν ἐστι παλαιόν. The Hales or Ales, which flows by Colophon into the Aegean Sea, was famous for the coldness of its waters.

d 9 τὸν Κλάριον. The oracles of Apollo at Claros, near Colophon, and at Pytho or Delphi are mentioned together by Ovid, *Metam.* i. 515

'Mihi Delphica tellus
Et Claros et Tenedos Pataraeaque regia servit.
Iuppiter est genitor; per me quod eritque fuitque
Estque, patet.'

Διδυμέα. On the oracle of Apollo Didymeus in Branchidae, and the offerings sent to the shrine by Croesus and others, see Strab. 634; Hdt. i. 46, 92, 157; ii. 159; v. 36; vi. 19. The last passage narrates the plundering and burning of the oracle and temple by the Persians. 'The columns yet entire are so exquisitely fine, the marble mass so vast and noble, that it is impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin' (Chandler, quoted by Rawlinson, Hdt. i. 157).

Ἀμφιάρεω. Strab. 399 'Somewhere here' (near Oropus) 'is the once celebrated oracle of Amphiaraus, where, as Sophocles says' (*Fr.* 781),

'The Theban soil
Cleft open to receive the fugitive
Full arm'd, and in his four-horse chariot borne.'

Cf. Pind. *Ol.* vi. 21

'The prophet chief of yore,
When snatch'd from Thebes' accursed fight,
With steeds and car and armour bright
Down, down he sank to earthy night' (Heber).

Nem. ix. 24 ff.; Hdt. viii. 134; Cic. *De Divinat.* i. 40; Pausan. i. 34. 2.

τὸν Ἀπόλλω. 'Perhaps a marginal gloss' (Viger): 'Out of place; should come before τὸν Κλάριον' (Heinichen, J. B. Mayor). The Scholiast on Clement writes: τοῦ ἐν Μιλήτῳ Ἀπόλλωνος· οὗτος γὰρ ἀπὸ (τοῦ) τόπου Κολοφῶνος (Κολοφώνιος?) ἐκαλεῖτο. He seems therefore to have read τὸν Κολοφώνιον. But see 469 d 5, where the same names occur in the same order, only without the name Apollo, or anything between Ἀμφιάρεως and Ἀμφίλοχος.

d 10 Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus, went as one of the seers to Troy, and on his return in company with Mopsus founded the town of Mallos in Cilicia. The two seers afterwards fought a single combat in which both were slain. Cf. Pausan. i. 34. 2 'Amphilochus has also an altar at Athens in the Acropolis, and at Mallos in Cilicia an oracle the most truthful of those in my time.'

τερατοσκόπους. '*ostentorum interpretes*,' Cicero (*De Divinat.* i. 42), where he gives a long list of prodigies supposed to reveal the will of the gods. Deut. xviii. 11 (Sept.) ἐγγαστρίμυθος καὶ τερατοσκόπος.

62 a 1 ἀνιέρους. The reading in I, Clement, ἀνιέρου, means either 'hold sacred,' spoken in sarcasm, or 'devote' by a curse. See L. and Sc. *Lex.*

a 2 ἀλευρομάντεις. Cf. 219 c 7 τὰ κριθομαντεῖα καὶ ἀλευρομαντεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 815, quotes from Eusebius (*Comment. in Isaiam*, xlv) ἐγγαστρίμυθοί τε καὶ ἀλφιτομάντεις.

a 3 ἐγγαστριμύθους. Heb. אוֹב, Lev. xix. 31; 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 7, &c. Cf. Hesych. Ἐνστερνομαντίαις· ἐγγαστριμύθοις. Soph. *Fr.* 52. Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 414 E 'It is silly and very childish to suppose that the god, like the ventriloquist spirits formerly called "Eurycles," now "Pythons," enters into the bodies of the prophets, and makes proclamation, employing their mouths and voices in the way of instruments.'

a 4 Τυρρηνῶν. Strab. 813 'Though I have said so much about Ammon, I wish to mention that divination was held more in honour by the ancients, both divination in general and the oracles, but now great neglect of them prevails, the Romans being satisfied with the oracles of the Sibyl, and the Etruscan prophecies by entrails and omens, by birds and signs from the sky. For this reason also the oracle at Ammon has been almost abandoned.' On the various modes of divination practised in Etruria, 'the parent and mother of superstition' (Arnob. vii. 26), see *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* i. 866. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 579

'Placuit Tuscos de more vetusto
Acciri vates.'

The story of Tages, the mythical founder of the Etruscan art of divination, is told by Cicero, *De Divin.* ii. 23, and by Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 553–9.

νεκυομαντεῖαι. Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* i. 16 'Tantumque valuit error, qui mihi quidem iam sublatus videtur, ut, corpora cremata cum scirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent, quae sine corporibus nec fieri possent nec intellegi. Animos enim per se ipsos viventes non poterant mente complecti; formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. Inde Homeri tota *νεκυία*; inde ea quae meus amicus Appius *νεκρομαντεῖα* faciebat; inde in vicinia nostra Averni lacus,

Unde animae excitantur obscura umbra, aperto ex ostio
Altae Acheruntis, falso sanguine, mortuorum imagines.'

Cf. Hom. *Od.* xi; Lucian, *Menippus seu Necyomanteia.*

b 1 *σοφιστήρια . . . κυβευτήρια.* On the meaning of verbal nouns in *-τήριον* see Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 130. The clause *καὶ πλάνης ἀκράτου κυβευτήρια* is wanting in most of the MSS. of Clement. Cf. Plut. *Sympos.* 621 B *νῦν δὲ σχολὴν σοφιστοῦ γενομένην, αὖθις δὲ κυβευτήριον.*

b 2 *αἶγες.* The Scholiast on Clement gives the following explanation, 'Caranus, son of Poeanthes, being about to lead a colony from Argos to Macedonia, came to Delphi and received an oracular answer from Apollo:

"Noble Caranus, ponder well my word,
And store it in thy mind. When thou hast left
Argos, and Hellas for fair women fam'd,
Seek Haliacmon's springs, and wheresoe'er

Thou see goats feeding first, there must thou dwell
And all thy race in envied happiness."

So Caranus took courage from the oracle, and having fitted out a colony with certain Greeks, came to Macedonia and founded a city and reigned over the Macedonians, and changed the name of the city which was formerly called Edessa to Aegae, after the goats. But in old times Edessa was inhabited by Phrygians and Lydians, and those who came across to Europe with Midas. These things are related by Euphorion in the *Hestia* and the *Inachus*.'

κόρακες. 'The Boeotians being invaded by the Aeolians obtained an oracle on the question of going to war. And Apollo said to them: "When ye see white crows, then make war." And once upon a time some young men in sport covered some crows with chalk, and let them fly. The Boeotians supposed that this was what the oracle meant, and they went forth to war, and were destroyed: whence also came the proverb *ἐς κόρακας*, meaning "to destruction." And thus crows were considered to be prophetic' (*Scholiast on Clement*).

b 4 *Τί δ' εἴ σοι καταλέγοιμι τὰ μυστήρια;* Cf. A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 213 'It is certain that the mysteries of Greece were survivals of savage ceremonies, because we know that they included specific savage rites, such as the use of the *rhombos* to make a whirring noise, and the custom of ritual daubing with dirt; and the sacred *ballets d'action*, in which, as Lucian and Qing(?) say, mystic facts are "danced out." But while Greece retained these relics of savagery, there was something taught at Eleusis which filled minds like Plato's and Pindar's with a happy religious awe.' On the *rhombos* see 46 d 7.

ἐξορχήσομαι. Lucian, *De Saltatione*, 15 'The common people say that those who publish the mysteries *dance them out* (*ἐξορχεῖσθαι*).' Id. *Piscat.* 33 *ἐξαγορεύοντα τοῖν θεοῖν τἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐξορχούμενον*.

b 5 *Ἀλκιβιάδην*. Thuc. vi. 28 *μηνύεται . . . τὰ μυστήρια ἅμα ὡς ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὕβρει. ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπῃτιῶντο.* Cf. Andocid. *Or.* i. 11 *Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν τὰ μυστήρια ποιοῦντα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεθ' ἑτέρων.*

b 8 *ἐγκυκλήσω*. The *ἐγκύκλημα*, more commonly *ἐκκύκλημα*, was a machine on wheels by which an interior scene was rolled

forward on to the stage, or more probably turned on a pivot. Hence the verb means 'to expose publicly.' See *Hermathena*, No. xxvi, 'A new theory of the Ekkyklema,' by C. Exon.

c 2 ἱερομανία, the reading of Cod. I, adopted by Gaisford, is a pun on ἱερομηνία, *the holy moon*.

κρεανομίας. Part of the flesh of animals offered in sacrifice was burnt on the altar of the god, and the rest distributed by the priest among the offerers. This ceremony was called κρεανομία. Cf. Lucian, *Prometh. seu Caucas.* 3, 5, 6, 7, where Prometheus undergoes a mock trial for having kept the best parts for himself and given the bones to Zeus, according to the story in Hesiod, *Theog.* 535–57. Epiphanius, *Contra Haeres.* iii. *De Fide* 10 Διονύσιοί τε ἕτεροι, οἱ τοὺς Κουρῆτας καὶ τὴν κρεωνομίαν (*sic*) μυοῦντες.

c 3 Εὔαν ἐκείνην. The Bacchantes' cry εὐοῖ (εὖα) is strangely connected with Eva, the first woman.

d 1 ὄφις. The name given by Adam to 'the mother of all living' (Gen. iii. 20) was חַוָּה, 'life,' Sept. Εὔα, Vulg. *Heva*, which Clement seems to have confused with a totally different word אֶפְעֶה, 'viper.' Clement's explanation is repeated by Epiphanius, *Contra Haeres.* iii. *De Fide* 10 τοὺς ὄφεις ἀνεστεμμένοι, εὐάζοντες τὸ οὐὰ οὐά, ἐκείνην τὴν Εὔαν ἔτι τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ἀπατηθεῖσαν ἐπικαλούμενοι, ἢ διὰ τῆς δασείας φωνῆς τὸν ὄφιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος εἰς ἑαυτῶν πλάνην κικλήσκοντες. Εὔα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ψιλὴν ἀπόδοσιν τὴν γυναῖκα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δασεῖαν εὔια τὸν ὄφιν παῖδες Ἑβραιων ὀνομάζουσι.

Δηώ and Κόρη, i.e. Ceres and Proserpine, whose story was celebrated in the mysteries at Eleusis.

d 3 Ἐλευσὶς δᾳδουχεῖ. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 587.

d 4 ὄργια. Probably derived from the same root as ἔργον and ὄργανον. Rutherford, *N. Phryn.* p. 24 'That it (ὄργια) was once used in Attica is proved beyond question by its derivatives ὀργεών and ὀργιάζω. The latter term is good classical Attic, occurring repeatedly in Plato, and the former from becoming attached to an official position was retained in that connexion till long after it was superseded for ordinary purposes by ἱερεύς. . . . But ὄργια itself was uncompromisingly disfranchised, and, but for Ionic Tragedy and the Chorus of Comedy, would have disappeared altogether; so assiduously do Attic writers substitute μυστήρια or τελεταί for

the older word.' Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 305 'Hoc vocabulum ὄργια primum invenitur in Hymno Hom. in Cer. 273

ὄργια δ' αὐτὴ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι.'

μυστήρια. Μύω, 'to close,' μυέω, μύστης, μυστήρια. On the wide application of the word cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 89 'Neque angustiores terminos habet usus nominum ὄργια, τελεταί, μυστήρια, quibus sacra lustralia, depulsoria, parentalia atque magica comprehendantur.' On the Eleusinian mysteries see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 786 ff.

d 5 τῆς ὀργῆς. Just. M. *Cohort.* 17 τοῦ γὰρ Ὀρφέως

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου

ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ποιήσεως εἰρηκότος, αὐτὸς

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

γέγραφεν. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 592; Hermann, *Orphica* 478, 511.

d 7 Apollod. i. 3. 2. 3 εὗρε δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τὰ Διονύσου μυστήρια.

d 9 μυθάρια is the reading of all MSS. of Eusebius, except that in A a second hand has changed ά into ή, making μυθήρια, the right reading in Clement, and 'the only form that can be referred to the verb θηρεύω' (Heikel). Scholion in A: Ὅτι μυστήρια εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ μῦθος μυθάρια, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ θηράω καὶ μῦς, τοὺς ἀνοήτους ἀνθρώπων, εἴρηνται.

ἀντιστοιχούντων. The mute consonants which are formed by different organs of speech are called σύστοιχα, as π κ τ: those which are distinguished according to breathing, as π β φ are called ἀντίστοιχα. See L. and Sc. *Lex.* σύστοιχος. Cf. Athen. *Deipnos.* 501 B Ἡ μὲν φιάλη, φησί, κατ' ἀντιστοιχίαν ἐστὶ πιάλη, ἡ τὸ πιεῖν ἄλις ἔχουσα.

d 11 ἀτὰρ δή. Cf. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 21.

Θρᾳκῶν. Each nation is here described by its notorious fault.

63 a 2 Dardanus the son of Zeus, and mythical ancestor of the Trojans and Romans, came from Samothrace to mount Ida, 'where he built a temple to the Mother of the gods, and established orgiastic rites and mysteries, which continue throughout Phrygia to the present time' (Dionys. Hal. i. 61). Cf. Hom. *Il.* xx. 215 ff.; Strab. vii. 331. *Fr.* 50; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 857.

a 3 Eetion, also named Iasion, brother of Dardanus. Cf. Preller, p. 855.

a 5 Μίδας. Cf. Masp. iii. 330. Midas (v. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 643–5) is said to have brought the mysteries from Thrace into

Phrygia, and to have built the first temple to Cybele in Pessinus. 'On this river (Sangarius) are the ancient dwellings of Midas, and still earlier of Gordias and some others, which retain no vestiges of cities, but are little larger than ordinary villages' (Strab. 567, 568).

a 6 ὁ Κύπριος. Cinyras, king of Cyprus, priest of the Paphian Venus. Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 26

> *Κελαδέοντι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πολλάκις*
> *φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν ὁ χρυσοχαῖτα προφρόνως*
> *ἐφίλασ' Ἀπόλλων,*
> *ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας.*

Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* x. 298.

Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 3) gives an account of the temple, its ceremonies, and the image of the goddess, in connexion with the visit of Titus. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 9 'I also went up from Byblus, a day's journey to Libanus, having learned that there was there an ancient temple of Aphrodite, which Cinyras founded, and I saw the temple, and it was very old.'

b 1 Μελάμποδα. Melampus. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xv. 225–42; Hdt. ix. 34; ii. 49 (where he is said to have brought the phallic rites and worship of Bacchus from Egypt); Preller (p. 691) says that at Argos, Melampus was held to be the first priest of Dionysus, and the founder of the peculiar ceremonies of the festival and of expiation, in which many changes were made in after times, until out of them arose the Lernaean mysteries, an imitation of the Eleusinian, only that the mystic symbolism had here assumed a very indecent character.' Cf. Pausan. ii. 36 *τελετὴν Λερναίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρι.*

b 3 *πένθος ὑμνούμενον.* The sorrows of Demeter for the loss of her daughter form the chief subject of the Homeric hymn to Ceres. Cf. 62 d 3, 66 a 4. Eurip. *Hel.* 1301 ff. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 591

> *Δήμητρός τε πλάνην καὶ Φερσεφόνης μέγα πένθος.*

'The old aboriginal races had worshipped from time immemorial a certain mother-goddess, Mâ or Amma, the black earth, which brings forth without ceasing, and nourishes all living things' (Masp. iii. 332 ff.).

c 3 Ἀφρογενής. Cf. Bion, *Bucol.* xvi. 1

> *Ἕσπερε, τᾶς ἐρατᾶς χρύσεον φάος Ἀφρογενείας.*

Κυπρογενής. Bion, xvii. 1

Ἄμερε Κυπρογένεια Διὸς τέκος ἠδὲ θαλάσσας.

Both epithets occur in Hesiod, *Theog.* 196, 199, and the reason for each given οὕνεκ' ἐν ἀφρῷ θρέφθη, and ὅτι γέντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ.

c 5 φιλομηδέα. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 173–200, where the whole story is narrated. Clement refers especially to the line

'ἠδὲ φιλομμηδέα ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη,'

which is, however, probably corrupt. See the note on the passage in Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Gr.* Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 360, n. 2.

c 8 *Clem. Recogn.* x. 20.

d 4 Διὸς πρὸς μητέρα. Cf. 62 d 5, Arnob. *c. Gentes*, v. 9. Rhea the mother of Zeus, and Demeter his sister, are often confused in the legends. 'Nor is this difficult to explain; for both goddesses were supposed to symbolize Mother Earth' (Paley, Eur. *Hel.* 1301). Cf. Arnob. v. 21, where Demeter is called Brimo. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* iii. 860

ἑπτάκι δὲ Βριμὼ κουροτρόφον ἀγκαλέσασα,

Βριμὼ νυκτιπόλον, χθονίην, ἐνέροισιν ἄνασσαν.

Ibid. 1210

Βριμὼ κικλήσκων Ἑκάτην ἐπαρωγὸν ἀέθλων.

Brimo is derived from a root meaning to 'snort with anger.'

d 6 ἱκετηρίαι Διός. Hom. *Hymn to Dem.* 314–33. Zeus sent Iris, and afterwards all the other gods, to entreat Demeter to return to Olympus, which she refused to do unless Persephone were restored to her. The story is told at large by Arnobius, v. 20, 21.

d 7 πόμα χολῆς. The 'drink of gall' appears to be something different from the draught of wine mixed with spelt (κυκεών) offered to Ceres and to those who were initiated in her mysteries. Hom. *Hymn to Dem.* 208.

καρδιουλκίαι. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 587 'Haec perobscura sunt; καρδιουλκία interpretantur *cordis exemtio*, quod aptum esset, si Zagrei nex narraretur; huic loco non video qui conveniat.' Cf. Lucian, *De Sacrif.* 13 Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸς ἕστηκεν ᾑμαγμένος, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐκεῖνος ἀνατέμνων καὶ τὰ ἔγκατα ἐξαίρων καὶ καρδιουλκῶν, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περιχέων. On the murder of Zagreus see 65 a 2.

64 a 2 ἐκ περιουσίας. Plat. *Theaet.* 154 D ἐκ περιουσίας ἀλλήλων ἀποπειρώμενοι, 'sparring for mere amusement,' or, as Jowett, 'out of the superfluity of their wits.'

a 3 The passwords here given were used in the Phrygian rites. Other watchwords used in the Eleusinian mysteries are given below 66 d.

a 4 *ἐκερνοφόρησα*. Cf. Athen. 629 E *Μανιώδεις εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις κερνοφόρος καὶ μόγγας καὶ θερμαστρίς*. In this 'frantic dance' the performer carried a *κέρνος*, '*a large earthen dish*, with wells or hollows in the bottom, in which various fruits were offered in the rites of the Corybantes. Müller, *Archaeol. d. Kunst.* § 300' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

b 3 *δράκων γενόμενος*. Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 114

'Aureus ut Danaen, Asopida luserit ignis,
Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoïda serpens.'

Cf. *Clem. Recogn.* x. 22 fin.; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 588.

ὃς ἦν ἐλεγχθείς. By assuming the form of a serpent Zeus was detected in his true character as 'the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan' (Apoc. xx. 2). I am indebted for this explanation to Dr. J. B. Mayor, who points out that Clement has been speaking in the preceding context of 'the wicked reptile monster,' the same 'seducer who of old brought Eve and now brings the rest of mankind to death' (p. 7). This is confirmed by the reference to Eve in 62 c 3.

Σαβαζίων. That serpents played a prominent part in the Sabazian mysteries, and that in the time of Demosthenes it had become disgraceful to be connected with them, we learn from his description of Aeschines in his youth (*De Corona*, 313) as 'grasping the sacred snakes, and lifting them up above his head, and shouting "Evoe Saboe," and dancing "Hyes Attes," "Attes Hyes".' Cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 875; *Vesp.* 9; *Lysistr.* 389; Cic. *De Leg.* ii. 15.

b 4 *ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός*. 'In the mysteries of Sabazius a golden serpent as symbol of the god was drawn into the bosom of the initiated through the clothes, an ancient rite of adoption or of a new birth customary among both Greeks and other nations.' Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 702; Arnob. v. 21.

b 6 *παῖδα ταυρόμορφον*. This was Dionysus surnamed Zagreus. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 920

καὶ ταῦρος ἡμῖν πρόσθεν ἡγεῖσθαι δοκεῖς,
καὶ σῷ κέρατε κρατὶ προσπεφυκέναι.
ἀλλ' ἦ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ; τεταύρωσαι γὰρ οὖν.

Ibid. 1017

> φάνηθι ταῦρος ἢ πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν
> δράκων.

Besides these passages Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 714 refers to Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 364 F, and Athen. ii. 38 E, xi. 476 A; Soph. *Fr.* 874 ὁ βούκερως Ἴακχος; Hor. *Od.* ii. 19. 30 'aureo cornu decorum.'

b 7 ⟨εἰδυλλικός⟩. The MSS. read εἰδωλικός, of which the usual meaning 'idolatrous' is not a very suitable epithet for ποιητής. I therefore ventured to substitute εἰδυλλικός, meaning 'a bucolic poet.' Gaisf. *Poet. Min. Gr.* p. 6 Εἰδύλλιον λέγεται τὸ μικρὸν ποίημα. The passage is quoted by Arnob. *Adv. Gentes*, v. 21 'Auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei, tum illum citabimus tritum notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit, dicens:

> "Taurus draconem genuit et taurum draco."'

Dr. J. B. Mayor doubts whether the iambic lines which follow could be described as idyllic, and adds: 'The word εἰδωλικός occurs in the Scholia to Plato's *Gorgias*, p. 338, where a distinction is made between τεχνική and εἰδωλικὴ ῥητορική. The latter is identified with Plato's κολακεία, which is said to be εἴδωλον πολιτικῆς μορίου (*Schol. ad Gorg.* 465). The word also occurs in 342 b. If it had got into use to express a sort of spurious artificial composition, Clement might use it here for a poetaster.' I have adopted this meaning in my translation.

c 1 Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 588 treats the verse as hopelessly corrupt. Dindorf reads τὸ κεντρίον (*the sting*) in Clem. Al.

c 2 κάλων. The reading is here very doubtful. Viger suggests that for the corrupt reading ἐπιτελῶν a correction was made in the margin (-καλῶν), and that this afterwards was brought into the text.

c 4 τὸν κάλαθον. On the fourth day of the Eleusinia there was a procession called κάλαθος κάθοδος, in which a basket ('Virgea Celei supellex,' Verg. *Georg.* i. 165) containing pomegranates and poppy seeds was carried on a wagon, and attended by women. Callimach. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 1

> Τῷ καλάθω κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξασθε, γυναῖκες,
> 'Δάματερ, μέγα χαῖρε πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε.'
> τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ θασεῖσθε, βέβαλοι.

Ibid. 120

Χῶς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότριχες ἵπποι ἄγοντι
τέσσαρες, κ.τ.λ.

The rape of Proserpine is the subject of the Homeric Hymn to Ceres, of several very brief allusions in Pindar, and in Bacchylides (iii. 2, v. 59). The story is told at length by Apollodorus, *Biblioth.* i. 5, and most gracefully by Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 417–618.

c 5 τὸ χάσμα τῆς γῆς. Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 16

χάνε δὲ χθὼν εὐρυάγυια
Νύσιον ἂμ πεδίον, τῇ ὄρουσεν ἄναξ πολυδέγμων
ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι.

c 6 τὰς ὗς. Cf. 66 b συβώτης δὲ ὁ Εὐβουλεύς. Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 465

'Forsitan illa dies erroris summa fuisset,
Si non turbassent signa reperta sues.'

c 7 The Thesmophoria was a festival brought from Egypt by the Danaides (Hdt. ii. 171), and celebrated at Eleusis and various places in Greece by women only, in honour of Demeter and Persephone as having introduced the laws and customs of civilized life (θεσμούς). Cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 295 εὔχεσθε ταῖν Θεσμοφόροιν τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ.

μεγαρίζοντες. The usual meaning of the word is 'speaking (or acting) like the people of Megara'; as in Aristoph. *Acharn.* 822 κλάων μεγαριεῖς. Some (L. and Sc.) think there is a reference to the μέγαρα or underground halls (ἀνάκτορα) sacred to the two goddesses, into which young pigs were thrown on the third day of the Thesmophoria. Pausanias (ix. 8. 1), describing the ceremonies in use at Potniae in Boeotia, writes καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγαρα καλούμενα ἀφιᾶσιν ὗς τῶν νεογνῶν. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 169 E τοῖς τῶν θεῶν μεγάροις ἢ ἀνακτόροις προσιόντες; ib. 378 E; Porph. *Antr. Nymph.* vi; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 751 f. The Scholiast on the passage of Clement has μεγαρίζοντες οὖν ἀντὶ τοῦ θύοντες. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 831, conjectures μεγάροις ζῶντας χοίρους ἐμβάλλουσι. The city Μέγαρα derived its name from Δήμητρος μέγαρον (Paus. i. 40. 6; 39. 5).

d 1 Σκιροφόρια was the name of a festival held in honour of Athena Sciras, in her temple on the coast of Salamis, which is mentioned by Hdt. viii. 94. Various conjectures have been made as to the origin of the name. Cf. Pausan. i. 1. 4; i. 36. 3.

Strabo (393) says that Salamis was anciently called Sciras, from some hero, and hence came the name Athena Scíras, and Scira a place in Attica.

'Αρρητοφόρια, or by abbreviation 'Αρρηφόρια, was the name of a festival at Athens, in which young girls carried the sacred and mysterious vessels of Athena from the Acropolis to a grotto sacred to Aphrodite. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 641

ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρουν.

See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* 'Arrephoria'; *Etym. M.* 149. 13. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 872; 'Moeris, p. 141 Ἑρρηφόροι αἱ τὴν δρόσον φέρουσαι τῇ Ἕρσῃ ... recteque sane Grammaticus *Roriferas* ab eo quod ferrent dictas existimat, non ab ea cui ferrent.' 'Ἑρρηφόροι (or Ἑρσηφόροι) is the only form found in Attic inscriptions of a good period' (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 210).

d 4 Pausan. viii. 37. 5 'The Titans were first brought into poetry by Homer, who said that they were gods dwelling under the so-called Tartarus. The verses occur in the oath of Hera.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* xiv. 278

θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας
τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται.

Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* xxv), identifying Dionysus with Osiris, writes, 'The Titanic ... rites are of the same kind with the fabled tearing to pieces of the body of Osiris: ... and the Delphians believe that the relics of Bacchus are deposited with themselves by the side of the Oracle.' Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 572, 589, 615; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 687, 706.

d 8 Ἑσπερίδων. Preller, ibid. p. 562; Hesiod, *Theog.* 215

Ἑσπερίδας θ' αἷς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
χρύσεα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπόν.

65 a 3 Παλλάς. Plato (*Cratyl.* 406) derives the name Pallas from the war-dance, and the brandishing (πάλλειν) of spear and shield; others from πάλλαξ, 'a maiden.' Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 185, n. 2.

a 5 καθήψουν. An unusual form, for καθῆψον from καθέψω. Clem. Al. 281 καθέψοντα.

b 5 Κορυβάντων. On this passage Le Nourry (*Dissert. i. in Clem. Al. Art. iii*) compares Iul. Firmic. lib. x 'In sacris Corybantum parricidium colitur: nam unus frater a duobus interemptus est.' This legend was current at Thessalonica, a chief seat of the worship of the Corybantes or Cabiri, who were

represented on some of its coins. The murdered brother became the object of a mystic worship (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 861). *Orph. Hymn.* 39

> αἰολόμορφον Ἄνακτα, θεὸν διφυῆ πολύμορφον,
> φοίνιον, αἱμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσῶν.

b 7 καταστέψαντε. The custom of putting a wreath upon the head of a corpse is described by Lucian, *De Luctu*, xi καὶ στεφανώσαντες τοῖς ὡραίοις ἄνθεσι προτίθενται λαμπρῶς ἀμφιέσαντες.

b 8 ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀσπίδος. This custom explains the Spartan mother's command to her son going out to battle: τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπιδιδοῦσα εἶπεν 'ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς' (Stob. *Flor.* I. vii. 31).

c 2 Ἀνακτοτελέστας. Pausan. x. 38. 7, 896 Ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τελετὴν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς Ἀνάκτων καλουμένων παίδων· οἵτινες δὲ θεῶν εἰσιν οἱ ἄνακτες παῖδες οὐ κατὰ ταὐτά ἐστιν εἰρημένα. In an Appendix to the fourth edition of Preller's *Gr. Myth.* p. 847, the editor, Carl Robert, gives a full account of the discoveries concerning the Cabiri and their worship made by recent excavations at Thebes in Boeotia. The Theban traditions concerning the origin of these rites is given by Pausanias, ix. 25 'They say there was formerly a city in this district, the inhabitants of which were called Cabiri, and that Demeter becoming acquainted with Prometheus, one of the Cabiri, and his son Aetnaeus, deposited something with them. What this deposit was, and the circumstances relating to it, I do not think it lawful for me to disclose. But the mysteries of Demeter were a gift to the Cabiri.'

c 3 προσεπιτερατεύονται. Paus. viii. 2. 7 πεφύκασι καὶ αὐτοί τι ἐπιτερατεύεσθαι.

c 6 τῆς ῥοιᾶς τοὺς κόκκους. Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 371

> αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' αὐτὸς
> ῥοιῆς κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιηδέα λάθρῃ
> ἀμφὶ ἑ νωμήσας, ἵνα μὴ μένοι ἤματα πάντα.

d 2 τὴν κίστην. Cf. Pausan. ix. 25 quoted on c 2. *Orph. Argonaut.* 27

> Θεσμοφόρον θ' ὁσίην, ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα Καβείρων
> Χρησμούς τ' ἀρρήτους Νυκτὸς περὶ Βάκχου ἄνακτος.

'Νύξ, eadem Maῖa, Iovis consiliaria, de qua *Fr. Orph.* 10, consilium et oracula videtur dedisse etiam in Bacchi a Titanibus lacerati restitutione, quod argumentum ab Orpheo tractatum indicat Clemens Alex. et Arnobius' (Gesner).

d 7 *Ἄττιν.* Plut. *Sympos.* 671 B *Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ μυθικὰ προσλαβεῖν, λέγεται μὲν ὁ Ἄδωνις ὑπὸ τοῦ συὸς διαφθαρῆναι· τὸν δὲ Ἄδωνιν οὐχ ἕτερον ἀλλὰ Διόνυσον εἶναι νομίζουσιν· καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τελουμένων ἑκατέρῳ περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς βεβαιοῖ τὸν λόγον.* On the connexion of Attis and Adonis with Dionysus see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* p. 699.

66 a 3 *λυπουμένη.* Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 98

ἕζετο δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ
Παρθενίῳ φρέατι.

Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 378 E *καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρα κινοῦσιν, Ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζοντες. ὡς . . . ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὔσης.*

a 4 *μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ὀδυρομένην.* Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 478

Σεμνά, τά τ' οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξίμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι,
οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν ἄχος ἰσχάνει αὐδήν.

a 5 *οἱ γηγενεῖς.* A frequent epithet of the *Γίγαντες*, as in *Batrachom.* 7 *Γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν μιμούμενοι ἔργα Γιγάντων.* Eur. *Phoen.* 1131 *Γίγας ἐπ' ὤμοις γηγενὴς ὅλην πόλιν φέρων.* But here it is equivalent to *αὐτόχθονες*, 'earthborn,' as in Hom. *Il.* ii. 548 of Erechtheus it is said *τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.* Hdt. viii. 55 *Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι.*

a 6 *Δυσαύλης.* In Pausan. ii. 14. 2 Dysaules is mentioned as one of the supposed founders of the Eleusinian mysteries, and as father of Triptolemus and Eubuleus.

a 7 On Eumolpus see Paus. i. 38. 3.

b 2 *κηρύκων.* Isocrat. 78 d *Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ Κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν προαγορεύουσιν.* The *Κήρυκες* were said to be descended from *Κῆρυξ*, son of Eumolpus. Cf. Plat. *Soph.* 253; Andoc. *De Mysteriis*, 127.

τὸ ἱεροφαντικὸν . . . γένος. Pausan. ii. 14. 1 'A hierophant is not appointed for his whole life, but at each festival a different one is chosen.'

b 5 *πενθήρης γὰρ ἦν.* There is an allusion to the sorrow and subsequent laughter of Deo in *Anthol. Palat. Sepulcr.* lviii

Φερσεφόνη, ψυχὴν δέχνυσο Δημοκρίτου
Εὐμενέως γελόωσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σεῖο τεκοῦσαν
Ἀχνυμένην ἐπὶ σοὶ μοῦνος ἔκαμψε γέλως.

c 5 The original verses are elaborately discussed by Lobeck,

Aglaoph. 818, *Orphica.* vi, *De Baubo et Cerere.* Cf. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* iv (*In Iulian.*) 15 D; Arnob. *Adv. Gentes*, v. 26, 27.

c 6 Ἴακχος. Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ (Suidas). Cf. Arnob. ibid. iii. 10; Lucret. iv. 1160.

d 1 An easy emendation of the line would be

χειρί τέ μιν Βαυβοῦς ῥίπτασκε γελῶνθ' ὑπὸ κόλποις.

'The child Iacchus laughed, and Deo's hand
Tossed him still laughing into Baubo's lap.'

d 4 These watchwords of the Eleusinia are different from those of the Phrygian mysteries mentioned above, 64 a, Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 24.

ἐργασάμενος, 'leg. ἐγγευσάμενος' (Lobeck. ibid.). Cf. Polyb. vii. 13. 7 ἐγγευσάμενος αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου.

d 10 This saying of Heracleitus is quoted more fully in Clem. Al. *Stromat.* iv. 630 Ἀνθρώπους μένει ἀποθανόντας ἅσσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσιν. It is also quoted with admiration by Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur. Hom.* viii. 118. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 85; Stob. *Floril.* (Meineke) iv. 110 ἐπεὶ τήν γε πεισθεῖσαν ὅσα ἀνθρώπους περιμένει τελευτήσαντας, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον οὐδὲν ἂν κατάσχοι.

d 11 μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος. Heracleitus is very frequently quoted by Christian Fathers as a witness to doctrines of Scripture. Justin M. *Apol.* i. 46 classes him with Socrates as a Christian, for having passed his life with reason (λόγῳ): Hippol. *Refut. Haeres.* i. 4, ix. 3–5, regards him as a witness to the resurrection, the life after death, and the judgement of the world by fire. Compare Archer Butler, *Ancient Philos.* i. 312 'Of all the physical theorists of his time who looked upon the world as a vital organism, Heracleitus perhaps arrived nearest at the purely spiritual conception of its Author.' See the note on the passage by the late Dr. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

67 a 2 Νόμος οὖν κ.τ.λ. 'Post κενὴ pone τὰ μυστήρια' (J. B. Mayor). This transposition seems to improve the sense: 'The mysteries therefore of the serpent are mere custom and vain opinion and a kind of fraud, &c.'

a 4 The phrases are borrowed by Clement from Philo Jud. p. 156 (Mangey) ὡς ἀπεργάσασθαι θυσίας ἀνιέρους, ἱερεῖα ἄθυτα, εὐχὰς ἀτελεῖς, ἀμυήτους μυήσεις, ἀνοργιάστους τελετάς, νόθον εὐσέβειαν, κ.τ.λ.

a 5 προτρεπομένων. Plat. *Laws* 871 B ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην

προτρέπεται. The reading in Clem. *προστρεπομένων* (Coll. Nov. Ox.) is not so appropriate here as in Clem. 56 *Ποσειδῶνα μὲν οὐκ ἀναπλάττοντες, ὕδωρ δὲ αὐτὸ προστρεπόμενοι* (*worshipping*).

The Latin translation gives to *θρησκευομένη* a middle sense, 'superstitiose colens,' but for this I can find no authority.

a 7 *σησαμαῖ*. Athenaeus in his list of cakes (*Deipn*. xiv. 50) mentions *σησαμίδες, πυραμίδες*, and countless others.

b 1 *Βασσάρου*. A name of Dionysus derived from his robe of fox-skin, *βασσάρα* meaning a fox. Hor. *Od*. i. 18. 11

'Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam.'

b 2 ⟨*κράδαι*⟩. After adopting this conjecture I found that Klotz had proposed it in his note. *Κράδη* is frequently used in Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*

b 3 *φθοῖς*. Aristoph. *Plut*. 677

Ὁρῶ τὸν ἱερέα
τοὺς φθοῖς ἀφαρπάζοντα καὶ τὰς ἰσχάδας
ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἱερᾶς.

Brunck cites Moeris *φθοῖς, Ἀττικῶς μονοσυλλάβως. ἔστι δὲ πέμμα πλατὺ ἔχον ὀμφαλόν. πόπανον, Ἕλληνες.*

μήκωνες. A basket containing pomegranates and poppies was carried on a wagon in the procession at the Eleusinia. Cf. 64 c 3. The pomegranate was the symbol of Persephone as queen of the lower world. The poppy ('Cereale papaver,' Verg. *Georg*. i. 212) had soothed the sorrows of Ceres, and also had been used by her to feed Triptolemus (Ovid, *Fast*. iv. 547).

b 4 *Θέμιδος*. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph*. 198, where he discusses the improbability of Clement's description, so far as it relates to the Eleusinia.

ὀρίγανον, 'wild marjoram.' Cf. Aristoph. *Eccles*. 1030, *Fr*. 180. It had a strong pungent smell. Aristot. *Problem*. xx. 22. 3; Theophrast. *Hist. Plant*. i. 12. 1.

c 1 *τὸν Ἴακχον*. Cic. *De Legibus*, ii. 16 'Quid ergo aget Iacchus, Eumolpidaeque vostri et augusta illa mysteria, siquidem sacra nocturna tollimus?' Cf. 64 d *Διονύσου μυστήρια*.

4] **68 d** 4 ⟨*ἀνάγοντας*⟩. I have adopted this as a better reading than either *ἀγαγόντας* or *ἀναγαγόντας*, on account of the present *εὐαγγελιζομένους*.

d 5 ἀνανήψαντες. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 26 ἀνανήψωσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος.

d 11 ἀθεότητος δόξαν may mean 'reputation of atheism,' but here more probably has the same meaning as δόξαν a little lower in the same sentence, 'opinion' or 'dogma.'

69 a 1 θεραπεῦσαι. See note on 74 a 7.

a 4 ἐπεφήμισαν. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 596 'Ut φῆμις aliquid augustius significat, sic etiam φημίζειν ad divinitatis opinionem et famam refertur.' Hence ἐπιφημίζω means 'to assert solemnly,' or 'to name by a laudatory title.' Cf. 70 d 7, Plat. *Crat.* 417 C ταύτῃ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπιφημίσαι τἀγαθὸν λυσιτελοῦν.

a 5 ἀποκρύπτοντες = ἀποκρύπτεσθαι λέγοντες. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 62

> 'Tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae
> Corticis, atque solo proceras erigit alnos.'

Heikel, not observing this meaning, proposes to read ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρύπτοντας. The same liveliness of expression is seen in such phrases as γεννᾷ τὸν οὐρανόν, κινεῖ τὴν γῆν, and οἱ ῥέοντες Plat. *Theaet.* 181 A (Heindorf's note). Cf. Bernhardy, *Gr. Synt.* 348.

5] d 4 ἀνανεύσεως. Cf. 2 b 6 note.

d 6 πρυτανευθείσης. Isocr. 66 A εἰρήνην πρυτανεύειν. Cf. Lucian, *Demonax*, 379 γυναιξὶ πρὸς τοὺς γεγαμηκότας εἰρήνην πρυτανεύειν.

d 12 ἐφαπλώσας. *Orph. Argonaut.* 457

> ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἐρετμοῖς
> χεῖρας ἐφαπλώσαντες, ἔπειθ' ἄλα τύπτον ἕκαστος;

ib. 1333 (1345)

> Ἀμφ' εὐνῇ χρύσειον ἐφαπλώσαντες ἄωτον.

Babrius, 95. 1

> Λέων νοσήσας ἐν φάραγγι πετραίῃ
> ἔκειτο νωθρὰ γυῖα γῆς ἐφαπλώσας.

70 a 6 νεκρῶν εἴδωλα. Eusebius here gives his own testimony to 'animism,' or the worship of dead men, as one of the sources of polytheism.

b 4 ἐμπαζομένων. Hom. *Od.* i. 271 ἐμῶν ἐμπάζεο μύθων.

c 4 εἰς οὐρανόν. Eusebius regards the worship of sun and moon as another source of polytheism. Cf. Deut. iv. 19.

c 6 φαινόντων τε καὶ φαινομένων. There seems to be a distinction between the primary sources of light, as the sun and stars, and the moon and planets which received light, and so were made visible.

c 7 Τρίτοι δέ. Hero-worship was a third source of polytheism: tombs becoming shrines and temples. Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 39, and d 6 μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν.

c 8 τοὺς . . . ἐπικρατήσαντας. The most remarkable instance of actual hero-worship in modern times is thus described in Trotter's *Life of John Nicholson*, p. 125 'The transformation of a hero into a god is a natural process among people who already believe in a plurality of gods, or in an ordered hierarchy of heavenly beings. In the year 1849 a certain Gosain, or Hindu devotee, discovered in the popular hero a new Avatar, or incarnation of the Brahmanic godhead. Impelled by whatever motive, he began to preach at Hasan Abdâl the worship of this new god Nikalsain. Five or six of his brother Gosains embraced the new creed, and the sect of Nikalsainis became an historical fact.'

6] 71 b 3 οὓς δή. The construction appears to be incomplete: Dr. J. B. Mayor suggests that the stop or pause after ἐλέγξω should be done away. We might then translate 'the temples—for I will not keep silence even on this point—but will further prove that the very temples are euphemistically so called, but were tombs.'

c 1 Acrisius, father of Danae, was accidentally killed by the quoit of his grandson Perseus in some games at Larissa on the Peneus, and buried outside the city, Apollod. ii. 2. 1, 4. 1; Clement says, 'in the Acropolis.' Cf. Bacchyl. xi. 66

νεῖκος γὰρ ἀμαιμάκετον
βληχρᾶς ἀνέπαλτο κασιγνήτοις ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς
Προίτῳ τε καὶ Ἀκρισίῳ.

The Cecropium was the southern portico of the Erechtheium in the Acropolis of Athens. A plan of the Erechtheium is given in Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* p. 278 a, and in *Enc. Brit.* (1902 A.D.), ATHENS.

c 2 Antiochus of Syracuse, a careful historian contemporary with Thucydides, wrote a history of Sicily in nine books. Theodoret, evidently following this passage of Clement, writes (115. 42) καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ γέγραφεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἄνω γε ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπός ἐστι τάφος παρὰ τὴν Πολιοῦχον αὐτήν· καὶ ἐν Λαρίσσῃ τῇ γε Θετταλικῇ πάλιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν Ἀκρίσιον τεθάφθαι φησίν.

Erichthonius or Erechtheus, the tutelary hero of Athens, was the traditional founder of the Erechtheium on the North side

of the Acropolis, in which the Olive of Athena and the Trident of Poseidon were preserved. Erechtheus was supposed to have been killed by a stroke of the trident, and buried within the temple. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, xvi. 114.

c 3 On Ismarus, or Ismaradus, see Pausan. 13, and 65 'By the shrine of Athena (Pandrosos) there are large brazen statues, two men standing apart as for a fight; and the one they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus. And yet all that know Athenian antiquities are aware that it was Eumolpus' son, Ismaradus, that was slain by Erechtheus' (A. R. Shilleto).

c 4 τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου. Pausan. 35 'As I was intending to go further into the account, and narrate all things appertaining to the temple at Athens called the Eleusinium, a vision in the night checked me: but what it is lawful for me to write for everybody, to this I will turn' (A. R. S.). Cf. Thuc. ii. 17 'The multitude inhabited the waste places of the city, and the temples and the shrines of Heroes, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinium, and whatever else was closely shut up.'

Cf. *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* i. 301 a 'The Eleusinium which Pausanias had mentioned in the description of his second route Leake conjectures to have been the great cavern in the middle of the rocks at the Eastern end of the Acropolis.'

Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 771. 2, places the Eleusinium and the fountain Enneakrounos on the *Western* slope of the Acropolis. But see Hdt. vi. 137 with the notes of Bähr and Rawlinson.

c 5 Κελεοῦ θυγατέρες. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, 96 ff., the four daughters of Celeus, King of Eleusis, found Demeter sitting on the well Parthenius in the guise of an old woman, and took her home to their father's house. Cf. Pausan. i. 38. 3; ii. 14. 2; Apollod. i. 5. 3.

c 6 Ὑπερβορέων. Hdt. iv. 33, 34, tells how Hyperoché and Laodicé brought the offerings of the Hyperboreans to Delos packed in wheat-straw, and adds that the damsels died in Delos: 'their grave is on the left as one enters the sanctuary of Artemis, and has an olive-tree growing on it.' On the Hyperboreans cf. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 30; Bacchyl. iii. 59.

d 1 Leander wrote a history of his native city Miletus in Caria. Cleomachus was a boxer of the same neighbourhood, who became a writer of licentious lyric poems (Strab. xiv. 648).

The Didymaeum was the temple of Apollo at Didyma, or Branchidae, in the territory of Miletus. See above 61 d, note 9.

d 3 The Leucophryne here mentioned was a priestess of Artemis, who was herself surnamed Leucophryne from the town Leucophrys in Caria, and had a very ancient and splendid temple at Magnesia on the Maeander, described by Strabo (xiv. 647) as inferior to that at Ephesus in size and the number of offerings, but far superior in symmetry, and in the skill displayed in the construction of the nave. Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 62, says of the Consuls L. Scipio and L. Sulla (B. C. 22), 'virtutem Magnetum decoravere, uti Dianae Leucophryenae perfugium inviolabile foret.'

d 4 τῷ Μυνδίῳ. This Zeno was a grammarian of Myndus in Caria, of whom nothing more is known for certain.

d 5 Telmessus in Lycia, close to the borders of Caria, was famous for its soothsayers, who were consulted by Croesus; see Hdt. i. 78, with Rawlinson's note.

d 6 ὃν . . . καὶ τοῦτον Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 833, obs. 2. Hdt. iv. 44, Soph. *Phil.* 315, Eur. *Andr.* 650.

d 7 Ptolemaeus, son of Agesarchus, of Megalopolis wrote a history of Ptolemy Philopator, of which the second and third books are quoted by Athenaeus, vi. 246 and x. 425.

d 8 Cinyras: see note on 63 a 6. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 15; *Nem.* viii. 18. Theophilus of Antioch, who was a generation earlier than Clement, in his treatise *Ad Autolycum*, ii. 3, had used the same argument that the so-called gods were mortal men, quoting the Sibylline Oracles, *Fr.* ii, iii.

72 b 2 Ἀντίνοον. The Emperor Hadrian 'enrolled Antinous among the gods, caused temples to be erected to him in Egypt and in Greece (at Mantineia), and statues of him to be set up in almost every part of the world . . . There were various medals struck in honour of Antinous in the Greek cities.' One of these, struck at Bithynium, bears the inscription: 'His native country honours the god Antinous.' It is represented in the *Dict. of Gk. and R. Biogr.*, 'Antinous.' Justin M. *Apol.* i. 29 Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγησάμεθα καὶ Ἀντινόου τοῦ νῦν γεγεννημένου, ὃν καὶ πάντες ὡς θεὸν διὰ φόβον σέβειν ὥρμηντο, ἐπιστάμενοι τίς τε ἦν καὶ πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν. Athanas. *c. Gentes*, 9 καὶ ὁ νῦν Ἀδριανοῦ κ.τ.λ.

b 12 τοὺς ἀγῶνας. This passage comes before the preceding in Clem. Al. 29.

c 1 The festivals are here stated roughly in their order, the Isthmian being held in the first and third years of each Olympiad, the Nemean in the second and fourth, and the Pythian in the third, the cycle being completed by a new Olympiad. Cf. Bacchyl. *Fr.* viii.

c 2 Πυθοῖ and c 4 Ἰσθμοῖ, locative cases.

c 3 τοῦ ὄφεως. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 300, 357; Apollod. i. 4. 1. 3.

c 4 Ἰσθμοῖ. Ino leaped into the sea with her boy Palaemon or Melicertes, whose body was washed ashore at Schoenus on the Isthmus of Corinth, where the festival was instituted in his honour; Pausan. 108; 111. See note on Μέλκαθρος, 38 a 5.

c 6 Ἀρχέμορος, son of Eurydice and Lycurgus, originally named Opheltes, was afterwards called Archemorus, 'forerunner of death,' because his death by a serpent was interpreted as an omen of the fate awaiting the 'Seven against Thebes.' Cf. Apollod. iii. 6. 4.

ὁ ἐπιτάφιος. Sc. ἀγών. Cf. Clem. Al. 29 μυστήρια ἦσαν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ νεκροῖς διαθλούμενοι.

d 1 τοῦ Πέλοπος. Cf. Eurip. *Iph. in Taur.* 1

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πῖσαν μολὼν κ.τ.λ.

Pind. *Ol.* ii. 3

ἤτοι Πίσα μὲν Διός, Ὀλυμπιάδα δ' ἔστησεν Ἡρακλέης
ἀκρόθινα πολέμου.

Bacchyl. viii. 14

ἄνδημ' ἐλαίας
ἐν Πέλοπος Φρυγίου
κλεινοῖς ἀέθλοις.

d 5 αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις. Tertull. *Adv. Marcion.* i. 10 'Animae enim a primordio conscientia Dei dos est.'

74 a 2 τὴν δὴ φυσικωτέραν. The meaning is determined by the subsequent explanation a 9 φυσικὰς διηγήσεις καὶ θεωρίας. Dr. J. B. Mayor refers to Cic. *Nat. D.* i. 41 'partum Iovis ortumque virginis ad *physiologiam* traducens diiungit a fabula,' and *Nat. D.* ii. 63 'Alia quoque ex ratione et quidem *physica* magna fluxit multitudo deorum.' On the allegorical interpretation of the Greek mysteries and legends see Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 79.

a 7 θεραπεῦσαι, 'to explain away.' Hatch, ibid., p. 80, n. 2

'θεραπεία became a technical term in this sense.' 'Hoc est, opinor, quod Plutarchus, *Alexand.* p. 686, eleganter dixit τὸν μῦθον ἀνασώζοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν . . . Sauvant la fable par la verité' (Viger).

c 8 τιμώμενοι. The Middle Voice usually means to 'estimate' or 'assess damages,' and is applied either to plaintiff or defendant.

d 11 Τηρητέον γοῦν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ⟨ὅτι⟩. The common reading ὅτι μάλιστα is evidently wrong as separating μάλιστα from τηρητέον. I have, therefore, adopted the reading of the oldest MSS. (AH) ἔνι μάλιστα, and transferred ὅτι to its proper place.

75 b 7 ὑποκορίζονται. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.*; Aristot. *Rhetor.* iii. 569 ἔστι δὲ ὁ ὑποκορισμὸς ὃς ἔλαττον ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν.

c 4 ἐν ὑπονοίαις. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* 106 'Quam recentiores ἀλληγορίαν dicunt veteres ὑπόνοιαν dixisse, pulcre monet Plutarchus, *De aud. Poet.* 19 E οὓς (μύθους) ταῖς πάλαι μὲν ὑπονοίαις ἀλληγορίαις δὲ νῦν λεγομέναις παραβιαζόμενοι καὶ διαστρέφοντες ἔνιοι.'

7] **d** 5 Cf. Athenag. *Leg.* 118.

76 c 3 The same passage is also quoted below, 641 c 1 and 694 a 2.

c 5 Hesiod, *Theog.* 154–9

> Ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο,
> δεινότατοι παίδων, σφετέρῳ δ' ἤχθοντο τοκῆϊ
> ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο,
> πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε, καὶ ἐς φάος οὐκ ἀνίεσκε,
> Γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι, κακῷ δ' ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ
> Οὐρανός.

c 6 Hesiod, *Theog.* 459–91. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 24 'Vetus haec opinio Graeciam opplevit exsectum Caelum a filio Saturno, vinctum autem Saturnum ipsum a filio Iove. Cf. idem iii. 24' (Ast).

d 1 δι' ἀπορρήτων, 'i.e. *secreto*, ut in mysteriis, ne publicentur' (Ast).

οὐ χοῖρον. In the first stage of initiation at Eleusis the sacrifice of a sow was required. Cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 374

> ἐς χοιρίδιόν μοι νῦν δάνεισον τρεῖς δραχμάς·
> δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναί με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι.

See notes on 64 c 7 and 641 c 8.

d 2 ὅπως . . . συνέβη. Aristoph. *Pax* 135

> Οὐκοῦν ἐχρῆν σε Πηγάσου ζεῦξαι πτερόν,
> ὅπως ἐφαίνου τοῖς θεοῖς τραγικώτερος.

Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 813.

77 b 4 Ἡφαίστου ῥίψεις. Hom. *Il.* i. 590

> 'When to thy succour once before I came,
> He seized me by the foot, and hurled me down
> From Heaven's high threshold; all the day I fell,
> And with the setting sun, on Lemnos' isle
> Lighted, scarce half alive' (Lord Derby).

8] **78 a** 1 Dionysius wrote his great work on Roman history, Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, about B.C. 10.

d 7 κορυβαντιασμούς. 'Ἐκστάσεις φρενῶν καὶ μανίας ἃς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς καὶ κατακοχὰς (κατοκωχὰς) ὀνομάζουσιν. A in marg.' (Gaisford).

79 a 7 τερθρείαν. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* 'Τερθρεία. γοητεία.' Plut. *De Auditu*, 42 E πολλὴν δὲ τερθρείαν καὶ στωμυλίαν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς πεπόνηκε.

a 8 Ἰδαίας Θεᾶς ἱερά. In B.C. 203 the Romans were bidden by the Delphian Oracle to transfer from Pessinus to Rome the sacred stone which the Phrygians declared to be the Mother of the Gods, and P. Cornelius Scipio Afr. Major, being selected by the Senate as 'the best of good men' received the goddess at Ostia, and delivered her to the chief matrons of the city, by whom she was carried in procession to the temple of Victory on the Palatine, where she was honoured with the scenic plays called Megalesia (Livy xxix. 14).

b 3 μηναγυρτοῦντες, al. μητραγυρτοῦντες. The servants of the goddess made monthly rounds of begging; Ovid, *Epp. ex Ponto*, i. 1. 39

> 'Ante Deum Matrem cornu tibicen adunco
> Cum canit, exiguae quis stipis aera negat.'

Cic. *De Legg.* i. 16 'Stipem sustulimus nisi eam, quam ad paucos dies propriam Idaeae Matris excepimus.'

c 2 ὀττεύεται. Polyb. xxxvi. 5. 2 ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς τῶν πρέσβεων ἐμφάσεως ὀττευόμενοι. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* '"Οττα. φήμη, μαντεία, θεία κληδών. At Dionys. Hal. ὀττεύεσθαι et ὀττεία in deteriorem partem pro *abominari, religioni ducere.*'

c 5 δι' ἀλληγορίας. This reading is taken from the text of

Dionysius, and adopted by Gaisford for διὰ λύπην, which is hardly intelligible. Heinichen would correct the passage by reading οἱ δὲ διὰ λύπην παραμυθίας ἕνεκα κ.τ.λ.

BOOK III

Pref.] 82 b The first paragraph of the Preface is repeated from the close of Book ii.

c 8 *καταμάθωμεν*. The subjunctive is adopted by all editors from *μάθωμεν* (BI), and is strictly correct, but *καταμάθοιμεν* (AH; but not in 80 b 8) also agrees with the usage of Eusebius: see 17 a 5, 403 c 9, Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 809.

d 7 *λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι*. The formula by which an advocate called on the clerk or secretary to read the affidavit of a witness.

83 a 7 *εἰς τὴν αἰθέριον δύναμιν ἀλληγορούμενος*. The preposition *εἰς* is preserved by H alone: without it, *δύναμιν* might possibly be regarded as the accusative of cognate signification, as *εἰκόνα καταγέγραπται* 106 b 5. Cf. Clem. Al. 86, 126, 205; Eustath. *In Hom.* 1392. 48 *Σημείωσαι ὅτι εἰς τὸν θυμὸν ὁ Κύκλωψ ἀλληγορεῖται.*

b 2 *Δαιδάλων*. The name *Δαίδαλα* is applied both to the festival held at Plataeae, and to the wooden statues then exhibited. See Pausan. 716 *Δαίδαλα ἑορτὴν . . . τὰ ξόανα ἐκάλουν δαίδαλα.* The festival was held once in sixty years, but there was also a minor celebration every seventh year.

1] c 1–**86 d** 9 Plutarch. *Fr. De Daedalis Plataeensibus* (Wyttenbach, v. 501), a fragment of a work no longer extant, preserved by Eusebius alone.

c 6 *τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἔπεσι*. The Orphic Poems consist of (1) the Argonautica, (2) a collection of Hymns, and (3) *Λιθικά*, a poem describing 'precious stones and their virtues,' all in Epic metre, well edited by G. Hermann, Lips. 1805, and by Abel.

c 7 *ὀργιασμοί*. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* *Ὀργιάζων. θύων, ἐπιτελῶν. Ὀργιασταί. οἱ τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελοῦντες.* See note on 62 d 5.

d 1 *ἱερουργίαις*. Cf. 1 a 7.

d 9 *ἀκρατοποσία*. The passage is quoted from Plato, *Laws* vi. 775 B. Cf. *Laws* ii. 674 quoted below 599 a.

84 a 2 *τὴν χολὴν οὐ καθαγίζουσιν*. The same statement is

repeated almost in the same words in Plutarch, *De Coniugal. Praecept.* 141 C.

a 6 Ἥραν. Viger observes that this story seems to be mentioned only by Plutarch.

b 2 ἐνταῦθα. Plutarch was writing at Chaeroneia in Boeotia.

d 3 Ἥραν Τελείαν. 'We must not omit that passage of Pausanias, *Arcadica* 253, where he speaks concerning the three surnames of Juno, as a girl, a grown woman, and a widow: "In Stymphalus they say there dwelt Temenus, son of Pelasgus, and Hera was brought up by this Temenus, and he established three festivals for the goddess, and applied three surnames to her, calling her, while yet a virgin, *Child* (Παῖς), and when still married to Zeus, he called her Τελεία, *Perfect*, but when she quarrelled for some cause or other with Zeus, and came back to Stymphalus, Temenus named her Χήραν *Widow*." The shrine and image of Hera Teleia at Plataeae is also briefly described by Pausanias, *Boeot.* 283' (Viger).

85 a 3 τὴν αὐτήν. To complete the argument, which Viger misunderstands, it is sufficient to remember that Eileithyia is mentioned as a daughter of Hera; cf. Pind. *Nem.* vii. 1

Ἐλείθυια, πάρεδρε Μοιρᾶν βαθυφρόνων,
παῖ μεγαλοσθενέος, ἄκουσον, Ἥρας, γενέτειρα τέκνων.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 922

ἡ δ' Ἥβην καὶ Ἄρηα καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν ἔτικτε
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι θεῶν βασιλῆϊ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

a 6 Ἄρης . . . ἀρήγων. 'Nova etymologiae ratio . . . Plato in Cratylo (407 D) κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν τε καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον dictum esse mavult. Clemens Alexandr. in *Protrept.* p. 32 ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρσεως καὶ ἀναιρέσεως' (Viger).

a 7 Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὡς ἀπαλλάττων καὶ ἀπολύων. Plat. *Crat.* 405 B: *Οὐκοῦν ὁ καθαίρων θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀπολούων τε καὶ ἀπολύων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν οὗτος ἂν εἴη;* In *Crat.* 404 E Plato alludes to a more common derivation, from ἀπόλλυμι: πολλοὶ πεφόβηνται περὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ὥς τι δεινὸν μηνύοντος. Clem. Al. (*Strom.* i. 419) gives an absurd derivation from α privative and πολλῶν: Ἀπόλλων μέντοι μυστικῶς κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν πολλῶν νοούμενος ὁ εἷς ἐστι Θεός. Porphyry mentions another derivation, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτίνων πάλσεως, 112 b 4.

b 3 ⟨ἀπὸ τρόπου⟩. Plat. *Rep.* 470 B οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου λέγεις.

b 8 ἐξάγαγε πρὸ φόωσδε. Hom. *Il.* xvi. 187 f. Schol. 'περισσεύει ἡ πρὸ πρόθεσις.' But Eustathius more correctly says: 'In πρὸ φόωσδε the preposition is not used superfluously (κατὰ τὸ παρέλκον), but indicates the infant's coming *forth* into light: and here φόωσδε is explanatory of the preposition πρό.' In a similar passage, Hom. *Il.* xix. 103, φόωσδε stands alone:

σήμερον ἄνδρα φόωσδε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια
ἐκφανεῖ.

The insertion of πρό might be ascribed to the exigence of the metre, but Plutarch claims a special significance for it. In like manner Eustathius says that in *Il.* xix. 118

ἐκ δ' ἄγαγε πρὸ φόωσδε καὶ ἠλιτόμηνον ἐόντα

'the preposition πρό marks the *premature* birth,' which, however, is fully expressed in the words that follow. See Viger's note.

c 1 σύνθεσιν, '*composition*': cf. Aristot. *Rhet. ad Alexandr.* 26. 1 σκόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅπως μήτε συγκεχυμένη μήθ' ὑπερβατὴ ἔσται.

c 5 τὸν εὐηθέστερον μῦθον. This story is also told by Pausanias, 716.

c 8 Ἀλαλκομένει τῷ αὐτόχθονι. Pausan. ix. 777 'Alalkomenae is a village of no great size, and lies close to the foot of a mountain of moderate height. It got its name from Alalkomenes, an autochthon, who is said to have reared Athena: but others say that Alalkomenia was one of the daughters of Ogyges. Some distance from the village in the plain is a temple of Athena, and an ancient statue of ivory.'

Strab. 413 'Alalkomenae is mentioned by the Poet, . . . Ἀλαλκομενηῒς Ἀθήνη (Hom. *Il.* iv. 8).'

d 3 εὐκτέανον. Literally *rich*. Aesch. *Pers.* 897

καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους . . . πολυάνδρους (scil. πόλεις).

d 4 οὕτως, i.e. 'in the usual way,' 'the way you know.' The scribes, not recognizing this meaning, thought the word meant 'as follows,' and that a bridal song had been omitted. See Wyttenbach's note in his edition of Plutarch.

86 a 1 τὰς Τριτωνίδας. Triton was a river of Boeotia, near Alalkomenae. See note on 89 c 9.

d 5 ἐκ τῶν φυτῶν τῆς γῆς. The better order ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῶν φυτῶν is found in IO; either ἐκ or τῶν φυτῶν seems to have been misplaced.

d 7 τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν. Hesiod, *Opp.* 223

> Οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν
> ἰθείας καὶ μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου,
> . . . .
> τοῖσι φέρει μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς
> ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας.

In Plat. *Rep.* 363 B this passage is quoted together with Hom. *Od.* xix. 109 seqq.

2] **87 a** 4 ⟨ἐπιστάσεως⟩. For ἀναστάσεως ἄξιον, the reading of all MSS. which Gaisford retains, read ⟨ἐπιστάσεως⟩ ἄξιον with Toup, and compare Polybius, xi. 2. 4 πέφηνεν ἡμῖν ἄξιος ἐπιστάσεως εἶναι καὶ ζήλου, and many other passages. Cf. *Lexic. Polybian.* in voc. '*Sed praesertim* ἐπίστασις dicitur, cum subsistimus ad rem, et ei immoramur, ad eam considerandam et expendendam: *hinc* animadversio, attentio, diligentia, cura, *et similia.*' Viger conjectures ἀνατάσεως, which is found in 132 d, but is far less appropriate.

c 6 Plat. *Crat.* 397 C, D quoted also 29 c 3, 103 c 2.

d 1 τούτων παλαίτατα. On the use of the superlative 'as expressing a very high degree of superiority arising from a comparison,' see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 502. 3; Donaldson, *Gk. Gr.* 416; Bernhardy, *Gr. Syntax*, 438. Hom. *Od.* v. 105

> φησί τοι ἄνδρα παρεῖναι ὀϊζυρώτατον ἄλλων.

Thucyd. i. 1 ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων. St. Joh. *Ev.* i. 15 ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. Heikel proposes to read παλαίτερα, quite unnecessarily and without authority of MSS. On the Egyptian origin of Grecian gods and ceremonies, see Hdt. ii. 52, and G. W. (Birch) ii. 497 ff.

d 2 The natural order of the words is inverted, Osiris being the sun, and Isis the moon.

d 6 Νεῖλον. Wiedemann, 147, quotes a hymn in honour of 'the living and beautiful Nile,' in which he is called 'father of all the gods.'

d 8 'Αθηνᾶν. See the note on 113 c 2.

88 a 2 Ἥφαιστον. Plat. *Crat.* 407 C Φαῖστος ὢν τὸ ἦτα προσελκυσάμενος. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 174, n. 3 'The name is probably derived from ἧφθαι.' Cf. 89 a 1. A different derivation is suggested by Brugsch (Birch, iii. 16 note), 'The name of the god is the same as the Egyptian *Ptah* or *Patah*, "to open," in the sense of

"builder, constructor, sculptor."' Cf. Masp. i. 156. n. 3, and Porph. *De Imag.* quoted on 115 b 3.

a 4 Μανεθῶς. Cf. 44 c 8.

a 5 τῇ προλεχθείσῃ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ. Cf. 18 d 8.

3] b 1 τὸν Ἥλιον, φησί, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, Ὄσιριν ὄντας καὶ Ἶσιν. For these explanatory words added by Eusebius, Diod. Sic. i. 11 has only ὑφίστανται. A further explanation κατ' Αἰγυπτίους after ὄντας is found only in the later MSS.

b 4 καὶ θερινῇ. The omission of these words in AH reduces the seasons to two, spring and winter, instead of the three of four months each described by Birch, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 373, with reference to this passage of Diodorus.

c 2 Φασὶ δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι πλεῖστα. The alteration of this, the text of Diodorus, into φύσιν συμβ. πλείστην, whether made by Eusebius himself or by his transcribers, seems to have arisen from not observing the construction, τῶν θεῶν τούτων τὸν μὲν κ.τ.λ. and the partitive sense of the genitives πυρώδους, πνεύματος, κ.τ.λ., after συμβάλλεσθαι, for which cf. Eur. *Med.* 284

Συμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦδε δείματος.

d 8 Δία. Cf. 59 b 4, 818 a Διὸ δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται ὁ κόσμος ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιος ἡμῖν ἐστι.

89 a 1 Ἥφαιστον. See note on 88 a 2.

a 4 μητέρα. The goddess Mut, whose name signifies 'Mother,' may be supposed to represent Nature, the mother of all. She was the wife of Amen Râ, 'mistress of the gods,' 'lady of heaven.' Her statues with a lion's head are found in almost every great museum of the world. Cf. Birch, iii. 31; Wiedemann, 122.

a 5 Δήμητραν. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* 40. 2

Σεμνὴ Δήμητερ, κουροτρόφος, ὀλβιοδῶτι,
πλουτοδότειρα θεά.

On the form Δήμητραν, see note on 45 d 3.

b 5 There is said to be in the museum at York a tablet with the inscription

Ωκεανωι και Τηθυι Δημητριος.

This was probably a votive offering before the return-voyage of Demetrius from Britain. Cf. Plut. *De Orac. Def.* 410 a Δημήτριος μὲν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐκ Βρεττανίας εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀνακομιζόμενος οἴκαδε. See note on 184 c 10.

b 6 Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι . . . τὸν Νεῖλον. Cf. Hdt. ii. 21 Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη

. . . λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δ' Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν. Diod. Sic. i. 37 οἱ μὲν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ περιρρέοντος τὴν οἰκουμένην Ὠκεανοῦ φασιν αὐτὸν τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνειν.

c 2 Διός. Diospolis (*Thebes*), Heliopolis (*On*, Aûnû), Hermopolis (Khmûnû), Apollinopolis (Edfû), Panopolis (Akhmûn), Eileithyiapolis (El-Kab). 'Even the Greeks resorted to El-Kab to pray to Eileithyia' (Ermann, 20). A temple, a sphinx, and part of the ancient walls have been discovered at El-Kab, which was the seat of Nechebt (Eileithyia) the vulture-goddess. Cf. Masp. i. 102; Wiedemann, 141.

c 9 Τριτογένειαν. According to Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 381 E, the Pythagoreans, who even adorned numbers and geometrical figures with the names of the gods, 'called the equilateral triangle "Athena born from the head," and "Tritogeneia," because it is bisected by three perpendiculars drawn from the angles.' On this last expression compare *Timaeus the Locrian*, 98 B, in Bekker's *Plato*, ix ἰσοπλεύρω τριγώνω δίχα τετμαμένω καθέτῳ ἀπὸ τᾶς κορυφᾶς ἐς τὰν βάσιν ἐς ἴσα μέρεα δύο.

Athena was claimed by the dwellers on the Lake Tritonis in Libya as having been born there (Hdt. iv. 180 τῇ αὐθιγενέϊ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν). The same derivation is mentioned by the Scholiast on Hom. *Il.* iv. 515, and by Eur. *Ion* 871 f. Others derive the name Tritogeneia from Trito, a river of Boeotia, or from τριτώ, a Boeotian word for 'head.' But see Preller, l. c., who accepts the derivation from Τρίτων, as meaning 'rushing water.' Athena is identified with the Egyptian goddess Neïth by Plat. *Tim.* 21 E; G. W. (Birch, iii. 39–44).

d 2 γλαυκῶπιν. Schol. Min. ad Hom. *Il.* i. 206 ἡ γλαυκοὺς καὶ καταπληκτικοὺς ὦπας ἔχουσα. The epithet seems to describe a peculiar *gleam* or *glare* of the eyes (so L. and Scott). Cf. Pausan. i. 14. 6 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὕρισκον. Τούτοις γάρ ἐστιν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος καὶ λίμνης Τριτωνίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοὺς εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

90 b 3 βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι. On the divinity ascribed to Egyptian kings see Wiedemann, 175. 6; Ermann, 57, 60, &c.; Masp. i. 263.

c 1 Ἄμμωνα. 'Ammon was also considered the same as Jupiter, because he was the king of the gods.' G. W. (Birch, iii. 12).

c 3 ὁμώνυμον. On the derivation of the name Phra (Pharaoh) from Ra, the sun, see G. W. (Birch, 44); Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 88. n. 1. Masp. i. 87 'The fiery disk *Atonû*, by which the sun revealed himself to men, was a living god, called Râ, as was also the planet itself.' Cf. Wiedemann, 14–26; G. W. (Birch, i. 16).

d 3 Νεῖλον. On the identification of Osiris with the Nile see Masp. i. 172; Birch, iii. 74 ff.

91 b 2 γαλεαγκῶνα. 'Short in the upper arm like a weasel.' Cf. Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* i. 15. 3 'The parts of the arm are the shoulder (ὦμος), the upper arm (ἀγκών), the elbow (ὠλέκρανον), the fore-arm (πῆχυς), the hand.' Hence in *Physiogn.* iii. 13 Φιλόκυβοι γαλεαγκῶνες καὶ ὀρχησταί, 'Dicers and dancers have short upper arms.'

b 5 Νεκρῶν. Cf. *Clem. Recogn.* x. 25 on the deification of dead men.

4] **92 b** 1 Χαιρήμων. Porphyry's *Epistle to Anebo*, the Egyptian prophet, is contained (in fragments) in Gale's edition of 'Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*' (London, 1670), and in Parthey's edition of the same work (Berlin, 1857). The answer to Porphyry is entitled Ἀβάμμωνος διδασκάλου πρὸς τὴν Πορφυρίου πρὸς Ἀνεβὼ ἐπιστολὴν ἀπόκρισις, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπορημάτων λύσεις. Though written under the fictitious name 'Abammon,' it is supposed to have been the work of Iamblichus, and is commonly quoted as 'Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*.'

The passage here quoted by Eusebius occurs near the end of the Epistle (§ 36), and is in part reproduced in the answer, *De Myst.* viii. 4. This answer has so much in common with the passage of Porphyry quoted by Eusebius, that it is desirable to quote the original Greek. *Χαιρήμων δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ τὸν κόσμον ἅπτονται πρώτων αἰτίων τὰς τελευταίας ἀρχὰς ἐξηγοῦνται· ὅσοι τε τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ τὸν ζωδιακὸν τούς τε δεκανοὺς καὶ ὡροσκόπους καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους κραταιοὺς καὶ ἡγεμόνας παραδιδόασιν, τὰς μεριστὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν διανομὰς ἀναφαίνουσι. Τά τε ἐν τοῖς Σαλμεσχινιακοῖς μέρος τι βραχύτατον περιέχει τῶν Ἑρμαϊκῶν διατάξεων. Καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστέρων ἢ φάσεων* (sic) *ἢ κρύψεων ἢ σελήνης αὐξήσεων ἢ μειώσεων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις εἶχε τὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις αἰτιολογίαν.*

Chaeremon of Alexandria, mentioned again 198 b 5, as ὁ Ἱερογραμματεύς, was the keeper and expounder of the sacred books in the library of the Serapeum, and afterwards one of the

tutors of Nero. His chief work was a *History of Egypt*. Eusebius says (*H. E.* vi. 19) that Origen 'studied the books of Chaeremon the Stoic.' Strab. 806 describes Chaeremon as a boastful and ridiculous sciolist who accompanied Aelius Gallus on his voyage to Egypt. On the passage of Porphyry see Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, i. 537, 539, and G. W. (Birch, ii. 505).

b 2 ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τιθέμενοι. So Gaisford reads with the later MSS. instead of ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγων τιθ. AII, a simpler reading which it would have been better to retain. See, however, 119 a 3 ἐν ἀρχῆς τε λόγῳ τίθεσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

b 4 παρανατέλλουσι. This refers not to the time of rising, as συνανατέλλω, but to the position of stars near the zodiac. 'Videntur Παρανατέλλοντας appellasse proprie qui decanorum sunt administri et λειτουργοί, diversique censebantur a planetis et signis ipsis.' Salmasius, *De annis climact.* 553 quoted by Seguier, who adds: 'Citat Diodorum Tarsensem *Contra Genethliacos* Porphyrius in *Introductione ad Ptolemaeum*: Ὑπόκεινται τοῖς δεκανοῖς οἱ εἰρημένοι ἐν τῷ ζωδιακῷ κύκλῳ παρανατέλλοντες, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ πρόσωπα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων.' The Ptolemaeus above mentioned is the celebrated astronomer, and the work to which Porphyry wrote an Introduction was entitled *Tetrabiblon de Apotelesmatibus et Judiciis Astrorum*.

b 5 δεκανούς. The 360 degrees of the Ecliptic were divided by ancient astrologers into 36 'decani,' and the 'decanus' thus containing 10 degrees is called by Firmicus Maternus, ii. 4 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xii. Col. 971) 'praeses decem partium signi.' 'Definit Firmicus lib. ii. c. 9: Decanos magni numinis et potestatis esse, et per ipsos prospera omnia et infortunia decerni.' Infra, 278 d 8 τριάκοντα ἓξ κατὰ τοὺς δεκανούς. See the exact words of Firmicus in Kroll's edition (Teubner) lib. ii. c. 4.

ὡροσκόπους. The star which was rising at the moment of a child's birth was called his ὡροσκόπος: the term was also applied to the calculation of the relations of this star to the positions of certain other planets and stars; cf. 556 c 5 ὡροσκοπείων τηρήσεις. Cf. Pers. *Sat.* vi

'Geminos, horoscope, varo
Producis genio.'

Dio Cassius, quoted by Seguier, defines the horoscope as the sign of the Zodiac, τὸ μύριον τὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐπισκοποῦν ὅτε τις εἰς φῶς εἰσῄει.

b 6 κραταιοὺς ἡγεμόνας. For this we find in Iamblichus, *De Myst.* viii. 4 (Parthey) κραταιοὺς καὶ ἡγεμόνας, 'Potentates and Rulers.' Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 6

λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι.

ἐν τοῖς Ἀλμενιχιακοῖς φέρεται. The form ἀλμενιχιακοῖς is found in AHIO, and ἀλμενιαχοῖς in B. These are all the oldest and best MSS. of Eusebius, by whose quotation the fragment of Porphyry has been preserved. In the answer of Iamblichus (*De Myst.* viii. 4) besides ἀλμενιχιακοῖς, ἀλμενικιακοῖς, ἀλμενισχιακοῖς the MSS. contain several forms beginning with σ, σαλμενισχιακοῖς, σαλμεσχινιακοῖς, σαλαμινιακοῖς. These latter have evidently been derived from the older form by the repetition of σ, the last letter of the preceding word τοῖς, a very common and well known cause of various readings.

The form ἀλμενιχιακοῖς (ἀλμενιαχοῖς) is generally admitted to be the Greek transliteration of an Arabic word formed from the article **al** and a root **mnh**, **manach**, common to the Semitic languages, and meaning 'to count.' See *Encycl. Brit.*, Murray's *English Dictionary*, 'Almanac,' and especially Fürst's *Vet. Test. Concord.* viii. Tabula Comparativa, 1410.

Whether the words of the fragment preserved by Eusebius are those of Chaeremon (1–50 A.D.) or of Porphyry himself (233–305 A.D.), we have in the Greek transliteration a clear indication of the Arabic original of 'almanac' nearly a thousand years earlier than its first certain appearance in English, in Roger Bacon (1275 A.D.) (Murray).

From the context in Porphyry and Iamblichus we learn that the Ἀλμενιχιακά contained an account of the planets, the signs of the Zodiac, the stars which rise near them, the 'decani' or divisions of the Ecliptic of ten degrees each, the horoscopes derived from all these and the ruling planets and stars, their powers to heal diseases, and their risings and settings, and indications of future events.

As these were precisely the contents of the older 'almanacs,' it is impossible to doubt the connexion of the modern name with ἀλμενιχιακά, which admits of no other rendering.

Whether the European languages received the word 'almanac' direct from the Arabic, or through the Greek, is at present an open question. Iamblichus states distinctly that the Ἀλμενιχιακά

were compiled in part at least from the works of Hermes Trismegistus (τά τε ἐν τοῖς Ἀλμενιχιακοῖς μέρος τι βραχύτατον περιέχει τῶν Ἑρμαϊκῶν διατάξεων): these διατάξεις were descriptions of the 'relative positions' of stars and planets. On the countless works, published and unpublished, which are attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, see Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* i. 11, where, referring to our present passage, he writes, 'In *Epistola Porphyrii ad Anebonem* Aegyptium, quam refert Eusebius lib. iii. *Praeparat.* cap. 4, legitur ἐν τοῖς Ἀλμενιχιακοῖς, quod notius vocabulum est Arabum, qui Persicam appellationem ita corruperunt, et Calendarium Almanach nominant.'

c 5 φάνσεις. A more usual form is φάσεις, as in Tim. Locr. 97 B φάσιάς τε καὶ κρύψιας καὶ ἐκλείψιας.

ἐπιτολάς. The first visible rising of a star in the morning twilight was called ἐπιτολὴ ἑῴα φαινομένη, *Ortus matutinus apparens.* See Bredow's long note in Goeller on Thuc. ii. 78. The last visible rising of a star after sunset was called ἐπιτολὴ ἑσπερία φαινομένη, *Ortus vespertinus apparens.* See *Dict. Gk. Rom. Antiq.*, 'Astronomia.' The ἐπιτολὴ ἑῴα of Arcturus is described by Hesiod, *Opp.* 609, in the words Ἀρκτοῦρον δ' ἐσίδῃ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς. Cf. Theophrast. *Fr.* vi. 2 Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνατολαὶ διτταί, αἱ μὲν ἑῷοι ὅταν προανατέλλῃ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἄστρον, αἱ δ' ἀκρόνυχοι ὅταν ἅμα δυομένῳ ἀνατέλλῃ. Cf. Jul. Firm. Materni, *Math.* ii. 8.

d 3 τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* iii. 5 ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὸ πράττειν, καὶ τὸ μὴ πράττειν.

d 6 τοῖς θεοῖς. Cf. Hdt. ii. 171, n. 3 'Though the Egyptians are said to believe the gods were capable of influencing destiny (Eus. *Pr. Ev.* iii. 4), it is evident that Osiris (like the Greek Zeus) was bound by it; and the wicked were punished, not because he rejected them, but because they *were* wicked' (G. W.).

d 10 ἀπόρρητος θεολογία. Cf. Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, i. 535 (London, 1845), 'This ἀπόρρητος θεολογία, this arcana (*sic*) and recondite theology of the Egyptians, was concealed from the vulgar two manner of ways, by fables of (*sic*) allegories, and by symbols or hieroglyphics.'

93 b 1 ἡ δόξα. 'Mihi rationem reddere non possum utrum in Eusebio fuerit dolus vel oscitatio, cum priscis Aegyptiis tribuit doctrinas Chaeremonis, prorsus ab eorum doctrina alienas. Idem est ac si quis Homerum Stoicum diceret. Chaeremon religionem

Aegyptiacam intervertit, sicut Graecam Zeno et Chrysippus interverterunt' (Seguier). Cf. Wiedemann, 226, note, 'Star-worship in any strict sense of the term was extremely rare in Egypt: two references only are made to it on the monuments, and both date from the nineteenth Dynasty.' Ermann, 350 'Though it has not been proved that astrology, i. e. the use of the stars in a superstitious way, was practised in Egypt, yet the stars were of great service in questions of the calendar.'

d 3 *διὰ πάντων διῆλθε τῶν ζώων.* Porph. *De Abst.* iv. 9. On this passage compare Warburton, *Div. Leg. of Moses*, iv. 4. 6. 5 'Porphyry supposes that *the doctrine of God's pervading all things was the original of brute-worship.* But (1) It proves too much: for according to this notion, everything would have been the object of divine worship amongst the early Egyptians; but we know many were not. (2) Nothing could have been the object of their execration; but we know many were. (3) This notion was never an opinion of the people, but of a few of the learned only; and (4) those not of the learned of Egypt, but of Greece. In a word, this pretended original of brute-worship was only an invention of their late philosophers to hide the deformities, and to support the credit of declining paganism.'

d 4 *θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους.* Cf. Hdt. ii. 42 'Heracles wished of all things to see Zeus, but Zeus was not willing to be seen of him. At last, when Heracles persisted, Zeus hit on a device—to flay a ram, cut off his head, hold it before him, and having clothed himself in the fleece, to show himself thus to Heracles. From this cause the Egyptians make their statue of Zeus with the face of a ram.' On the worship of the ram-headed god at Thebes see Wiedemann, 119 f.

94 a 4 *νομόν.* The Greek name of the administrative districts of Egypt, Scythia, Persia, Babylonia. Cf. Hdt. ii. 164; iv. 62.

Βουσιρίτην. Strab. 802 'Near Mendes is Diospolis, and the lakes around it, and Leontopolis; then farther off the city Busiris in the Busirite Nome, and Cynopolis.'

b 1 *ἐν τῇ ἀνοίξει τοῦ ἁγίου.* Cf. G. W. (Birch, iii. 91) 'As soon as he (Apis) was buried, permission was given to the priests to enter the temple of Sarapis (Note.—Probably of Osiris or Apis), though previously forbidden during the whole of the ceremony.'

Σαράπιδος. The various accounts of Sarapis or Serapis in

ancient authors are much complicated by the confusion between two deities, one originally Egyptian, the other introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy Soter, who caused his colossal statue to be brought from Sinope in Pontus and set up in the famous Serapeium at Alexandria (Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 38). As allusions to both forms of the tradition are found in Eusebius, the simplest way will be to refer briefly here to the several points noticed, reserving fuller particulars for the notes on each passage. In 113 a the worship of Sarapis is connected by Porphyry with that of the Sun and of Pluto. In 135 b Eusebius himself mentions the destruction by lightning of the Serapeium at Alexandria. In 174 a, b, c Sarapis is identified by Porphyry with Pluto, and described as the chief ruler of the daemons. In 201 b he is described by himself in verses quoted by Porphyry. In 499 c, d he is identified in authors quoted by Clement of Alexandria (1) with Apis, king of Argos, and (2) with Apis, the sacred bull of Egypt; or rather with his mummy, under the name Soro-Apis, 'tomb of Apis.'

ἡ θεραπεία. Strab. 801 says that at Canopus there was *τὸ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλῇ ἁγιστείᾳ τιμώμενον καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρον.* Cic. *De Divinat.* ii. 50 'An Aesculapius, an Serapis potest nobis praescribere per somnum curationem valetudinis?' Tacitus (*Hist.* iv. 84), after describing the alleged miracles of healing wrought by Vespasian at Alexandria by the admonition of the god Serapis, narrates the transference of his image from Sinope, and the building of a magnificent temple at Rhacotis, where there had been an ancient shrine sacred to Serapis and Isis. He then adds—'Deum ipsum multi Aesculapium quod medeatur aegris corporibus . . . coniectant.' Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 352 A; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 523.

b 4 *τὰ μέτοχα.* In this corrupt passage Nauck reads *ταῦτ' οὖν σέβονται [τὰ μέτοχα] καὶ μάλιστα [πλέον] τούτων [ἐσέφθησαν] τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἱερῶν μετέχοντα· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κ.τ.λ.* 'These elements therefore they reverence, and of these chiefly those which have a larger share in the offerings: and next to these all living things, &c.'

b 7 *Ἄναβιν.* See below 117 b, where the same statement is repeated. Cf. Wiedemann, 177 'According to some of the earliest Christian writers, it was the practice in Anabe (*sic*)—

a place of which we know no other mention—to choose out a man for worship and to make offerings to him. But for the rest, and apart from the recognized divinity of the king, living human incarnations of deity were in historic times everywhere supplied by other, and particularly animal, incorporations.' On the deification of the kings cf. Masp. i. 263.

c 4 *ἱέρακα*. Hdt. ii. 65 'whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, whether by accident or on purpose, must needs die.'

c 6 *ἐπαμώμενον*. 'The older printed edition has *ἐπαμώμενον εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*, which is the true reading: for there follows, what Eusebius omits, *ἐν οἷς τὸ ἡλιακὸν κατοικεῖν πεπιστεύκασι φῶς*' (Viger). On the association of the hawk with the sun-god, see Wiedemann, 26 f., and Hom. *Od.* xv. 525

Ὣς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος.

In Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 371 D the hawk is the emblem of power and dominion, and in 363 F the emblem of Deity.

d 2 *θορόν*. Cf. Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* v. 19. 18 *Οἱ δὲ κάνθαροι ἣν κυλίουσι κόπρον, ἐν ταύτῃ φωλεύουσί τε τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ ἐντίκτουσι σκωλήκια, ἐξ ὧν γίνονται κάνθαροι.* Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* x. 355 A.

d 3 *ἀνταναφέρει*. Cf. the description in Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 234 *ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοείας ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος ἀντιπρόσωπος κυλινδεῖ.* Also see below 117 d 2 *καθάπερ ὁ ἥλιος τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πόλῳ ποιεῖται δρόμον.*

d 5 *περὶ κριοῦ κ.τ.λ.* As to the ram see Hdt. ii. 42; Crocodile, ibid. 69; Vulture, iii. 76; Ibis, ii. 75 f. Cf. Juven. *Sat.* xv. 2 (quoted on 49 d 6); Justin M. *Apol.* i. 24 'Others in various places worship trees and rivers, and mice and cats and crocodiles, and most of the irrational animals.' For similar arguments against idolatry see Tatian, *Ad Graecos*, x; Athenag. *Supplicat.* xiv–xvii; *Clem. Recogn.* v. 15. Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 27 'It is an act of piety among certain tribes to worship a crocodile, and to eat of what is worshipped among others.'

5] **95 d** 7 *πηρώσεως*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 599 *αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν*, i. e. the Muses made Thamyris *blind*. Schol. *Πηρὸς γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ κατά τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος βεβλαμμένος.*

6] **96 b** 8 *μετεωρολέσχαις*. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 489 C *ἀχρήστους καὶ μετεωρολέσχας.*

c 1 Ὧρος. Wiedemann, 27 'By the name of Horus, at least two entirely distinct deities were originally denoted—Horus the son of Isis, and Horus the sun-god'; 223 'Horus the son of Isis appears in the Osirian legend first as the child Ḥer-Pe-Khred, "Horus the child," Harpocrâtes, with his finger in his mouth. . . . His original nature can no longer be determined; even in prehistoric times he had already blended with Horus the Sun-god, from whom there is no distinguishing him in the texts.' Masp. i. 100 'Horus the Sun, and Râ the Sun-god of Heliopolis had so permeated each other that none could say where the one began and the other ended.'

d 1 ὥσπερ διὰ μηχανῆς. Cf. 121 b 5, and the note there.

97 d 2 Πορφυρίῳ. 'Among the books which Eusebius has introduced almost in their entirety there is from 97 d to 118 Porph. Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων.' Valck. *Diatr. de Arist.* xxvii. 83.

7] d 3 Φθέγξομαι. Orph. *Fr.* i. 1 quoted at length 664 d, by Justin M. *Cohort. ad Gent.* xv; *De Monarchia* ii; Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vii. 74, and elsewhere. It is alluded to by Plat. *Sympos.* 218 B, which proves its antiquity, *οἱ δὲ οἰκέται, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐστὶ βέβηλός τε καὶ ἄγροικος, πύλας πάνυ μεγάλας τοῖς ὠσὶν ἐπίθεσθε.*

βέβηλοι. βεβήλοις Hermann. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Βέβηλοι. ἀμύητοι.

98 b 5 πυρὸς διανόησιν. Pind. *Ol.* i. 1

ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου.

c 2 ἀμφιάσεσι. A late word occurring thrice in LXX., Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 7, xxxviii. 9, formed from ἀμφιάζω (LXX), and this from ἀμφί as ἀντιάζω from ἀντί.

8] 99 b 1 Ἡ δὲ τῶν ξοάνων ποίησις. This fragment preserved by Eusebius is probably part of the work *De Daedalis Plataeensibus* mentioned above (83 b 2); and is given by Wyttenbach, Plut. *Mor.* Vol. v. 506.

b 2 ξύλινον. On the simplicity of ancient images cf. Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 40.

b 3 ἐπὶ τῶν θεωριῶν. Plat. *Phaed.* 58 A (Cope) 'This is the vessel in which, according to the Athenian tradition, Theseus once went with those twice seven to Crete, and saved their lives and his own to boot. So they made a vow to Apollo, as the story

god, at the time, that if they got safe back, they would dispatch a sacred embassy (*θεωρίαν*) to Delos every year: which in fact they have sent ever since year by year to the god, as they still continue to do.' Cf. Thuc. iii. 104; Hom. *Hymn. ad Apoll. Del.* 140 sqq.

b 7 ⟨Σμίλιδος⟩. Callimach. *Fr.* 105, known only from this quotation. For *σκέλμιον*, the reading of the MSS., a word otherwise unknown, Bentley proposed Σκέλμιος or Κέλμιος as the name of some ancient sculptor. The right name is supplied by Athenag. *Legat.* xvii. 78 Δαίδαλος, Θεόδωρος, Σμῖλις ἀνδριαντοποιητικὴν καὶ πλαστικὴν προσεξεῦρον. xvii. 80 ἡ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ Ἥρα καὶ ἐν Ἄργει Σμίλιδος χεῖρες. Pausan. v. 17. 1 τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τούτων καθημένας ἐπὶ θρόνων Ὥρας ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης Σμῖλις. vii. 4. 4 ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον Αἰγινήτου Σμίλιδος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου. Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 41 τὸ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον Σμίλιδι (*vulg.* Σμίλῃ τῇ) Εὐκλείδου πεποιῆσθαι Ὀλύμπικος ἐν Σαμίοις ἱστορεῖ.

ἐπὶ τεθμὸν δηναιόν. Cf. Hom. *Od.* v. 245, xxi. 44 ἐπὶ στάθμην. The conjecture τεθμῷ is therefore unnecessary.

b 8 Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 40 'Some belonging to other races still more ancient set up blocks of wood in conspicuous places.' Pausan. vii. 579 τὰ δ' ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι.

b 10 Δαναός. The ancient temple of Athena at Lindus in Rhodes was said to have been built by Danaus (Diod. Sic. v. 58), or by his daughters in their flight from Egypt (Hdt. ii. 182; Strab. 655).

ἕδος. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ἕδος· τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται.

c 2 ὄγχνην. Pausan. 148, after describing several statues of Hera, proceeds thus: 'But the most ancient is made out of a wild pear, and was dedicated at Tiryns by Peirasus the son of Argus; but when the Argives destroyed Tiryns, they brought it into their temple of Hera: and I myself saw it, a sitting image of no great size.' Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 41 'Demetrius in the second book of his *Argolica*, writes of the image of Hera in Tiryns, that the material was pear-tree, and the artist was Argus.'

d 5 Γῆ μὲν οὖν. Plat. *Legg.* xii. 955 E; a famous passage

quoted by Cicero, *Legg.* ii. 18, by Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 692; Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 5; by Lactantius, *Instit. Div.* vi. 25; Theodoret. *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 49, 53. Apuleius, *Apolog.* 316, gives the sense of the passage thus: 'The purpose of this prohibition is, that no one should presume to set up shrines privately: for he judges that the public temples are sufficient for the citizens to offer their sacrifices.'

d 8 εὐαγές. 'In all MSS. of Plato the reading is εὐχερές, but Clement, Eusebius, and Theodoret give εὐαγές, which is also confirmed by Cicero's translation *haud satis castum*, and by Lactantius, 'ebur non castum donum Dei' (Ast).

9] **100** a 1 Porph. ap. Stob. *Eclog.* i. 2. 23.

a 2 τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου. Cf. A. Mai, *De novo Porphyrii opere, 'Ad Marcellam'*: at the end of the work Mai adds a poetical fragm. ἐκ τοῦ δεκάτου τῆς Πορφ^ου^. ἐκ λογίων φ^ας^., of which the last lines, addressed to the Supreme Being, are as follows:

> Τύνη δ' ἐσσὶ πατὴρ καὶ μητέρος ἀγλαὸν εἶδος,
> Καὶ τεκέων τέρεν ἄνθος, ἐν εἴδεσιν εἶδος ὑπάρχων,
> Καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ἁρμονία καὶ ἀριθμός.

b 2 Ζεὺς πρῶτος. On the following hymn see Abel, *Orphica*, 203; Hermann, *Orphica*, *Fr.* vi; Valckenaer, *De Aristobulo*, 406 ff.; Cudworth, i. 506 f.

The first seven verses, and the last two, are quoted in the treatise *De Mundo*, vii, a work ascribed to Aristotle, but regarded as spurious: Διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐ κακῶς λέγεται, Ζεὺς πρῶτος κ.τ.λ.

ἀργικέραυνος. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xix. 121 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἀργικέραυνε.

b 3 Ζεὺς κεφαλή. This second verse is quoted by Plutarch, *De Orac. Def.* 436 D, in a slightly different form—

> Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται.

b 4 Ζεὺς ἄρσην . . . νύμφη. Cf. 686 b 7 Ἄφθιτε, μητροπάτωρ, 687 a 1.

c 2 Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 726

> ἓν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο μέγας οὐρανὸν αἴθων,
> ἓν δὲ τὰ πάντα τέτυκται, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
> πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ γαῖα,

καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

c 5 Μῆτις. 'Cf. Procl. *In Plat. Alcib.* iii. 88 ἐν γὰρ τῷ Διὶ ὁ Ἔρως ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ Μῆτίς ἐστι πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ Ἔρως πολυ-

τερπής, καὶ ὁ Ἔρως πρόεισιν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ συνυπέστη τῷ Διὶ πρώτως ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτης ἐστί, καὶ ἁβρὸς Ἔρως, ὡς Ὀρφεύς φησι' (Abel).

'Μῆτιν non minus quam Φάνητα et Ἠρικαπαῖον esse masculina Dei nomina apud Orphicos ex MSS. Damascii et Proclis locis apparet, quos laudavit Bentleius in Epistola ad Millium de Johanne Malela, p. 2 sq., ubi inter alia felici emendatione restituit versum,

Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτὸν Ἠρικαπαῖον.

Et p. 4 ex Procli MS.

Ἁβρὸς Ἔρως καὶ Μῆτις ἀτάσθαλος' (Gesner).

c 6 πάντα. Procl. *In Plat. Parmen.* iii. 22 ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ὁ Ἔρως ὁ πολυτερπὴς καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς ἐν γεγονότα Ζηνὸς ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πέφυκε. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 529.

c 7 Τοῦ δή τοι. The preservation of this and the remaining verses is due to Eusebius, occasional lines being also quoted by Proclus. 'Utrum hic sint quae Christianorum ingeniis debeantur, haud dixerim. Ad rem quidem suam illos verba Orphicorum, invitis illis, traxisse apparet' (Gesner).

κεφαλή. 'Serapis ap. Macrob. *Saturn.* i. cap. 20 non absimilia sibi tribuebat his versibus:

Εἰμὶ θεὸς τοιόσδε μαθεῖν οἷον κἀγὼ εἴπω.
Οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλή, γαστὴρ δὲ θάλασσα,
Γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἰσί, τὰ δ' οὔατ' ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται·
Ὄμματα τηλαυγῆ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.' (Viger).

101 b 1 γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ'. παμμήτωρ Stob. *Hom. Hymn.* xxx. 1
Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν ἀείσομαι.

c 1 θέσκελα ῥέζων. Cf. Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, vii. 4
ἐξ ἱερῆς κραδίης ἀνενέγκατο μέρμερα ῥέζων.

i. e. 'in careful, or anxious, action.' So in 685 d.

c 2 Ζεὺς οὖν κ.τ.λ. In the Vatican MS. of Stobaeus this passage is quoted under the name of Porphyry, ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων.

c 3 δημιουργεῖ τοῖς νοήμασι. This description of the deity agrees with the doctrine of the Stoics in Diog. Laert. vii. 134 ἕν τε εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Δία. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, vi. 148, 155 God and primary Matter are one and the same substance, which, 'when conceived of as acting force, is called all-pervading Ether, all-warming Fire, all-penetrating Air,

Nature, Soul of the world, Reason of the world, Providence, Destiny, God.' See also R. and Pr. *Hist. Philos.* 408, with the note.

c 8 λόγοις σπερματικοῖς. Zeller, *Stoics*, vii. 172 'In action as the creative force in nature, this universal Reason also bears the name of Generative Reason (λόγος σπερματικός). . . . In the same sense, generative powers in the plural, or λόγοι σπερματικοί, are spoken of as belonging to Deity and Nature.'

d 8 ἀετόν. Gray, *Progress of Poetry*

'Perching on the scepter'd hand
Of Jove thy magic lulls the feathered king.'

d 9 Νίκην. Here an image of Victory. Niké was the daughter of Styx and Pallas, the son of the Titan Crius, and came with her mother and sisters to the aid of Zeus against the Titans: cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 2. 4; Hesiod, *Theog.* 383–403; on Νίκη ἄπτερος and her temple see Pausan. 245, and Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, Appendix.

Bacchyl. *Od.* xi. 1 Νίκα γλυκύδωρε κ.τ.λ.

xii. 4

ἐς γὰρ ὀλβίαν
ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα
νᾶσον Αἰγίνας ⟨ἀπαίρει⟩.

Vulg. ἀπάρχει. Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1671

οὗ δ' ὥρισέν σε πρῶτα Μαιάδος τόκος
Σπάρτης ἀπάρας.

102 a 3 τὰ ἔπη. The Orphic verses quoted on 100 b.

103 c 5 Chaeremon. See 92 b.

10] **104 a** 5 ὦμοι. Cf. 101 a 4–b 1.

d 2 παραδείγματι. Cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 20 Παραδειγμάτων δ' εἴδη δύο· ἓν μὲν γάρ ἐστι παραδείγματος εἶδος τὸ λέγειν πράγματα προγεγενημένα, ἓν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. τούτου δ' ἓν μὲν παραβολή, ἓν δὲ λόγοι.

Eusebius here uses the word in the sense of παραβολή, 'comparison,' 'illustration.' The more common meaning of παραδείγματι χρήσασθαι is 'to take as an example,' as in Thuc. iii. 10 παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χρώμενοι.

d 5 προσωποποιεῖν, 'to represent as a person,' i.e. with human attributes. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 66 Ἔστι καὶ τὸ τῆς προσωποποιίας παρ' αὐτῷ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ διάφορα πρόσωπα εἰσάγει διαλεγόμενα, οἷς καὶ ἤθη παντοῖα περιτίθησιν.

105 a 8 ἦν, 'is, as was said.' Cf. 100 d 6; Stallb. Plat. *Crit.* 47 D 'Recte vero poni Imperfectum ubi superiora respiciuntur docebunt quae leguntur *Phaed.* 68 B, 72 A, 79 C–E, &c.'

106 a 3 λόγοις σπερματικοῖς. Cf. 101 c 8.

b 3 σῶμα ἀνθρώπειον. By 'a human body' the author evidently means the representation of the human body in the statue of a god.

b 8 εἰκόνα καταγέγραπται, 'is represented in a deaf and dumb image of living flesh by lifeless and dead matter.'

The passive verb is followed in construction by εἰκόνα as an accusative of cognate signification.

c 1 Gen. i. 26 Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.

d 9 νεκρῷ ἐλέφαντι. Cf. 99 d 8 ἐλέφας δὲ ἀπολελοιπότος ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ εὐαγὲς ἀνάθημα.

107 a 6 μνημεῖα. Cf. *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 45

ποῦ Ῥείης ἠὲ Κρόνοιο
ἠὲ Διὸς γενεὴ καὶ πάντων, οὓς ἐσεβάσθης
δαίμονας ἀψύχους, νεκύων εἴδωλα καμόντων,
ὧν Κρήτη καύχημα τάφους ἡ δύσμορος ἕξει
θρησκεύουσα θρόνοισιν ἀναισθήτοις νεκύεσσιν;

Lucian, *De Sacrif.* 10 'The Cretans say not only that Zeus was born and bred among them, but also show his tomb: and so we have been deceived all this time in supposing that Zeus was making the thunder and lightning and all the rest, whereas he had lain long hidden dead and buried among the Cretans.' Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 21; Diod. iii. 61; Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 143; *Anthol.* 475, 654.

b 4 Lactantius, *Instt.* i. 11, says that the tomb of Zeus 'is in Crete, in the town of Cnossus: . . . and on his tomb is an inscription in ancient Greek characters, "ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ," which is in Latin, "Iuppiter Saturni filius."'

Callimachus, *Hymn. ad Jov.* 8

'Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται.' καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.

This passage is quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 32.

It is not improbable that this very tomb may yet be identified in the progress of the excavations now being made in Crete, where Mr. Hogarth in 1899 'successfully explored the great cave of Zeus on Mount Dicta, discovering remains of a

prehistoric sanctuary and large deposits of votive bronze figures and other objects, among which the double axe, the symbol of the Cretan and Carian Zeus, was specially conspicuous.' Report of *Cretan Exploration Fund*, 1901.

b 5 Ἀτλάντιοι. Cf. Hdt. iv. 184 'The natives call this mountain "the pillar of heaven"; and they themselves take their name from it, being called Atlantes.'

d 11 ⟨εἴτε⟩. For εἴη τε αὐτός, we must certainly read εἴτε αὐτός. There are three suppositions: time may be either (1) identical with Cronos the son of Uranus, or (2) simultaneous with Uranus, or (3) subsequent to Cronos the son of Uranus: in any of these cases, the Creator both of heaven (Uranus) and of time must be prior to them all, and not, as Zeus was said to be, son of Cronos and grandson of Uranus.

11] **108 b** 3 λεπτομερέστατος. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, iii. 5. 2 ἀνάγκη πρότερον εἶναι τῇ φύσει τὸ λεπτομερέστερον. Ibid. 6 τὰ μὲν σώματα πάντα συγκεῖται ἐκ τοῦ λεπτομερεστάτου.

b 7 πολὺ πρότερον. This may mean either 'much rather,' as in Plat. *Lys.* 211 E μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ Δαρείου χρυσίον κτήσασθαι δεξαίμην πολὺ πρότερον ἑταῖρον, or it may be taken in the sense of time as in the first quotation from Aristotle in the preceding note.

c 5 Cf. 100 d 6.

c 7 ἐνοπή. Especially a 'war-cry,' Hom. *Il.* xii. 35 μάχη ἐνοπή τε.

d 5 ληθώ. Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 406 A.

109 a 6 προμαστοῦ. The Latin translation follows Viger's reading πρὸ μαστοῦ, 'uberum tenus,' 'down to the breast.' 'Dicitur autem προμαστός ut προγάστωρ' (Toup. ap. Gaisf.). I have not found προμαστός elsewhere.

c 8 κατὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπάς. Hesiod, *Opp.* 661

Ἤματα πεντήκοντα μετὰ τροπὰς ἠελίοιο.

Plat. *Legg.* xii. 945 D μετὰ τροπὰς ἡλίου τὰς ἐκ θέρους εἰς χειμῶνα, i. e. the summer solstice.

d 4 τοὺς καρπούς. καρποφόροι is an epithet applied to both Demeter and Koré. On their chief statues see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 749, 766.

Koré was the symbol of vegetation, as coming up out of the earth in spring, and disappearing in autumn.

d 5 τὰ κέρατα. Horns are not usually attributed to Koré, but see 114 a 2 τὴν τῶν κεράτων ἔκφυσιν.

110 a 3 κῆρας . . . βοράν, an absurd derivation of Κέρβερος.

a 4 ⟨οὗ⟩ χορηγός. On ἡ χορηγός, the reading of the MSS., Viger remarks, 'unless something has been lost, it seems that we ought to read ᾗ χορηγός, i. e. "inasmuch as Plato supplies the force." Perhaps we may read more fully παρὰ τὸ κνεῖν τὴν γῆν, ᾗ χορηγός, or better οὗ χορηγός, namely τοῦ κνεῖν.'

b 4 Σειληνός. Cf. 53 d 3. According to Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 729, Silenus was the symbol of flowing water.

b 8 προσγείου. Cf. Tim. Locr. 96 D ἁ μὲν ὧν σελάνα ποτιγειοτάτα ἐᾶσα ἔμμηνον τὰν περίοδον ἀποδίδωτι.

c 6 Δημήτηρ ἡ χλοηφόρος. Schol. ad Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1600 εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Cf. Pausan. 51. Athen. xiv. 618 τὴν Δήμητρα ὁτὲ μὲν Χλόην, ὁτὲ δὲ Ἰουλώ ('goddess of sheaves'). Eupolis, *Maricas, Fr.* 7

Ἀλλ' εὐθὺ πόλεως εἶμι, θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ
κριὸν Χλόῃ Δήμητρι.

d 5 ἐπιμάχου, 'an ally,' is more usually found in a passive sense, 'assailable,' as in Thuc. iv. 4 τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα ἐξεργασάμενοι.

d 6 Ἄττιν. Cf. Pausan. 566; Arnob. *Adv. Gentes*, v. 5–7. Attis, or Atys, symbolized the withering of unripe fruits, Adonis the gathering of the ripened harvest, after which he was supposed to disappear beneath the earth till the return of spring. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 361.

111 b 6 παρὰ τοῦ παμβασιλέως τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ. The MSS. AH have only τοῦ παμβασιλέως Θεοῦ, and with this shorter text we must render thus: 'the nature of whose soul is heavenly, rational, and immortal, capable of contemplating God the universal King by the purged eyes of thought.'

d 10 γεννητική. Amphitrite is called 'productive' as being the wife of Poseidon: Apollod. i. 4. 6 Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτην τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ γαμεῖ, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται Τρίτων καὶ Ῥόδη, ἣν Ἥλιος ἔγημε.

112 b 4 πάλσεως. In 85 a other derivations of Apollo are given, ἀπαλλάττων and ἀπολύων.

Ἐννέα. Cf. Plut. *Sympos.* 746 A 'Eight Muses find a place in spheres, and *one about the earth.* So the eight presiding over eight periods control and preserve the harmony of the planets with the fixed stars and with one another.'

In Porphyry the number nine is made up by the sun, moon, and five planets, the sphere of the earth (ὑποσελήνιος), and the sphere of the fixed stars (ἡ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς): but it seems doubtful what substantive should be supplied with τῆς ἀπλανοῦς. Is ἡ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς (σφαίρας) equivalent to ἡ τῆς τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαίρας Μοῦσα?

c 3 κλᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα. An absurd derivation of Ἡρακλῆς. Other derivations are given by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 20, and in the *Etym. M.* (Viger).

c 5 τῶν ζωδίων τὸ σύμβολον. Cf. *Orphic. Hymn.* xii. 12

δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἆθλα διέρπων.

d 5 καὶ μὴν κ.τ.λ. This addition of later MSS. is written in the margin of A, but omitted in H: 'Nevertheless the physical philosophers, in laying before us the order of the world, attributed to the animals which crawl along the ground (ἰλυσπώμενα) a very coarse and earthy nature.' The addition destroys the sentence in which it is interpolated, and looks like an objection written originally in the margin not improbably by Arethas himself. Seguier suggests that it was added by Eusebius to show that the opinion of the physical philosophers was opposed to that of Porphyry.

d 8 ἀποδύεται. Cf. Cyrill. Hieros. *Catech.* ii. 5; iii. 7; Smith, *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* (Macarius), 771 a 'They are freed from all their guilt more easily than a snake casts its slough.' Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* v. 17. 10 ἐκδύνουσι δὲ τὸ κέλυφος τοῦ ἔαρος, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄφεις τὸ καλούμενον γῆρας.

d 9 ὀξυδορκίας . . . φάρμακον. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 893 φάρμακον σωτηρίας. Diod. Sic. i. 25 Isis discovered τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον. Ignat. *Ad Ephes.* xx φάρμακον ἀθανασίας.

113 a 1 ἑτέρως ⟨ἢ⟩ ἡ τῶν ὑγροποιῶν καρπῶν. I have inserted ἢ, which may easily have been lost before ἡ.

a 2 Διόνυσος is here supposed to be derived from δινεῖν or διανύειν. Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 18 quotes an Orphic verse (*Fr.* vii. 7)

Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη,
Οὕνεκα δινεῖται κατ' ἀπείρονα μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον.

a 4 καιρῶν. Cf. 114 a 7, 8: 'tides,' as applied to portions of time. As ὥρας is here applied to the 'cosmical seasons, καιρῶν may probably mean the alternations of morning, noon, and night.'

b 1 Σάραπιν. See note on 94 b 1, also Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xxviii, xxix; Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 42; G. W. (Birch, iii. 87 ff.);

Wiedemann, 191 'It was in this form' (as the soul of the Apis) 'that Osiris was generally recognized by the Greeks, who, having endowed him with attributes derived from Pluto and Asklepios, named this half Greek, half Egyptian deity Sarapis, or Serapis.' Strab. 801 describes the worship of Serapis, and the cures wrought in his temple at Canopus.

A Latin inscription of the date 115–117 A.D. was found at Jerusalem by Dr. Bliss:

'Iovi O. M. Sarapidi
Pro salute et victoria
Imp. Nervae Traiani Caesaris.'

See *Palestine Exploration Fund Report*, April, 1895, p. 130, and April, 1896, p. 133.

b 3 *σχῆμα.* Porph. *Abst.* iv. 6 *ἀεὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ σχήματος αἱ χεῖρες.*

b 7 *λοχεία.* Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 319; Eur. *Suppl.* 958

Οὐδ' Ἄρτεμις λοχία προσφθέγξαιτ' ἂν τὰς ἀτέκνους.

Hipp. 166

τὰν δ' εὔλοχον . . . Ἄρτεμιν.

c 2 *Ἀθηνᾶ τις οὖσα.* 'The name Ἀθήνη is derived from some root of which the meaning is not yet clear' (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 186). Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 407 B; Max Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* (1897), 378; Athenag. *Legat.* (Schwartz), xvii. 78 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηλᾶς· ἀθήλη γὰρ ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον ⟨θεολογοῦντες⟩)*; ibid. xx. 94, where a derivation from *α* privative and *θηλή* is suggested, Athena, who sprang complete in armour from the head of Zeus, having never been suckled.

Ἑκάτη. On the identification of Hecate with Artemis, and on the epithets *τρίμορφος, τριπρόσωπος, τριοδῖτις* (Trivia), see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 321–5.

c 6 *κατεργασίας* depends on *σύμβολον* repeated from c 1. The Scholiast on Theocrit. *Idyll.* ii. 12 makes *κατεργασίας* depend on *σημεῖον* understood. Cf. 114 b 2, 201 c 8 *ἀγλαοκάρπου.*

d 4 *τῶν οἰκιζομένων.* According to Plut. *Mor.* 892 A, quoted by Eus. *P. E.* 848 d 'The Pythagoreans supposed the moon to be inhabited, but to have much finer animals and plants than the earth. This theory was founded, it would seem, partly on the appearance of the moon's disk, which resembles the earth; and

partly on the desire to discover a special abode for the souls who had quitted the earth, and for the daemons. . . . The second notion comes from the Orphic poems, and the saying ascribed to Pythagoras by Iamblichus, *V. P.* 82 τί ἐστιν αἱ μακάρων νῆσοι; ἥλιος, σελήνη.' Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 457.

d 9 τοῦ θεοῦ. 'I am inclined to suggest τῆς θεοῦ' (J. B. M.). The masculine, which alone is found in the MSS., makes the statement general.

Συνοικίζουσι. Hecate, like Artemis, was sometimes regarded as a daughter of Zeus and Demeter, and in Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 52 it is Hecate who tells Demeter that Persephone has been carried off. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 322, 324.

114 a 1 συνεκτική. Hecate and Apollo alone heard the cries of Persephone, *Hymn. ad Cer.* 24

εἰ μὴ Περσαίου θυγάτηρ ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα
ἄιεν ἐξ ἄντρου Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος,
Ἠέλιός τε ἄναξ.

Cf. *ibid.* 52. Pausan. viii. 664, represents Artemis, with whom Hecate is here identified, as helping Persophone to gather flowers.

a 4 νωχελῆ. Eur. *Orest.* 800 πλευρὰ νωχελῆ νόσῳ.

a 7 καιρῶν. Cf. 113 **a** 4, note.

βουκολοῦντες. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 10

Τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ' ἐμοὶ βουκολεῖς Σαβάζιον.

b 7 γενεσιουργόν. Cf. Hermes Trismeg. ap. Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 962 Τοῦτον ἀμέριμνον καταλεῖψαι κέκρικας, ὦ γενεσιουργέ; The word occurs frequently in Iamblichus: see Parthey, Index.

c 1 Ἕσπερος. Statius, *Thebaid.* vi. 571

'Sic ubi tranquillo perlucent sidera ponto
Vibraturque fretis caeli stellantis imago,
Omnia clara nitent; sed clarior omnia supra
Hesperos exercet radios, quantusque per altum
Aethera, caeruleis tantus monstratur in undis.'

d 1 λόγου, 'reason and speech.' The double meaning of λόγος is required by the two epithets ποιητικοῦ and ἑρμηνευτικοῦ.

d 5 Ἑρμόπαν. On the various representations of Hermes as combined with other gods, see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 510, note 6, where passages are referred to for the forms Hermeroten, Hermathena, Hermherakles, Hermopan.

d 7 Ἑρμάνουβις. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xliv 'Anubis appears to have the same office with the Egyptians that Hermes has with the Greeks, being both infernal and celestial. Some, however, think that Anubis signifies *time*, wherefore as he brings forth all things *out* of himself, and conceives all things *within* himself, he gets the title of Dog.'

d 9 τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Hermes is not mentioned among the many fathers assigned to Eros by Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 501, but his statue is said to have been often placed between those of Hermes and Heracles in Gymnasia (504).

d 10 ἐμπτώσεις. Diog. L. ix. 44 ὁρᾶν δ' ἡμᾶς κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις.

Πᾶνα. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad Pan.* xix. 47, where the name is said to be derived from the amusement caused by the infant son of Hermes to *all* the gods of Olympus:

Πᾶνα δέ μιν καλέεσκον, ὅτι φρένα πᾶσιν ἔτερψεν.

'But the right derivation of the name is from πάω, ὁ Πάων, i.e. the herdsman, for he is essentially a pastor (νόμιος).' Preller, 738.

115 a 6 Κνήφ. G. W. (Birch, iii. 5): 'The description given by Porphyry of "Kneph, with a human head, azure black colour, bearing a feather on his head," agrees exactly with the god Shu, but not with Chnoumis; and these two deities can in no way be related, the latter being one of the great gods, and the former always having the title "Son of the Sun," and being of an inferior order of divinities. Nor does any representation occur of "the egg proceeding from his mouth," which Porphyry conjectures to signify the world; and from which proceeded another god called Phtha, the Vulcan of the Greeks.'

In 41 c 2 Cneph is described as a hawk-headed deity. Khnûmû, Cneph, was the Nile-god of Elephantiné and the Cataract, Masp. i. 40, 98, 157, 241, and on page 239 there is a representation of Khnûmû taken from a bas-relief in the temple at Elephantiné; on page 157 he is seen modelling man upon a potter's table. His name means the 'Modeller,' and in many Egyptian texts he is set forth as the Creator (Wiedemann, 128). Cf. Strab. 817; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xxi.

b 3 ᾠόν. Athenag. 18 οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ᾠόν, ὃ συμπληρούμενον ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐκ παρατριβῆς

εἰς δύο ἐρράγη· τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ Οὐρανὸς εἶναι ἐτελέσθη, τὸ δὲ κάτω ἐνεχθὲν Γῆ.

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c 1 πόδας συμβεβηκότας. Daedalus is said to have been the first who made a statue with the legs and feet separate (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Daedalus,' 928 a).

c 5 πλοίου. The description appears to have been borrowed by Porphyry from Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 670 'Some of the Egyptians show the Sun upon a ship, and others upon a crocodile. And they say that the Sun in making his passage through sweet and liquid air generates time, which is symbolized by the crocodile because of some other priestly story.' See the picture of the sun in his bark in Masp. i. 89, and of the moon, i. 93.

d 1 Ἐσήμαινε. Viger suggests ἐσημαίνετο (passive); the το would easily be dropped before τοίνυν.

d 2 On the celestial earth, see 564 b 3.

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12] **c** 5 αἰγὸς κέρατα. See the figure of Cneph, or Khnûmû, in

d 7 Ἑρμάνουβις. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xliv 'Anubis appears to have the same office with the Egyptians that Hermes has with the Greeks, being both infernal and celestial. Some, however, think that Anubis signifies *time*, wherefore as he brings forth all things *out* of himself, and conceives all things *within* himself, he gets the title of Dog.'

d 9 τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Hermes is not mentioned among the many fathers assigned to Eros by Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 501, but his statue is said to have been often placed between those of Hermes and Heracles in Gymnasia (504).

d 10 ἐμπτώσεις. Diog. L. ix. 44 ὁρᾶν δ' ἡμᾶς κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις.

Πᾶνα. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad Pan.* xix. 47, where the name is said to be derived from the amusement caused by the infant son of Hermes to *all* the gods of Olympus:

Πᾶνα δέ μιν καλέεσκον, ὅτι φρένα πᾶσιν ἔτερψεν.

'But the right derivation of the name is from πάω, ὁ Πάων, i.e. the herdsman, for he is essentially a pastor (νόμιος).' Preller, 738.

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12] **c** 5 αἰγὸς κέρατα. See the figure of Cneph, or Khnûmû, in

G. W. (Birch, iii. 2). In the present passage αἶξ is masculine, as in Hom. *Od.* xiv. 106

ζατρεφέων αἰγῶν ὅς τις φαίνηται ἄριστος.

d 1 Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει. Apollinopolis Magna, *Edfu.* Strab. 817 Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις καὶ αὕτη πολεμοῦσα τοῖς κροκοδείλοις. There are several smaller towns in Egypt of the same name.

d 2 ζιβύνῃ χειρούμενος Τυφῶνα. Wiedemann, 72 'Horbehûdti fought with Set (Typhon): he threw his iron at him.' Ermann, 271 Horus 'had to encounter a terrible fight with Set, in which one of Horus' eyes was torn out and Set suffered a yet worse mutilation.'

ἱπποποτάμῳ εἰκασμένον. Both the hippopotamus and the crocodile 'have now deserted Egypt, but formerly they were as numerous in that country as in tropical Africa' (Ermann, 240). Cf. Hdt. ii. 71; Pausan. iv. 34. 3; and 466 c, below.

d 4 ἱερακείου προσώπου. Wiedemann, 25 'Râ . . . of Apollinopolis Magna . . . is almost invariably represented as a hawk-headed man.' The hawk was the symbol of the sun. On other hawk-headed deities, see Wilkinson (Birch), iii. 124.

117 a 1 γῦπα. Hom. *Il.* xxii. 42

τάχα κέν ἑ κύνες καὶ γῦπες ἔδοιεν
κείμενον.

'Aelian supposes that "vultures were all females," as if to account for their character as emblems of maternity.' Wilkinson (Birch), iii. 312 and 30; cf. Wiedemann, 123.

a 5 Ἐλευσῖνα. Plut. *Alcib.* xxii. In the caricature of the sacred mysteries, 'Theodorus represented the herald (ἱεροκῆρυξ), Polytion the torch-bearer (δᾳδοῦχος), and Alcibiades the hierophant.'

b 1 Ἄναβις. The same story has been related above in 94 b.

c 1 βουθυτεῖν. On the mode of examining bulls for sacrifice, see Hdt. ii. 38, note 'The sculptures show that bulls with black, and red, or white spots were commonly killed both for the altar and the table, and the only prohibition seems to have been against killing heifers' [G. W.]. Cf. G. W. (Birch), iii. 305.

13] **c** 3 Ἡλιουπόλει. Strab. 805 'Here is Heliopolis situated on a considerable mound, having the temple of the Sun, and the ox Mnevis reared in a sort of pen, who is regarded by them as a god, as Apis is at Memphis.' Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 33 'The ox kept at Heliopolis, which they call Mnevis (sacred to Osiris, and which some believe to be the sire of the Apis) is black, and receives

honours second to those paid to Apis.' Compare the notes and illustrations in Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 38, 60, 153; iii. 28; G. W. (Birch) iii. 86, 305–7.

d 2 *ἐναντίον*. Cf. Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 25 *καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πόλῳ ποιεῖται δρόμον (ὥσπερ δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τἀναντία περιφέρειν) αὐτὸς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς φερόμενος.* Cf. 94 d 3 and 286 b 1, note.

d 5 *Ἆπιν*. Cf. 51 c, notes.

d 8 *ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν κάνθαρος*. Hdt. iii. 28 *ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώττῃ κάνθαρον*. Plin. *Nat. H.* viii. 46 'Nodus sub lingua, quem cantharum appellant' (Bähr).

On the Egyptian beetle see 94 d 3, and add to the references there given Wiedemann, 285 'The scarabaeus came forth re-animate from within its egg, and so the human soul, i. e. the *ba* would emerge from its mummy into new life, and, winged like the scarabaeus, fly upwards to heaven and the sun. Thus the scarabaeus became a symbol of the resurrection. . . . The Egyptian name of the beetle was *kheper*, a word which also means "to become," "to come into being"; so the picture of the scarabaeus became the ideographic sign for that verb, especially when used in the sense of renewed life after death.' Cf. G. W. (Birch), iii. 345–7; Ermann, 315.

d 9 *τό τε διχότομον καὶ ἀμφίκυρτον*. Cf. Aristot. *Problem.* xv. 7. 1 *ὅταν ᾖ διχότομος (ἡ σελήνη)*: *De Caelo*, ii. 11. 2 *οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγένετο αὐξανομένη καὶ φθίνουσα τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα μηνοειδὴς ἢ ἀμφίκυρτος, ἅπαξ δὲ διχότομος.*

118 a 6 See below 664 d 1.

119 c 2 *αἰθέριος οὐσία*. Cf. 86 c 5, 102 c 6.

d 1 *Λητώ*. Cf. 108 d 5.

d 7 *Ῥέαν*. Cf. 109 a 7.

d 10 *Κόρην*. Cf. 109 b 2.

d 12 *ἀκροδρύων*. Plat. *Critias* 115 B *παιδιᾶς τε ὃς ἕνεκα ἡδονῆς τε γέγονε δυσθησαύριστος ἀκροδρύων καρπός.*

120 a 3 *ᾧ ταῦτα πρὸς χρῆσιν*. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 62 ('Principio ipse mundus deorum hominumque causa factus est, quaeque in eo sunt, ea parata ad fructum hominum et inventa sunt'). This Stoic doctrine was ridiculed by Lucretius, v. 156–67, and by the Epicurean C. Velleius in Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 23, but was adopted by many Christian Fathers, especially by Aristides

(see Rendel Harris, *Apol. of Arist.* 20), by Justin M. *Ap.* i. 10, by Origen, *c. Cels.* iv. 74; *Ep. ad Diogn.* x; Lactant. *De Ira Dei*, xiii; Gregor. Nyss. *De Opif. Homin.* iii. Cf. Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* iii. 465, with Mosheim's note.

a 9 Ἀπόλλω. Cf. 112 b 3.

Ἡρακλέα. Cf. 112 c 2.

b 1 Διόνυσον. Cf. 113 a 1.

b 3 Ἀσκληπιός. Cf. 112 d 2.

b 8 ἄθλους. Cf. 112 c 4.

c 2 Εὐρυσθεύς. Cf. 55 b 6.

c 5 Θεστίου θυγατέρες. Cf. 56 d 5.

d 3 *τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;* See Bentley, *On Phalaris* (1816), xi. 217 'Zenobius informs us that "At first the choruses used to sing a dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus: but in time the poets left that off, and made the giants and centaurs the subject of their plays. Upon which the spectators mocked them and said, "That was nothing to Bacchus."' Bentley also refers to Plut. *Sympos.* i. 1 'As therefore, when Phrynichus and Aeschylus carried tragedy forward to fables and misfortunes, it was said *τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*; and Suidas in Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὸ τραγῳδίας γράφειν κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διονύσου μνημονεύοντες· ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν.'

Polybius (xl. 7), describing the destruction of works of art at Corinth, says that he 'saw pictures thrown down upon the ground, and the soldiers playing at dice upon them: and he calls them a picture of Dionysus by Aristides, in reference to which some say the proverb was spoken, "Nothing to do with Dionysus," and the Hercules tormented by the tunic of Deianeira.' Cf. Strab. viii. 381.

d 5 Περσεφόνη. Cf. 53 c 1.

d 6 Διόνυσος. Cf. 109 d.

d 10 Ἀριάδνη. Cf. Catull. *Epithalam.* 252

'At parte ex alia florens volitabat Iacchus
Cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis,
Te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore.'

οἴνου. Cf. 53 a 5, 109 d 6.

121 a 6 Ἔτραπεν. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 97, quoted also by Athenag. *Legat.* xxix. and Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 25. Eusebius omits the same sentence as Athenagoras,

ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι
ἤδη ἀλωκότα.

Cf. Aesch. *Agamemn.* 1022

Οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ
τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν
Ζεὺς ἂν ἔπαυσεν ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ.

b 5 διὰ μηχανῆς. Cf. 96 d 1. An allusion to the stage-machinery by which a god was borne in on the air, usually at the end of a drama, 'to cut asunder the complicated knot of human passions, which otherwise would be inextricable' (Müller, *Hist. of Greek Literature*, 363). Cf. Aristot. *Poet.* xv, where the proper occasions for using such a contrivance are defined. The saying was applied to any sudden or surprising incident.

122 d 4 οἱ δὲ τὴν ἄλλως σοφοί. Cf. Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 5 οἱ δὲ τηνάλλως ὡς νεκροί.

d 8 Φήσαντες γοῦν. In Rom. i. 22 φάσκοντες is the reading of all authorities.

14] **123 a** 3 ἀκρωρείας. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 2. 10 ὑπὸ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ὑποχωρεῖν.

c 9 Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας. Cf. Porph. *ad Marcellam*, A. Mai, Mediolani, 1816. Of this work Cardinal Angelo Mai (*De novo Porphyrii opere*, 59) writes *Editoris monitum*, 'Sed enim ut ad opus Porph[ii]. *poeticum*, cuius paene unius fragmenta supersunt, veniam; fuit id copiosissimum *carmen*, soluta etiam interiecta oratione, cuius hic fertur titulus: περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας "de philos[a]. ex oraculis." Sic enim legit aequalis scriptor Eus. Pam. (*P. E.* iii. 14; iv. 6, 8, 9, 22; v. 5; ix. 10 et fortasse alibi), nec non Theodoretus (*Therap. Serm.* i, x) et Augustinus (*De Civ. Dei*, xix. 23).' The name was corrupted into περὶ τῆς εὐλογίων φ. and περὶ ἐκλόγων φιλ[ας].

d 1 Ὦ μέγα πᾶσιν κ.τ.λ. Fragments of some lost oracle addressed as a hymn to Apollo? Seguier quotes a similar address to Aesculapius from Pausan. 171

ὦ μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς βλαστὼν Ἀσκληπιὲ πᾶσιν.

d 6 λάζυτο. Hom. *Hymn. ad Merc.* 316

ἐλάζυτο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν.

d 11 Λυκωρεῦ. Apollo, so named from Lycoreia on mount Parnassus. Cf. Callim. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 19

Λυκωρέος ἔντεα Φοίβου.

124 a 1 *Τρίκκης.* A town of Thessaly, on the Peneius (now Trikkala), from which the two sons of Asclepius, Podalirius and Machaon, came to Troy. Hom. *Il.* ii. 729; iv. 202.

a 6 *Ἑρμείας.* The usual form in Homer, e. g. *Il.* xx. 35.

b 1 *Πῶς καὶ τίνα.* Eusebius in his criticism seems to confound the words of the inquirer, which alone are quoted, with the answer to be given by the oracle, of which he makes no mention.

b 5 *λασιοκέρατι.* Cf. Hom. *Hymn.* xix. 2 *αἰγιπόδην, δικέρωτα.* Simonid. *Fr.* xxv. (Gaisf. *Poetae Min. Gr.* iii. 167)

τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα.

b 6 *τραγοσκελεῖ.* Hdt. ii. 46 *αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα.*

c 3 *μητέρα Μαῖαν τὴν Ἄτλαντος.* Simonid. (Hermann, *Poet. Min. Gr.* iii. 191) *Fr.* cxxii

> *Αἴθωνι δ' εὖ τέ σ' Ἑρμᾶς ἐναγώνιος, Μαίας*
> *εὐπλοκάμοιο παῖς. Ἔτικτε δ' Ἄτλας ἑπτὰ ἰοπλοκάμων*
> *φιλᾶν θυγατέρων τάν γ' ἔξοχον εἶδος.*

d 9 *εἰς παράθεσιν.* Either 'for comparison,' a very usual sense, or '*for a provision*': cf. Polyb. ii. 15. 3 *τὰς εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα παραθέσεις*: iii. 17. 10 *αὐτός τε πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων μετὰ ταῦτα κατειργάσατο διὰ τῆς τῶν χορηγιῶν παραθέσεως.* Eusebius adopts much of the language of Polybius.

16| **126** b 3 *δοχέα.* Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 108 'Hospes divini numinis et interpres *δοχεύς* dicitur. . . . *Οὐ φέρει με τοῦ δοχέως ἡ τάλαινα καρδία, φησί τις θεῶν.* Procl. in *Polit.* p. 380. . . . *αἱ θεουργίαι τοὺς κλήτορας καὶ τοὺς δοχέας καθαίρειν παρακελεύονται.*' Cf. 126 c 6, 104 d 8, 105 d 8.

ἀπεφοίβαζεν. Strab. 675 *Ὁ δὲ Διογένης καὶ ποιήματα ὥσπερ ἀπεφοίβαζε,* 'uttered as if inspired by Phoebus.'

d 1 *ὁ Πλούτων καὶ ὁ Σάραπις.* See notes on 94 b 1, 113 b 1, and 174 a.

17| **127** a 1 *τούς γε.* The construction is still dependent on *λείπεται* in the preceding chapter.

b 2 *ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ τούτων ἐπιτριβῇ.* '*Ἐπιτριβή* pro *διατριβή* per iocum Eus. *P. E.* iii. 127 B, alicubi Diog. Laert.' Wyttenbach, *Plut.* Index. I do not understand 'per iocum.' The meaning of *ἐπιτρίβω* is either to 'excite,' 'irritate,' as by friction, or to 'afflict,' 'oppress.'

BOOK IV

1] **130 a** 4 εἶδος. The words εἶδος and γενικώτερον (a 5) are not used here in their technical sense, for *species* cannot be divided *generically*, but the converse (Aristot. *Top*. i. 5. 7).

εἰς τρία. In this threefold division Eusebius seems to be following Plut. *Amator*. 763 B τὰ μὲν μύθῳ, τὰ δὲ νόμῳ, τὰ δὲ λόγῳ πίστιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσχηκε. Cf. S. Aug. *De Civ. D*. iv. 27 'Relatum est in litteras doctissimum pontificem Scaevolam disputasse tria genera tradita deorum; unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus civitatis.' Cf. ibid. vi. 5.

c 7 μηδὲ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα. Cf. Plat. *Legg*. 984 D, 813 A; Plut. *Amator*. 756 B.

d 1 καινοτομίας. Cf. 16 d 6.

131 c 7 τὰ δὲ τὸν πολὺν ἀπατῶντα. Cf. 132 d 14 τὸν πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπατῶντα λεών, a passage which suggests that we ought to read or understand τὸν πολὺν λεὼν κ.τ.λ.

d 4 ἀπελαστικά. Cf. Ps.-Justin. M. *Quaest*. 107 ῥῆμα γάρ ἐστι θεοῦ, ὃ καὶ ἐνθυμούμενον καὶ ᾀδόμενον καὶ ἀνακρουόμενον δαιμόνων γίνεται ἀπελαστικόν. The reading of AH, ἀποτελεστικά *efficacia*, is opposed to the sense of the passage.

d 6 στέλλειν. 'Alex. Aphrod. *Probl. Praef*. στέλλειν τὴν κοιλίαν' (L. and Sc.).

χαλᾶν καὶ ὑγραίνειν καὶ ἀραιοῦν. Cf. Aristot. *Probl*. i. 52. 1 and v. 34. 1 Διὰ τί οὐ δεῖ πυκνοῦν τὴν σάρκα πρὸς ὑγίειαν, ἀλλ' ἀραιοῦν;

132 a 5 φυτῶν ἀντιπαθείας. See 271 b 7, note.

a 6 καρωτικῶν. Cf. Arist. *Fr*. 101 καρωτικὸς ὁ κρίθινος (sc. οἶνος) L. and Sc. *Lex*.

c 3 κακεντρεχές. Strab. 301 ἁπλουστάτους τε καὶ ἥκιστα κακεντρεχεῖς. Ignat. *Ad Antioch*. vi '*quick, nimble, clever, in mischief*,' and so '*wily*' (Lightfoot). Cf. Polyb. iv. 87. 4 κακεντρέχεια καὶ βασκανία.

c 4 τευταζόντων. Plat. *Phileb*. 56 E τῶν περὶ ἀριθμὸν τευταζόντων. V. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex*., *Etym. M*. πολὺ διατρίβειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ.

d 6 ἐπιρρήσεως. An '*incantation*,' such as was used to exorcize

a daemon: Lucian, *Philopseud.* 31 ἐγὼ δὲ προχειρισάμενος τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπίρρησιν, αἰγυπτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ κ.τ.λ.

d 10 εὖ μὲν . . . εὖ δέ. Seguier has a remarkable note: 'εὖ bis repetitum mutavi in αὖ.' The reason given for such a change is to avoid the apparent laudation of the poetry of the Oracles. But see Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* xxii 'The voice and language of the Pythia we demand to be presented to us as though from off the stage, not unadorned and plain, but in verse, bombast, and affectation, with metaphors of names, and declaimed to the accompaniment of the flute.' Ibid. vi 'The Sibyl, according to Heraclitus, "uttering with raving mouth things without a smile, without embellishment, and without perfume, reaches down to a thousand years by means of the god."'

2] **133 c** 3 ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφέροντας. Plut. *Mor.* 52 F διηγούμενος καὶ περιφέρων πανταχόσε.

c 4 ἐπὶ δύο λαγχάνουσιν. Cf. Polyb. i. 22. 9 ἐπὶ δύο συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἔφοδον.

The Latin translation *micantium* refers to the game now called in Italy 'mora': but ἐπὶ δύο λαγχάνειν here means 'to draw lots two at a time,' and the case supposed is that out of ten thousand men one pair happen to draw the same number. Cf. Cic. *Off.* iii. 23. 90 'quasi sorte aut micando victus alteri cedet alter.'

c 8 ἔχειν. The infinitive is still dependent on ἂν ἴδοις (b 8). The reading of AH, συνέβη, is merely a repetition of συνέβη in the preceding line, or may have been adopted as affording an easier construction.

d 4 ἀφραίνειν. Hom. *Il.* ii. 258

εἰ δ' ἔτι σ' ἀφραίνοντα κιχήσομαι.

d 9 τὰ πρὶν βοώμενα. Strab. 813 'Though I have said so much about Ammon, I wish to mention that divination was held in more honour by the ancients—both divination in general and the oracles especially—but now great neglect of them prevails, the Romans being satisfied with the answers of the Sibyl, and the Etruscan prophecies by means of entrails, and auguries by birds, and omens from the sky. Wherefore the oracle at Ammon also has been almost abandoned, though it had been honoured formerly.' Cf. Plut. *De Def. Orac.* v, viii; Lucian, *Iuppit. Trag.* 20, 30, 31, 43, &c.

134 a 2 *πρόσφυγας*. A rare word: L. and Sc. give only a reference to Herodian, v. 3. But Eusebius uses it again 162 c 6, 165 c 8.

b 5 *οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐφωράθησαν*. Cf. 64 b 3 *ὃς ἦν ἐλεγχθείς*.

c 4 *ὑπέγραφον ἐλπίδας*. The phrase occurs frequently in Polybius, as in v. 36. 1 *πᾶσιν ὑπογράφειν ἐλπίδας*. See also J. B. Mayor, Clem. Al. *Strom*. vii. Index, Ὑπογράφω. The meaning 'to give faint or vague promises' is derived from the original sense 'to sketch.'

d 3 *τελουμένοις*. Those who consulted the oracles were required to offer sacrifices, and in many cases to take part in ceremonies similar to the rites of initiation in the mysteries. Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.* 'Oraculum,' 342 a, 837 b, 841 a, b.

d 9 *ἐν Δελφοῖς*. The temple at Delphi is described at length by Pausan. 808. It was plundered or destroyed again and again, in historic times by Xerxes, by the Phocians, by the Gauls, by Nero; but restored with great splendour by Hadrian: the statues of Apollo and Pan, and the sacred tripods were carried off by Constantine (Eus. *Vita Const.* iii. 54; Sozom. *H. E.* ii. 5), and the oracle was finally silenced by Theodosius, A. D. 390.

On the destruction of various temples by fire or lightning see Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 47.

d 10 The temple and oracle at Claros are mentioned by Strabo, 642, as still existing. Cf. Pausan. 527. It was said to have been consulted by Lollia in the reign of Claudius, Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 22 'interrogatumque Apollinis Clarii simulacrum super nuptiis imperatoris.'

d 11 *ὁ Δωδωναῖος*. 'The god of Dodona' was Zeus (as in Hom. *Il.* xvi. 233 *Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε*), but Viger thinks that we ought to read here *ὁ Διδυμεύς*, as in 61 d 9.

135 a 4 *Καπιτώλιον*. In Freinshem's *Supplement to Livy*, lxxxv. 4, it is stated that the Capitol was burnt on July 6, B.C. 83, and the temple of Vesta about the same time. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 72 'Arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata.'

a 5 *τῶν Πτολεμαίων*. 'Mirum quod in re Romae acta Ptolemaeorum tempora adducat Eusebius.' Seguier, who suggests *Πομπείου*.

a 8 *Ὀλυμπικὸν ἄγαλμα*. Clem. Al. (*Protrept.* 47) does not

mention the statue of Zeus at Olympia among those which had been struck by lightning.

Pausan. 403 'They say that the god himself bore witness to the skill of Pheidias: for when the statue was already finished, Pheidias prayed the god to give a sign if the work was according to his mind: and immediately, they say, a thunderbolt dashed down on that spot of the pavement, where even to my time was the brazen urn and its cover.'

'The statue dedicated, B.C. 438, was removed by the Emperor Theodosius I to Constantinople, where it was destroyed by a fire in A.D. 475' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Pheidias,' 253 b).

a 10 καὶ ἄλλοτε . . . ἐμπρησθῆναι. This second conflagration of the Capitol took place during the conflict between the partisans of Vitellius and Vespasian, A.D. 70, and is eloquently described by Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 71, 72.

a 11 Πάνθεον. The Pantheon of Agrippa left unfinished at his death, 'was dedicated by Augustus, B.C. 7. Its vast unsupported roof was one of the wonders of Rome' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* ii. 836 b). Though often damaged by fire, it is still the best preserved monument of ancient Rome.

b 1 Σαραπεῖον. Cf. 113 b 1. Pausan. 42 'Passing hence to the lower parts of the city we come to the temple of Serapis, whose worship was introduced by the Athenians from Ptolemy. Of the temples of Serapis in Egypt the most celebrated is that of the Alexandrians, but the most ancient is that at Memphis, into which no strangers may enter, nor even priests, before they bury Apis.' Pausanias mentions many other temples of Serapis, two at Corinth (121), another in the old town of Hermione (193), a recent one at Sparta (241), and many others. Cf. Strab. 795, 801, 803, 807. At Rome Serapis shared the temple and worship of Isis (Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 362), and at Boeae in Laconia were temples of Aesculapius, Serapis, and Isis (Pausan. 268). In fact the worship of Serapis was almost universal (see Wiedemann, 191) and continued until the general introduction of Christianity.

'If Arabian traditions may be trusted, this now solitary (Pompey's) pillar once stood in a Stoa with 400 others, and formed part of the peristyle of the ancient Serapeium' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* 'Alexandria,' 98 b and 102 a). On Serapis see Gibbon, xxviii. 416.

c 4 *ἔναγχος καθ' ἡμᾶς.* The punishments inflicted by Licinius upon the false prophets and priests who had supported Maximinus took place at Antioch in A.D. 314. See Eus. *H. E.* ix. 11; and on the claim to oracular powers by the heathen priests in Phrygia (A.D. 313–314), see the inscriptions in Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 387.

c 5 *διὰ βασάνων αἰκίας.* Cf. Eus. ibid. *βασάνοις ᾐκίζετο*, and *τοὺς τῆς γοητείας κοινωνοὺς μετὰ πλείστας ὅσας αἰκίας θανάτῳ παραδίδωσι.*

d 1 *ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν.* The words extorted under torture were recorded in the minutes (*Acta*) of the trial. Eus. *H. E.* ix. 5 *Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα.*

d 8 *καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀφρῦν ἀνεσπακότων.* Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1069

καὶ μὴν ὁδί τις τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακὼς
ὥσπερ τι δεινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐπείγεται.

Lucian, *Timon*, 54 *ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐ Θρασυκλῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος οὗτός ἐστιν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος· ἐκπετάσας γοῦν τὸν πώγωνα καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατείνας καὶ βρενθυόμενός τι πρὸς αὑτὸν ἔρχεται, τιτανῶδες βλέπων.* Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 352 C 'For it is not the wearing of beards and dressing in long gowns that makes men philosophers.'

136 a 1 *λαμπρυνάμενοι.* Cf. Eus. *H. E.* ix. 11 *μυρίοις τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Χριστιανῶν ἐλλαμπρυνόμενος αἵμασιν.*

b 4 *οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτοὶ γεγόνασιν.* Cf. Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 101 d *δεινὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἁπάντων ἀπειλήσας θατέρᾳ ληπτοὺς τοῖς προβολίοις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὕρατο;* 'To be caught with one hand,' or rather, 'with the left hand,' was a proverbial saying. Plat. *Soph.* 226 A *ὁρᾷς οὖν ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγεται τὸ ποικίλον εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον οὐ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ληπτέον; Οὐκοῦν ἀμφοῖν χρή.* Viger conjectures *οὐδετέρᾳ*, Heinichen *οὐ θάτερα*, and Heikel *οὐδαμᾶ τερατοληπτοί.*

c 4 *Χρυσίππῳ περὶ εἱμαρμένης.* Cf. Cic. *Divin.* i. 3. 6. Diog. L. vii. 1. 74 *καθ' εἱμαρμένην δέ φασι τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς περὶ εἱμαρμένης, καὶ Ζήνων. . . . ἔστι δὲ εἱμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν ὁ κόσμος διεξάγεται.*

c 6 *ὁ συγγραφεύς.* Cf. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* ii. 715 'Diogeniani grammatici qui sub Adriano Imp. claruit *Ἀνθολόγιον Ἐπιγραμμάτων* memorat Suidas.' iii. 284 'Nescio idemne sit Diogenianus Philosophus, ex quo locum de oraculorum vanitate affert Eusebius, iv. 3 Praeparat.'

3] **137 c** 7 *ἀποτυγχάνεται.* The passive is of rare occurrence. Cf. Aristot. *Nat. Ausc.* ii. 8. 11 *ἐπιχειρεῖται ἀλλ' ἀποτυγχάνεται.*

138 d 6 *τὸ ἀπόστρεπτον,* a word which I have not found elsewhere, evidently meaning 'that from which one would turn away,' 'repulsive.'

139 a 5 *δῆλον ὡς,* used parenthetically, like *δηλονότι,* is unusual. In Polyb. ii. 29. 1 *δῆλον ὡς . . . εἰκός* it is not necessarily parenthetical.

a 6 *Οἰδίποδα.* Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 15 seq.; Soph. *Oed. R.* 711.

a 7 *Ἀλέξανδρον,* 'Paris.' Cf. Apollod. iii. 12. 5. 5 *Ἀλέξανδρος προσωνομάσθη, λῃστὰς ἀμυνόμενος καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀλεξήσας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βοηθήσας.* Both names are frequent in Homer.

a 8 *μηχανησαμένων τῶν γονέων.* Eur. *Troad.* 592, 921; *Androm.* 294–9; *Iph. in Aul.* 1285; Ennius, ap. Cic. *De Div.* i. 21.

c 5 *παραδοξοποιίας.* 'Miracle-working,' a word found only in ecclesiastical writers (L. and Sc.).

d 1 *περιουσία.* Cf. Polyb. vi. 18. 5 *εὐτυχίαις καὶ περιουσίαις.*

d 5 *Πυθόχρηστα θεοπρόπια.* Hom. *Il.* i. 85

θαρσήσας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον, ὅ τι οἶσθα.

Aesch. *Choeph.* 901

ποῦ δαὶ τὰ λοιπὰ Λοξίου μαντεύματα
τὰ Πυθόχρηστα, πιστὰ δ' εὐορκώματα;

Buttmann, *Lexil.* 64 *Θεοπρόπος.* 'Probably the old expression was *θεὸς πρέπει,* "a god sends a sign"; the sign sent was called *θεοπρόπιον,* and the interpreter of it *θεοπρόπος.*'

4] **140 b** 1–**d** 8 This enormously long sentence is a typical example of the cumbersome style of Eusebius.

b 4 *τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.* Rom. iv. 17.

b 10 *πατροπαραδότου.* 1 Pet. i. 18 *ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου.*

5] **141 a** 5 Eusebius in this chapter appears to be referring chiefly to Porphyry, who in the *Epistle to Anebo,* 8, writes as follows: 'What is it that distinguishes daemons from the visible and invisible gods?' 9 'In what do a daemon, hero, and soul differ from each other? Is it in essence, or in power, or in energy?'

c 5 *σκότος προσαγορεύεσθαι.* Porph. ibid. 11 'Since ignorance and deception about divine natures is impiety and impurity, but a scientific knowledge of the gods is holy and beneficial, the ignorance of things honourable and beautiful will be darkness, but the knowledge of them will be light.'

c 6 *θεοῖς μὲν οὐρανόν.* Porph. ibid. 2 *θεῶν μὲν πρὸς τὰ αἰθέρια, δαιμόνων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀέρια, ψυχῶν δὲ ⟨τὰ⟩ περὶ γῆν.* The answer is given by Iamblichus, i. 8 *Οὐ μέντοι τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ διάκρισιν ὑποτεινομένην αὐτῶν προσιέμεθα κ.τ.λ.*

d 12 *οὐδέν' ὀνομάζει.* Pearson, *Concio ad Clerum*, iv. 47, quotes the passage with *οἶδεν ὀνομάζειν* (so IO), and refers to August. *De Civ. D.* ix. 19 'angelos quidem partim bonos partim malos, nunquam vero *bonos daemonas* legimus.'

142 a 2 *λήξεως*, 'ordinem,' Pearson, ibid.

b 1 *πνεύματα λειτουργικά.* Heb. i. 14.

b 6 *δαήμονας.* Plat. *Cratyl.* 398 B *ὅτι φρόνιμοι καὶ δαήμονες ἦσαν, δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ὠνόμασεν· καὶ ἔν γε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει τὸ ὄνομα.* The Scholiast on Hom. *Il.* i. 222 gives this derivation and several others.

b 7 *ἀλλ' ἤ.* 'Debet autem ita hoc *οὐκ . . . ἀλλ' ἤ* explicari ut omissum statuatur aliud membrum. . . . *Οὐδὲν Ἀργεῖοι ἀλλ' ἢ κατεγέλων*: i. e. *ἀλλ' ἢ κατεγέλων ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐποίουν.*' Hermann, *Ad Vig. de Idiot.* 810.

c 4 *τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου φύσιν.* Literally, 'their nature as seen from their character.'

6] d 1 *αὐτούς.* Must refer to the authors of the oracles implied in *τῶν χρηστηρίων*: or possibly *τῶν χρηστηρίων* may mean the prophetic daemons, as in Hdt. vi. 80 *Ὦ Ἄπολλον χρηστήριε.* See 143 b 4.

143 a 1 *καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς.* Porphyry is supposed to have died about A. D. 305.

a 7 *συναγωγὴν ἐποιήσατο χρησμῶν.* The collection of oracles made by Porphyry was contained in three books (Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 134 a *ἐν τρίτῳ συγγράμματι*), besides which many oracles occur in his treatise *De Abstinentia* (cf. ii. 9, 15, 16, 17, 29, 59) and other works.

7] d 2 *τοὺς θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι.* Cf. Dind. *Praef.* xi. note. 'The oracles extracted from Porphyry's work, which are due to impostors, of whose tricks Porphyry takes no notice, are found in Eus. *Pr. Ev.* iv and v. They contain many corruptions, some of them extraordinary, the like of which are nowhere found in other parts of the work of Eusebius, and the correction of which is the more uncertain, because these verses are composed by men of little skill, and Porphyry refashioned according to his own judge-

ment what he had found in his manuscripts corrupt or incomplete: a point on which he thus writes on Eus. iv. 143 d ἐπεὶ κἀγὼ κ.τ.λ.'

S. Augustine (*De Civ.* xix. 23. 3) does not hesitate to accuse Porphyry of having himself forged the oracles concerning Christ in Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 134 b 'Quis ita stultus est ut non intelligat aut ab homine callido, eoque Christianis inimicissimo haec oracula fuisse conficta, aut consilio simili ab impuris daemonibus ista fuisse responsa.' But see Wolff, *Porph. de Phil. ex Oraculis*, 100 'Equidem vero non dubito quin Porphyrius fallere noluerit. . . . Sed credulus erat.' Wolff's whole chapter vii, *De Oraculorum Porphyrii Fide*, is important.

8] **144 b** 1 δημοσιεύειν. Plut. *Mor.* 34 C λόγον κοινὸν καὶ δημοσιεύειν τὴν χρείαν δυνάμενον οὐ χρὴ περιορᾶν ἐνὶ πράγματι συνηρτημένον.

c 2 ἐνστησαμένοις. Demosth. *Phil.* i. 137. 2 οὐδὲν . . . ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνεστήσασθε οὐδὲ κατεσκευάσασθε ὀρθῶς.

c 4 ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότατα. On similar injunctions to strict secrecy see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 138–40.

c 5 δι' αἰνιγμάτων. Plut. *Mor.* 404 C ὁ ἄναξ οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἐν Δελφοῖς οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. 405 D ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐρωδιοῖς οἰόμεθα καὶ τροχίλοις καὶ κόραξι χρῆσθαι φθεγγομένοις σημαίνοντα τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, εἰ θεῶν ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκές εἰσι, λογικῶς ἕκαστα καὶ σοφῶς φράζειν.

c 6 τοιαῦτα . . . ἀνετείνατο. Lit. 'held out such threats, or protestations.' Schweighaeuser, *Lex. Polyb.* 'Nempe intelligitur τὸν φόβον, ut sit proprie *metum alicui intendere* vel *incutere*; quod nomen diserte adiicitur, ii. 52. 1 ἀνατεινόμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν φόβον, et xxxi. 21. 13 ἀνατεθεὶς τὸν φόβον τοῦτον.' Wolff refers to Porph. *Ad Marcellam*, 15 λόγον γὰρ περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές.

d 5 δαίμονας ἀλλ' οὐ θεούς. Cf. Plut. *De Herod. malignitate*, 857 D τούτοις δὲ ὡς φθαρτοῖς καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐναγίζειν δεῖν οἴεται, ἀλλὰ μὴ θύειν ὡς θεοῖς.

9] **145 b** 3 Ἐργάζευ. Wolff renders this 'rem sacram facere,' but gives no example of such meaning.

θεόσδοτον ἐς τρίβον. 'Viam ad oraculum a deo concessam' (Wolff).

b 4 ἐναρίζων. Valckenaer's conjecture ἐναγίζων, adopted by Wolff, has no support from MSS., and is unnecessary. Though

ἐναρίζων means simply 'slaying' (Hom. *Il.* i. 191), the idea of 'sacrifice' is supplied by *θυσίας* here and in d 1.

c 1 *φύσεως μεστώμασι τῶνδε.* Wolff 'ad rerum naturae complementa ab his diis facta.' But the order of the words implies rather 'the fullness of their natures.' *μεστώμασι* is apparently not found elsewhere.

c 5 *φαιδρά.* Cf. Verg. *Aen.* ix. 628, where Ascanius makes a vow to Jupiter:

> 'Et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuvencum
> Candentem.'

Aen. iv. 61

> 'Iunoni ante omnes . . .
> . . . pateram pulcherrima Dido
> Candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit.'

ἐναλίγκια χροιῇ. *Aen.* vi. 243 (In sacrificing to Hecate)

> 'Quattuor hic primum nigrantes terga iuvencos
> Constituit.'

Cf. Arnob. *Adv. Gentes,* vii. 18 'Quae in coloribus ratio est, ut merito his albus illis ater conveniat nigerrimasque (hostias) mactari?' (Wolff).

d 2 *εἰς βόθρον αἷματ' ἴαλλε.* Hom. *Od.* xi. 35

> τὰ δὲ μῆλα λαβὼν ἀπεδειροτόμησα
> ἐς βόθρον, ῥέε δ' αἷμα κελαινεφές.

d 7 *Δηωΐῳ.* See note 194 b 3.

d 8 *οὐλοχύτας.* Hom. *Il.* i. 458 *οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο.* Strato, *Phoenic.* ap. Athen. 383

> Τὰς οὐλοχύτας φέρε δεῦρο. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τί;
> Κριθαί.

146 a 2 *κὰκ κεφαλῆς.* Hom. *Il.* xviii. 23

> ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
> χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς.

In the Apparatus Criticus, *for* **a 2** *κὰκ*] *read* **a 2** *βαθὺ*].

a 5 *'Αστραίοις.* A rare word.

a 6 *θυηλάς.* Anthol. Pal. vi. 324

> Νύμφαις ταῦτα φέροι τις· ἀναιμάκτους δὲ θυηλὰς
> Οὐ δέχομαι βωμοῖς ὁ θρασύμητις Ἄρης.

b 2 *πάσασθαι.* Hom. *Il.* i. 464

> κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο.

The reading of AH, δάσασθαι is also a common Homeric word: *Il.* xviii. 511 ἀνδίχα πάντα δάσασθαι.

147 a 2 τὰ ἄκρα, 'the extremities': in Homer the μηροί. Lucian, *Imag.* 6 (464) ἄκρα χειρῶν. Cf. 147 c 2.

b 2 τρία. On the three dimensions of matter cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, i. 1. 2 'Magnitude in one direction is a line, in two a surface, in three a body: and there is no other magnitude beside these, because three is all things, and thrice every way. For as the Pythagoreans also say, the All and all things are bounded by the three: for end, and middle, and beginning comprise the number of the All, and these comprise the number of the Triad. Wherefore having borrowed from nature as it were the laws of the Triad, we use this number also in the holy rites of the gods.'

b 6 θεῖ. An allusion to the supposed derivation of θεός from θέω to run. Cf. 29 c, Plat. *Crat.* 397 C.

c 3 δοτῆρες . . . ἀγαθῶν. Hesiod, *Theog.* 664 θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων.

10] **148 a** 7 τὸν Θεόφραστον . . . Ἀπόλλωνα. Theophr. *Fr.* 149 (Wimmer, iii).

11] **149 b** 1 ὥς τις ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἔφη. Apollonius of Tyana, quoted in 150 a 8. Cf. Athenag. *Legat.* xiii ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ οὐ δεῖται αἵματος οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων εὐωδίας κ.τ.λ.

c 1–7 For this idea of pure religion compare Justin. M. *Apol.* i. 13, and *Epictet.* 38 'Of piety towards the gods be sure that the chief point is this, to hold right opinions concerning them, as truly existing, and governing the universe well and righteously, and to dispose thyself hereto, namely, to obey them.' Cf. Pers. *Sat.* ii. 73.

c 5 ἀναγωγήν, 'education,' 'discipline.' Polyb. xxxiii. 15. 5 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος οὐδαμῶς Κρητικός, ἀλλὰ πεφευγὼς τὴν Κρητικὴν ἀναγωγήν.

12] **d** 1 νοητοῖς δὲ θεοῖς. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 92 C ὅδε ὁ κόσμος . . . εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ †θεοῦ† Steph. It is probable that Eusebius had this erroneous reading before him.

150 a 8 τάδε γράφειν λέγεται. The phrase suggests a doubt whether Eusebius here quotes at first hand from the work of Apollonius Tyaneus, or rather from the account given of it by Philostratus with the heading Ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως

θεολογίας. The same passage is quoted by Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 105 b. The following passage of Suidas, quoted by Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Philos.* gives a brief summary of the life of this notorious philosopher and impostor. 'He flourished in the reigns of Caius, Claudius, and Nero, and until the time of Nerva in whose reign he died. After the example of Pythagoras he kept silence five years: then he sailed away to Egypt, afterwards to Babylon to visit the Magi, and thence to the Arabians; and from all these he collected the innumerable juggleries ascribed to him. He composed the following works: *Rites, or Concerning Sacrifices, A Testament, Oracles, Epistles, Life of Pythagoras.*' The life of Apollonius, embellished with many marvellous stories imitated from the Gospels and other sources, was written by Philostratus at the request of Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

c 7 *αἰτοίη τἀγαθά*. Cf. Xen. *Memor. Socr.* i. 3. 2 *εὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς τἀγαθὰ διδόναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὁποῖα ἀγαθά ἐστι*. The same thought forms the subject of the second Alcibiades, a dialogue sometimes ascribed to Plato, sometimes to Xenophon (Athen. xi. 506).

14] **151 a** 1 The first part of the same passage is quoted above, 29 b.

a 2 *δεινοτάτων θυμάτων παράληψις*. On the origin and progress of 'Sacrifice' compare Warburton, *Div. Legat.* ii. 636 ff., especially 641 'In *expiatory* sacrifices matters went still worse. For in these the passion of "Fear" being predominant, strange enormities were soon superadded to the follies of the worshippers.'

a 7 *τούτων ἑκατέρων*. 'Verba pertinent ad res in Theophrasti Περὶ εὐσεβείας libro commemoratas, omissas a Porphyrio, qua de re dixit Bernays p. 57 seq.' (Nauck).

The two things meant are sufficiently indicated in the terms which follow, *ἄθυτοι* and *κακόθυτοι*.

b 4 *ἄθυτοι*. Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 2. 23 *ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν*. Hesiod, *Opp.* 135 describes the men of the Silver age as offering no sacrifices:

οὐδ' ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν
ἤθελον οὐδ' ἔρδειν μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.

c 6 *θυσία ὁσία τίς ἐστι*. A fanciful play upon words, not a real derivation. See Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* *θυήματα*.

d 9 *εὐδάπανον*. Porph. *Abst.* ii. 7. 13, 14 joins *εὐδάπανον* and *εὐπόριστον* as equivalent terms.

d 11 *εἰ ⟨θυτέον⟩ αὐτὰ θεοῖς*. Viger, Gaisford, and Dindorf read *εἰ ἀπαρκτέον, αὐτὰ θεοῖς . . .*, in which position *αὐτά* could only have the emphatic meaning 'the animals themselves.' Heinichen's punctuation, *τῶν ζώων εἰ ἀπαρκτέον αὐτὰ θεοῖς*, gives no intelligible construction. For *αὐτὰ θεοῖς τούτων* the older MSS. AH have *αὐτὰ θεῷ τῷ* (sic), which leaves the difficulty of finding a proper construction for *τῶν ζώων* and *αὐτά*. I have therefore followed Nauck in transposing *ἀπαρκτέον* and *θυτέον*, each of which thus governs its proper case.

152 a 3 *οἰήσαιτ' ἄν*. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 719 '*Οἰήσασθαι* Arat. *Diosem.* 896 et 1006 e cod. Vratisl. restituendum, quo in prosa abutuntur Porphyrius *de Abst.* ii. 24. 144, Eustrat. in I. Nicom. p. 8 a.'

b 3 ⟨*χρείας*⟩. For *χάριν*, a corruption of the MSS. retained by Gaisford, read with Heinichen *χρείας*, as in Porphyry. The meaning is that neither to show honour to the gods, nor out of gratitude, nor to obtain any boon, may animal sacrifices be offered.

c 1 *τούτων τινὸς ἕνεκα*. Either to pay honour to the gods, or to render thanks, or to obtain benefits.

c 2 *αὐτὸ πρακτέον*, i. e. to sacrifice living things.

c 7 *Ταύρων δ' ἀκράτοισι φόνοις*. Emped. *Lustralia*, Mullach, i. 13. Cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 569 (578)

ἄκρατον αἷμα πίεται.

c 9 *ἐέδμεναι*, an irregular form for *ἔδειν*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* v. 203, *Od.* x. 243.

ἤια γυῖα. In Homer *ἤια* is a substantive meaning 'food' (*Od.* iv. 363; xii. 329). Viger: 'Crediderim legi posse *ἠέα*, ab *ἠΰς*, hoc est *bona*, quae tamen dicere *pinguia* malui.' Mullach adopts *ἠέα*.

d 7 *διάληψιν*. Cf. Polyb. vi. 56. 6 *ἐν τῇ περὶ θεῶν διαλήψει*. The word is much used by Polybius.

153 a 1 *προεδρίαις*. Cf. Hdt. vi. 57 *ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους*.

ὑπαναστάσεσί τε καὶ κατακλίσεσιν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* iv. 425 B *σιγάς τε τῶν νεωτέρων παρὰ πρεσβυτέροις, ὡς πρέπει, καὶ κατακλίσεις καὶ ὑπαναστάσεις*. Aristot. *Eth. N.* ix. 2. 9 *ὑπαναστάσει καὶ κατα-*

κλίσει. Cic. *De Senect.* 62 'Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli.'

a 9 χρησμῳδός. Apollo, cf. 145 a 3 seqq.

15] **c** 3 τῶν ἄχρι τίνος. In Porph. *De Abst.* ii. 36 Nauck omits τῶν, 'whose interest it is to sacrifice to these daemons, and how far they stand in need of them.' In Eus. τούτων is inserted before ἄχρι by AH, and τῶν by other MSS. Of these τούτων only adds an unnecessary emphasis, while τῶν tends to obscure the construction and meaning. For the double indirect interrogation compare Plat. *Legg.* 804 A οἷς τισί τε καὶ ὁπότε ἕκαστα ἑκάστοις προσπαίζοντές τε καὶ ἱλεούμενοι κ.τ.λ., a passage which Porphyry seems to have had in mind.

154 c 9 ἱλεοῦσθαι. Cf. the passage of Plato quoted above, and Aesch. *Suppl.* 123 ἱλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν.

d 8 δαιμονιακόν. An incorrect form found in the older MSS. and retained by the editors. HIO have the right form δαιμονικόν, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 458 B Διὸ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα Μειλίχιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Μαιμάκτην, οἶμαι, καλοῦσι· τὸ δὲ κολαστικὸν ἐριννυῶδες καὶ δαιμονικόν. 362 F τὸν ὄνον οὐ καθαρὸν ἄλλα δαιμονικὸν ἡγοῦνται ζῷον εἶναι. 996 C τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἄτακτον καὶ βίαιον οὐ θεῖον ἀλλὰ δαιμονικὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ Τιτᾶνας ὠνόμασαν. Clem. Al. 789 δαιμονικὸς ἄνθρωπος.

16] **155 b** 4 ἐπὶ πολὺ κρατῆσαν ἔθος. Cf. Eus. *Orat. in Const.* xiii. 7. On the custom of human sacrifice in Egypt see Birch, iii. 400, and that it still lingers among savage and half-civilized tribes even in Europe, may be seen in *The Times*, June 1 and 21, 1896. Eusebius repeats these statements about human sacrifices in a briefer form in his *Oration on Constantine*, xiii. 7 seqq. Cf. Aristides, *Apol.* ix 'Before everything else the Greeks introduce as a god Kronos, which is interpreted Chiun; and the worshippers of this deity sacrifice to him their children: and some of them they burn while yet living.' See also xiii. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 53; and, on 'Aristobule' as an epithet of Artemis, 315, note 4.

c 1 πρότερον δὲ Κορωνίᾳ. A note in the margin of Cod. A, quoted by Gaisford, is as follows: 'He means not Salamis near Athens, for this was anciently called Culuris, as also Callimachus of Cyrene states in the *Hecale*; but he means the Salamis in

Cyprus.' The name in Porphyry is *Coronis*, and elsewhere Coroneia, or Corone; cf. 162 d 8.

c 2 The Cyprian month Aphrodisius began on September 23, corresponding closely to the Attic month Boëdromion. Cyprus was the chosen seat of the worship of Aphrodite, from whom the first month of their year was named.

Agraule is the name of one of the Demes of Attica. On the forms Ἀγραυλίς and Ἀγλαυρίς see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 200, note 2, who refers to this passage.

c 9 νησθεῖσαν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 139 μενοεικέα νήεον ὕλην. *Od.* xix. 64 νήησαν ξύλα πολλά.

d 1 Σελεύκου . . . τοῦ θεολόγου. Fabr. *Bibl. Gr.* v. 7 'Seleucus Alexandrinus cognomento Homericus, qui totum poetam commentariis illustravit. Scripsit etiam de differentiis verborum, Περὶ τῆς ἐν συνωνύμοις διαφορᾶς.' 'Suidas relates that he had written, besides many others, a hundred books concerning the gods: whence probably he received the name Theologus' (Viger). τοῦ θεολόγου is omitted in AH.

d 5 Ἄμωσις. In Clem. Al. 378 this Amosis is said to have been contemporary with Moses. See 490 b, c, where Eusebius strangely identifies Amosis with Amasis king of Egypt, B.C. 569–525. Manetho, quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 15, calls the king who expelled 'the people of shepherds' from Egypt Tethmosis.

d 6 Ἐθύοντο δὲ τῇ Ἥρᾳ. The existence of such a custom in Egypt is denied by Hdt. ii. 45 'The Egyptians think it unlawful to sacrifice even cattle, except swine (*al.* sheep) and male kine and calves, if pure, and also geese. How then can it be believed that they would sacrifice men?' The same charge is made by Diodorus, i. 88; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 73, on the authority of Manetho, and by Athen. iv. 172, but is discussed at large and rejected by G. W. (Birch, iii. 400 f.).

d 7 συσφραγιζόμενοι. Cf. Hdt. ii. 38 'If the animal is pronounced clean in all these various points, the priest marks him by twisting a piece of papyrus round his horns, and attaching thereto some sealing-clay, which he then stamps with his own signet-ring.' See the note (G. W.) and representation of the seal in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*.

d 10 τῷ Ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ. 'Omadius' means the 'flesh-eater.'

Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 693 'Crete, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos were notorious for their wild orgiastic festivals of Dionysus, as for example at Crete a live bull was torn to pieces by the Maenads with their teeth, at Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos human victims were offered to Dionysus, whom they called Ἀγριώνιος, "the wild," or ὠμηστής, ὠμάδιος, and ἀνθρωπορραίστης, "the eater of raw flesh," "the man-destroyer."'

d 11 Euelpis of Carystus, an author otherwise unknown.

156 a 1 Ἀπολλόδωρος. 'Locus hic Apollodori non occurrit' (Viger).

The *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus (about 140 B.C.) is a collection of mythological stories. His work on *Chronology* is mentioned by Clem. Al. 381.

a 6 ὀκτὼ βιβλίων. Cf. 31 d 3 Φίλων εἰς ἐννέα βίβλους.

Ἴστρος (*circ.* B.C. 250–220) is mentioned again, 499 b 5, as the author of a work Περὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικίας. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 382, and Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 403 D, where Istrus is named among 'persons most zealous in collecting oracles in verse.'

b 2 Πάλλας, mentioned again by Porph. *De Abst.* iv. 16 Πάλλας ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Μίθρα. On Mithras, the Persian sun-god, cf. Strab. 732; Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 5. 53 (Bornemann), where see Rosenmüller's note.

b 4 Λαοδικείᾳ. Pausanias (249) states that the image of Artemis, to which human victims had been offered in Tauris, was removed to Susa, and afterwards given by Seleucus to the people of Laodicea in Syria, who still possessed it. According to the more usual account the image was brought by Iphigeneia to the Attic borough Brauron. See *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.*, 'Brauronia.'

b 6 Iphicrates, the famous Athenian general, was sent to Egypt in 377 B.C., and may possibly have visited Carthage about that time. That the Carthaginians offered human sacrifices is stated by Eusebius, *Or. in Const.* xiii. 8, and Frensheim, *Supplement to Livy*, vi. 5. Cf. 156 c 7, 160 b 3, 161 a, and Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 53.

b 8 Phylarchus (*circ.* B.C. 215) is charged by Polybius, ii. 56, 59, with writing in an exaggerated and dramatic style, in order to harrow the feelings of his readers.

c 2 Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Πραξιθέας. Plut. *Parall. Gr. et R.* 20. 310 D 'Erechtheus being at war with Eumolpus was informed that he would gain the victory if he were to sacrifice his daughter, and after conferring with his wife Praxithea he sacrificed the child. Euripides mentions it in the *Erechtheus*.' There is extant a long fragment of the tragedy, in which Praxithea expresses her readiness to sacrifice her daughter. Eur. *Ion* 277

πατὴρ Ἐρεχθεὺς σὰς ἔθυσε συγγόνους;
ἔτλη πρὸ γαίας σφάγια παρθένους κτανεῖν.

c 4 Λατιαρίου Διός. The Feriae Latinae held on the Alban Mount in honour of Jupiter Latiaris were originally called *Latiar*: thus Cicero dates a letter (*Ad Quint. Frat.* ii. 4): 'Latiar erat exiturus, *The last day of the Festival*.' The institution and ceremonies are described by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, iv. 49, without any mention of human sacrifices. But in times of great danger to the state human victims were occasionally offered, as at the beginning of the war with the Gauls, 225 B.C. (Plutarch, *Marcellus*, iii), and of the Second Punic War, Livy, xxii. 57 'Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.' Cic. *Pro Fonteio*, 21, accuses the Gauls of 'retaining that inhuman and barbarous custom' to his own day. Cf. Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 1 on the practices of the Druids, and Tertull. *Apolog.* 9.

c 6 τοῖς Λυκαίοις. A festival in honour of Zeus Lycaeus, instituted by Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, who 'brought a child to the altar, and sacrificed it, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar, and was himself, as they say, immediately changed from a man into a wolf' (Pausan. viii. 2; Apollod. iii. 8. 1. 5; Clem. Al. 31; Ovid, *Metam.* i. 26 seqq.).

d 1 τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος. Eusebius here seems to quote directly from the work of Philo, independently of Porphyry.

d 3 Ἔθος ἦν κ.τ.λ. Quoted above 40 c 1. Cf. Aristot. *De Rep.* viii. 4 3 'There are many of the nations which are readily disposed to homicide and cannibalism (ἀνθρωποφαγίαν).' Cf. Jer. Taylor, *Ductor Dub.* ii. 1. 20. Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* iii. 5. Aristid. *Apolog.* 41. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* xxxi. 363 C 'The ox was sealed with a seal representing "ἄνθρωπον εἰς γόνυ καθεικότα,

ταῖς χερσὶν ὀπίσω περιηγμέναις, ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς ξίφος ἐγκείμενον."' The meaning was that a man, not an ox, was the original victim.

d 10 Ἰεούδ should probably be Ἰεδούδ as in 40 c, where the same passage is quoted.

157 c 1 *Ἰθωμήτῃ Διί.* Ithome was the citadel of Messene; cf. Pausan. iv. 19 'He (Aristomenes) also offered to Zeus Ithometes the sacrifice which they call Hecatomphonia. This had been established from very ancient times, and it was customary for it to be offered by every Messenian who had slain a hundred of the enemy. Aristomenes, when he fought the battle of the Boar's Pillar, offered the Hecatomphonia for the first time; the slaughter of the Corinthians in the night gave him occasion to make a second offering; they say indeed that he also offered a third sacrifice for his subsequent invasions.'

For the romantic history of Aristomenes and his marvellous exploits in the Second Messenian War (B.C. 685–668) and his supposed appearance to Pelopidas at Leuctra, see Pausan. iv. 6. 2–32. 4.

c 3 *Ταῦροι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος.* '*τὸ ἔθνος* nescio an sit glossa' (Heikel).

c 7 *τραγῳδεῖ.* In the *Iphigenia in Tauris.* Tertull. *Apologet.* 9 'Remitto fabulas Tauricas theatris suis.' Athanas. *c. Gentes,* 21; Valer. Flacc. *Argon.* 301 'Taurorumque locos delubraque sacra Dianae.'

Monimus, a Macedonian officer, and supporter of Olympias, mother of Alexander, in her struggle against Cassander, remained faithful to her cause until she was captured in attempting to escape, and then surrendered the city Pella, which from famine and desertions could no longer be defended (Diod. Sic. xix. 50; Athen. xiii. 609 b). Of the book to which Clement refers I can find no other mention.

d 2 *ἐν Νόστοις.* A voluminous work on the adventures of the Greek Heroes in returning from Troy. Athenaeus ix. 385 quotes the seventy-eighth chapter.

d 4 *Δωσίδας.* Lucian, *Lexiph.* 25 *ὁ Δωσιάδα βωμός.* The verses of his poems were so arranged as to represent an altar.

d 5 Pythocles is mentioned by Clem. Al. 400 as 'the Samian who in the fourth book of the *Italica* writes of Caius Julius Nepos.'

d 6 τῇ Ταυροπόλῳ Ἀρτέμιδι. Soph. *Aj.* 172
Ταυροπόλα Διὸς Ἄρτεμις.
Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1456
Ἄρτεμιν δέ νιν βροτοὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμνήσουσι Ταυροπόλον θεάν.
Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 313.

d 7 Ἐρεχθεύς. See note on 156 c 2.

d 8 Demaratus of Corinth is an author of unknown date. His account of the sacrifice by Erechtheus quoted in Stob. *Flor.* (Meineke) ii. 60, mentions that he acted by the advice of an oracle.

d 9 Τραγῳδουμένων. 'Tragoediarum argumenta,' Wolf, *ap. Fabric.* i. 670.

Ἀποτροπαίοις. *Diis Averruncis.* Plat. *Legg.* 854 B ἴθι ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀποτροπαίων ἱερὰ ἱκέτης.

ὁ Μάριος. Plut. *Mor.* 310 D Μάνιος (sic) πρὸς Κίμβρους πόλεμον ἔχων καὶ ἡττώμενος ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι νικήσει ἐὰν θυγατέρα προθύσῃ· ἦν δ' αὐτῷ Καλπουρνία· προκρίνας δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοὺς πολίτας ἔδρασε καὶ ἐνίκησε. Καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν βωμοί εἰσι δύο ἐν Γερμανίᾳ, οἳ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἦχον σαλπίγγων ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τετάρτῳ Ἰταλικῶν. 'Certe Μάριος scribere debebat' (Wytt.). The name Μάνιος is probably right, as Marius, who was never himself defeated by the Cimbri, left M' Acilius in command when he went to Rome for his fourth election to the Consulship. Plut. *Vit. Parall.* 413 ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων Μάνιον Ἀκύλλιον αὐτὸς ἧκεν εἰς Ῥώμην.

Δωρόθεος. Besides the mention of Dorotheus in the quotation from Plutarch, Clem. Al. 399 speaks of his 'first Pandect.' His date is unknown.

d 11 ⟨ἂν ὅσιοι⟩. For ἀνόσιοι the reading of the MSS. of Eusebius, Viger's happy conjecture is adopted by Heinichen and Heikel. The ironical sense is thus maintained: 'Such is the humanity of the daemons! Such too must be the piety of their worshippers!' Clement has ὅσιοι without ἄν.

158 a 4 μᾶλλον ἢ ὀργῇ. The sentence is elliptical: εἰ ἀποσφάττοι must be mentally repeated before ὀργῇ.

a 5 ἄλλοις was accidentally omitted in the translation: read 'to other daemons of like kind.'

c 5 ἐκθέμενον. Dionysius published his great work in B.C. 57, the same year in which he died.

c 9 περιστῆναι. Hom. *Od.* xii. 356

τὰς δὲ περίστησάν τε,

Il. xvii. 95

μή πώς με περιστήωσ' ἕνα πολλοί.

xviii. 603

χορὸν περιίσταθ' ὅμιλος.

Hdt. i. 43; Plat. *Rep.* 431 B.

c 9 Οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον. 'Falsum est; coniicio: σοί δὲ οἷόν τε καὶ (τὸ καὶ codd. a i)' (Heikel). Οὐδὲν οἷον is a well-known phrase. See Viger, *De Idiot. Gr.* 122, and Aristoph. *Av.* 966 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οἷόν ἐστ' ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐπῶν.

c 11 Dion. Hal. i. 23. On the Greek form of the name Ἀβοριγῖνες (sic accent.) or Ἀβερριγῖνες see Dion. Hal. i. 10.

d 1 οἰκοφθορία. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 82 C οὔτι οἰκοφθορίαν τε καὶ πενίαν φοβούμενοι.

159 b 1 τοῖς Καβείροις. On the Cabiri and their mysteries see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 847 ff., and 65 c 2, note.

καταθύσειν. The reading of Dionysius and of BIO is retained by all the editors. But καταθῦσαι (AH) is equally correct; see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 104. obs. 3.

b 4 κατὰ τούτων μόνων εὐξάμενοι. For the phrase see Dindorf, *Annot. ad Aristoph. Eq.* 660 'We must notice the use of the preposition in the phrase κατὰ χιλίων εὐχὴν ποιήσασθαι χιμάρων, which simply means "to vow a thousand he-goats." So all the best writers speak' (Kuster).

d 8 ἐφέστια, usually an adjective, but occurring again as a substantive in Dionys. Hal. i. 67 αὐτοῖς μετανασταντες ἐφεστίοις, 'having removed with their households and all.'

160 a 6 ⟨ἀπαναστάσεις⟩. The MSS. all have ἐπαναστάσεις, and Viger suggests μετανάστάσεις, but ἀπαναστάσεις (Heinichen) involves less change of letters, and gives the sense required by διεφορήθη equally well.

b 3 ἐν Καρχηδόνι. Cf. 156 c 7.

παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου. Strabo (198) says that the Romans put a stop to their various modes of human sacrifice, such as stabbing in the back, shooting with arrows, crucifying in the temple precincts, and burning alive in holocausts; cf. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* vi. 13.

b 4 ⟨προσεσπερίων⟩, Dindorf's conjecture for πρὸς ἑσπερίων

[illegible] προσεσπέρια.

[illegible] called [illegible] legend by the [illegible] ii. 763 b).

[illegible]
[illegible] *Fast.* v. 629
[illegible] arva, quotannis
[illegible] modo;
[illegible] misisse Quirites:
[illegible] falsa iaci.'
[illegible] same story.
... 37 δι' οἰωνῶν ἢ χρησμῶν Σιβυλλείων

[illegible] language of Etruria meant *to divide.*

[illegible]
[illegible] priscorum virgo simulacra virorum
[illegible] roboreo scirpea ponte solet.'

[illegible] wooden bridge, Pons Sublicius, is called here [illegible],' from its being the scene of this religious [illegible] under the guardianship of the Pontifices. [illegible] The name 'Argei' was given by the Pontifices to [illegible] dedicated by Numa (Livy, i. 22). There was a tradi-[illegible] 'Argei' were named from the chieftains who came [illegible] the Argive, to Rome, and occupied the Capitolium, [illegible] anciently called 'Saturnian' hill. Ovid, *Fast.* [illegible] manner derives the name of the images from the [illegible] Hercules:

[illegible] pars horum desertis venerat Argis;
[illegible] his ponunt spemque laremque suum.
[illegible] patriae dulci tanguntur amore,
[illegible] aliquis moriens hoc breve mandat opus;
[illegible] in Tiberim: Tiberinis vectus ut undis
[illegible] ad Inachium pulvis inanis eam."
[illegible] heredi mandati cura sepulcri;
[illegible] Ausonia conditur hospes humo.
[illegible] pro domino Tiberi iactatur imago,
[illegible] repetant Graias per freta longa domos.'

[illegible]

d 11 See note on 18 d 7.

161 a 1 *πολιορκουμένων*. This was in 310 B.C. Cf. Polyb. *Hist.* xv. 35 'It is said that Publius Scipio, the first who conquered the Carthaginians, when asked whom he supposed to be men of the greatest practical genius, uniting with intelligence the highest daring, said Agathocles and Dionysius the Sicilians.'

b 1 *πατρῴους*. See 5 a 4 note.

b 6 For *τὸν συντιθέντα τῶν παίδων ἀποκωλύεσθαι*, which is found in all MSS. of Eus., read, as in the text of Diodorus, *τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τ. π. ἀποκυλίεσθαι*. Compare the description of the image of Molech, in which children were burned, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 'Molech,' 403 b.

c 4 *ἐφονοκτονήθη*. A word first found in the Sept.; cf. Num. xxxv. 33 and Ps. cv. 38.

d 3 *δαιμόνια*. Ps. xcv. 5, LXX. Heb. אֱלִילִים, 'idols,' 'things of naught.'

162 a 1 *ἐξάντεις . . . κατέστησαν*. 'Hesych. Ἐξάντης, ὁ τῆς νόσου ἔξω ὤν' (Viger). Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 E. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ἐξάντη. τὸ Ν ἐγκεῖται δι' εὐστομίαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑγιῆ καὶ ἔξω ἄτης.

a 2 *ἄνθρωπος*. Hadrian is meant. Cf. 156 b.

a 6 *Ἡλίου πόλει*. Baalbec, 'city of the sun.' Atergaté or Astarté, the Syrian Aphrodite, had a temple there. On Astarté see note 38 c 5.

b 1 *μοιχιδίου*. Hdt. i. 137 *ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια*, 'acts of supposititious children or of those born in adultery.'

b 5 *αἰσχρορρημοσύναις*. Cf. Ps.-Demosth. *Ep.* iv. 1489. 8 *αἰσχρορρημοσύνῃ καὶ τῷ διηγεῖσθαι ταῦτ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀλγοῦσιν οἱ ἀκούοντες*.

b 7 ⟨*ἀπεμπολουσῶν*⟩, Gaisford's conjecture: the MSS. have *ἀπεμπολούσαις*. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn. Parerg.* iii *ἀπεμπολεῖν* (sic); Philo. *De Migr. Abr.* 420; Dion. Hal. *Antiqq.* vii. 63 *ὁ δὲ ταμίας αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἀπεμπολᾷ*.

c 4 *ποῦ ἄρα ἦσαν . . . μὴ . . . ἀπερύκειν*. On the use of the infinitive without *ὥστε* see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 863. obs. 6. Cf. Theocr. i. 66

πᾷ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦθ' ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾷ ποκα, Νύμφαι;

Verg. *Ecl.* x. 9; Spenser, *Astrophel*, 127–32; Milton, *Lycidas*, 50.

d 5 *ἐν Ῥόδῳ*. Cf. 155 b 3.

d 7 *ἐπισχὼν ἄν*. From AII I have restored *ἄν*, which is omitted in the later MSS. and in the printed editions.

d 8 εἴτε ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. The reading of the older MSS. AH is not free from corruption: ὥστε καὶ τῇ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τῇ πρότερον Κορωνίᾳ ὀνομαζομένῃ καὶ αὐτῇ, ἐν μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς ἀπέφηνεν ἂν κ.τ.λ. For ὥστε καὶ τῇ the other MSS. have εἴτε, which I have adopted; for καὶ αὐτῇ they have ἐν ᾗ, which must be rejected as a mere repetition of the end of the preceding word -ένῃ: for γάρ, which is difficult, ἂν is found in I. We thus obtain an intelligible construction, though I am not satisfied that the original text is fully restored.

d 9 καὶ αὐτῇ (AH), 'this also itself,' i. e. as well as the other place called Coronea in Boeotia.' There is, perhaps, some confusion in the statement of Porphyry, for I cannot find elsewhere that Salamis (whichever is meant) was called Coronea. See 155 c 1, note. The mention of Cecrops and Agraulis makes it probable that Salamis near Athens was meant, notwithstanding the Scholion in A.

163 a 2 Ἡλιουπόλει. Cf. 155 d 4.

a 7 Ἥρας. Cf. 155 d 6.

b 1 Ὠμαδίου. Cf. 155 d 10.

b 5 Ἄρει. Cf. 156 a 1.

b 9 Λαοδικείᾳ. Cf. 156 b 4.

c 2 Λιβύῃ. Cf. 156 b 5.

τῆς Ἀραβίας. Cf. 156 b 6.

17] d 11 καθαιρεῖν. I have adopted Viger's emendation for καθαίρειν, which Gaisford retains. The meaning 'to abolish' is more appropriate to the context (ἀφανίζειν) than 'to purify.'

164 a 3 τοὺς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μεμελημένους. *Anthol. Pal.* x. 27 Φοίβῳ μεμελήμεθα: vii. 199 Ὄρνεον ὦ Χάρισιν μεμελημένον. Theocr. xvii. 46 σοὶ τῆνα μεμέλητο.

a 4 Φύλαρχος. Cf. 156 b 8.

a 7 ἐπιληψίας, 'a seizure.' Cf. Theophr. *Fr.* 88 ἰᾶται γάρ, φησίν, ἡ καταύλησις καὶ ἰσχιάδα καὶ ἐπιληψίαν.

a 8 Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας. Cf. 156 c 1.

b 1 Ἀθηναίους. Cf. 156 c 2.

b 2 Μεγάλου Διός, i. e. Jupiter Latiaris. Cf. 156 c 4.

165 b 7 πολέμου ⟨ὄντος⟩. If ὄντος be omitted as in the MSS., πολέμου must be taken as a genitive of the part of time, but I have not found this word so used. The occurrence of παρόντος

in O, instead of *παρόν*, helps to make Toup's conjectural ⟨*ὄντος*⟩ probable.

c 3 Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 252

> *τρὶς γὰρ μύριοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ*
> *ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·*
> *οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,*
> *ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.*

Cf. ibid. 122; Plat. *Rep.* v. 469, *Crat.* 379 E; Plut. *De defect. Orac.* 431 E; Lactant. *Institut.* ii. 15, where the name and nature of daemons are discussed.

d 3 *πλήθει* may be governed either by *ἐπιθαρσοῦντα*, 'being encouraged by a multitude of countless gods and daemons closely allied to him (*προσῳκειωμένων*),' or by *προσῳκειωμένον*, which is perhaps the better reading.

18] **166 c** 4 *ὀλιγοστόν*. According to the analogy of *ποστός*, *εἰκοστός*, *τριακοστός*, *κ.τ.λ.* *ὀλιγοστόν* ought to mean 'one of a few,' so that *τὸ ὀλιγοστὸν* (*μέρος*), 'one part of few,' would be a large part of the whole. But the meaning here is evidently 'a very small part,' and *ὀλιγοστός* is equivalent to *ὀλίγιστος*, with which it is easily interchanged, as in Aristot. *Met.* ix. 1. 14; Soph. *Ant.* 625 *ὀλιγοστὸν χρόνον*.

19] **167 a** 2 *μάντεων δεήσεσθαι*, an allusion to the proverb applied to anything obscure or mysterious, *μαντείας δεῖται*, Plat. *Symp.* 209 B; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 394

> *καίτοι τό γ' αἴνιγμ' οὐχὶ τοὐπιόντος ἦν*
> *ἀνδρὸς διειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μαντείας ἔδει.*

a 6 *κλοπῆς*. *προκοπῆς* Porph., 'advantage'; frequent in Polybius, as iii. 4. 2 *ἥ τε αὔξησις καὶ προκοπὴ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας*.

δοξοκοπίας. 'Thirst for popularity,' Plut. *Pericl.* 5 *τοῦ Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ τῦφον ἀποκαλοῦντας*.

b 4 *διὰ θυτικῆς*. Cf. Athen. xiv. 659 D *Οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν παράδοξον εἰ καὶ θυτικῆς ἦσαν ἔμπειροι οἱ παλαίτεροι μάγειροι· προΐσταντο γοῦν καὶ γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν*.

c 4 *ὡς ἂν τῆς δαιμονικῆς ὄντων* (*ὄντα* AΠ) *κακοτεχνίας*. The reading *ὄντα* might be defended as an accus. absolute, e.g. Xen. *Mem. Soc.* ii. 2. 13 *ὡς οὔτε ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ εὐσεβῶς θυόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τούτου θύοντος οὔτε ἄλλο καλῶς καὶ δικαίως οὐδὲν ἂν τούτου πράξαντος*. But the preceding genitives make *ὄντων* the more natural construction.

d 2 Ἠλῳ. This refers to the enumeration of nations in 164 b.

20] 168 c 1 Λύτρα δίδου. For the mode of sacrifice, cf. Hdt. ii. 39 and especially Hom. *Od.* x. 517

βόθρον ὀρύξαι ὅσον τε πυγούσιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοὴν χεῖσθαι πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι,
πρῶτα μελικρήτῳ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδέϊ οἴνῳ,
τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι· ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ παλύνειν.

c 2 πυρήν. Cf. *Orphic. Argonaut.* 317

περὶ δ' αἷμα πυρῇ χέον.

Ibid. 957

νήησα πυρὴν ἔντοσθε βόθροιο.

The meaning of the first oracle is not very clear, as Porphyry himself implies. But it appears that first a pit was to be digged, and a pile of wood laid in it, over which libations of wine and milk were to be poured, and then the blood of the victim, parts of which were afterwards to be burned. In the metrical translation omit for

'Then fragrant incense and,'

and read

'Libations first
Pour'd on the blazing pyre, dark blood of grapes,' &c.

c 6 διογνήτων. In Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iii. 2. 3 there is mention of a tree called διοσβάλανος, perhaps as being sacred to Zeus.

ἀκυλαίων. Schol. in Theocr. v. 94 *ἄκυλος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ πρίνου καρπός, τὸ πρινοβάλανον.* Cf. Hom. *Od.* x. 242

τοῖσι δὲ Κίρκη
πάρ ῥ' ἄκυλον βάλανόν τ' ἔβαλεν καρπόν τε κρανείης
ἔδμεναι, οἷα σύες χαμαιευνάδες αἰὲν ἔδουσιν.

21] 169 d 6 ἐξάκουστον. Porph. *Abst.* ii. 53, iii. 3.

171 a 5 ἐντυπουμένους. Cf. 171 d 4, 404 d 7; Plut. *Mor.* 672 B.

a 6 χαρακτηρίζοντας. 171 d 5; Plut. *Mor. Vita Hom.* 172 *Οὐκ ἠμέλησε δὲ οὐδὲ χαρακτηρίσαι τοὺς ῥήτορας· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Νέστορα ἡδὺν καὶ προσηνῆ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν εἰσάγει.*

a 8 προσεταιριζόμενοι. Hdt. iii. 70. 66 *τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται.*

b 4 διαστροφῆς. Polyb. ii. 21. 8 *τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ δήμου διαστροφῆς.*

22] d 6 μεταβάλλουσι τὰς μορφάς. Milton, *Par. L.* i. 423.

172 a 4 *ὕπουλον*, literally, 'festering beneath,' 'treacherous.'

a 7 *ἐμπτώσεις*. Diog. L. ix. 44 ὁρᾶν δ' ἡμᾶς κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις.

b 3 *ἀνομολόγως*. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* viii. 332 ψευδῆ καὶ ἀνομόλογα.

ἀκαταλλήλως. Diog. L. vii. 59 λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος.

b 4 *ὑποδύντες . . . πρόσωπα*. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* iii. 2. 19 οἱ σοφισταὶ ταὐτὸν ὑποδύονται σχῆμα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ.

b 7 *κενοδοξίαις*, 'vain conceits,' or 'ambitions.' *κενοδοξίας* is the reading of the chief MSS., but the position in the sentence makes the dative more probable. Cf. Ep. ad Philipp. ii. 3.

d 3 *προσεξέκαυσε*. Cf. 173 c 5; Plut. *Cleom.* ii. προσεκκαῦσαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν.

d 5 *κήλησιν*. Plat. *Euthyd.* 290 A νόσων κήλησις . . . ὄχλων κήλησις.

d 7 *ὥς φησι Πλάτων*. *Rep.* i. 335 D.

173 c 2 *ἀναθυμιάσεσι*. S. August. *De Civ. Dei.* x. 19 'Non enim revera, ut ait Porphyrius et nonnulli putant, cadaverinis nidoribus, sed divinis honoribus gaudent.'

d 3 *ἐξετραχήλισαν*. Plut. *Mor.* 58 ἐκτραχηλίζει τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους ὀχεῖσθαι.

23] **174 b** 1 *Σάραπιν*. See note on 94 b 1, and G. W. (Birch, iii. 95 ff.).

c 1 Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 361 F Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνά φασι.

c 6 *ἐπιρρήσσονται*. On the use of whips in driving away evil spirits see 203 a 4

καὶ τὸ δαιμόνων κράτος
μάστιγος ψόφος πολύς.

προσουδίζεται. The throwing down of the ox or other victim is fully described in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 322. Hdt. v. 92 Ἐβεβούλευντο τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι. Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 1151 (Scaliger)

βρέφος τε τοὐμὸν σῷ προσουδίσας πέδῳ. (Seguier).

d 5 *μεστὰ ἀπὸ τούτων*. The preposition after *μεστά* is quite unusual, and I do not understand its meaning here, unless it is that the daemons are the *cause* of our bodies becoming surfeited with food.

175 a 5 *πεπρησμένης*. Aristot. *H. A.* iii. 21. 4 πλὴν κύτισος μὲν

ὁ ἀνθῶν οὐ συμφέρει, πίμπρησι γάρ. 'Aristoph. *Vesp.* 36 Ἔχουσα φωνὴν ἐμπεπρησμένης ὑός' (Seguier).

b 2 εἰσκριθῇ. Porph. *Abst.* i. 19 ἐκούσας τις εἰσκρίνεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς δίδωσιν.

b 7 τρίκρανος. Cf. Georgiadas, *Porph. Fr.* 49 'Only in one place (Eus. *P. E.* iv. 22) does Porphyry give a physical explanation of the daemons.'

b 9 Ἑκάτη. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 324.

τρίστοιχον. The three elements meant are earth, air, and water: cf. c 7–d 3.

c 1 καὶ πάλιν φησίν. 'Plura igitur Porphyrius de Hecate daemonum malorum domina h. l. dixerat.'

c 6 ἀπειρολεχής. Viger's conjecture. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 225 'In eiusdem deae oraculo, Eus. iv. 23. 176, pro ἀπειροτεχνής certe ἀπειρολεχής scribendum.'

c 7 τριστοίχου φύσεως. See the note on 191 c 6.

BOOK V

1] 178 d 6 χρηστήρια διαλελοίπασιν. Plut. *Mor. De Defectu Oraculorum* throughout. Milton, *Ode on the Nativity*, v. 173 'The oracles are dumb, &c.'

d 11 ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. The event referred to is the defeat and death of Maxentius, 112 A.D. Cf. Eus. *H. E.* ix. 9.

179 a 1 τοπάρχας. Gen. xli. 34 καταστησάτω τοπάρχας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The word is frequently used in the Septuagint, and in 2 (4) Kings xviii. 24, Dan. iii. 2, vi. 7, is applied to subordinate officers military or civil.

a 2 ἐθναρχίας. Cf. Eus. *Const. Tricenn.* xvi ἐπαρχίας καὶ ἐθναρχίας καὶ τοπαρχίας τυραννίδας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας, where ἐθναρχίας and τοπαρχίας mean 'national and local governments,' and πολυαρχίας in antithesis to τυραννίδας means 'the government of the many,' as also ibid. iii ἀναρχία γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ στάσις ἡ ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας ἀντιπαρεξαγομένη πολυαρχία. In 2 Cor. xi. 32 'the governor under Aretas the king' is entitled 'Ethnarch.' Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 47, xv. 1, 2.

d 6 τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ. The treatise 'Against Christians': cf. 31 a 1, and Georgiadas, 39–46 seqq.

d 8 *τοσούτων ἐτῶν.* The genitive is unusual in the sense of duration, and *τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν* (AHI) ought to have been adopted in the text: cf. Hom. *Od.* xxi. 402

αἲ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν.

Hdt. vi. 134 *ἐς τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου.*

d 9 *ἐπιδημίας . . . οὔσης.* Cf. Eus. *H. E.* ix. 7 *τῇ τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν αὐτὴν ἐπιδημίᾳ ἀνθεῖν.* *Orat. Const.* i *ἐπιλαμψάσης δὲ παραυτίκα τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιδημίας.*

180 b 2 *διαιωνίζει.* Eus. *Vita Const.* iii. 41 *διαιωνίζων τὴν μνήμην*: iv. 2 *ἄλῃστον καὶ διαιωνίζουσαν.*

d 1 *κραταιότατα,* the reading of I, and originally of A. 'In voce *κραταιοτάτην* est *ά* et *ην* in rasura in A, in I legitur *κραταιότατα,* quod rectum putandum est' (Heikel); cf. 181 d 8 *τὴν πλάνην κραταιότερον ἐπικυρούσης.*

d 2 *ὑπερνικώσης.* Rom. viii. 37 *ὑπερνικῶμεν.*

2] **181 b** 2 *ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες.* Athan. 231 extr. *ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.* Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.* 1, 3 *ἐμφιλοχωρούσης τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν.*

b 4 *ἐξατμιζομένων ἀναδόσει.* Plut. *Mor.* 31 E *Καὶ τὸ 'Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε' κελεύων ἀναγινώσκειν ὑφέν, ὡς τὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιώμενον ἀέρα διὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν Ἀναδωδωναῖον ὄντα.*

b 7 *νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοποιίαν.* A notable assertion that the false gods were for the most part men deified after death.

ἰλυσπώμενον. Plat. *Tim.* 92 A *ἄποδα αὐτὰ καὶ ἰλυσπώμενα ἐπὶ γῆς ἐγέννησαν.*

c 3 *ἔφεδροι,* properly those who stand by to take the place of a defeated combatant. Cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 866

τοιάνδε πάλην μόνος ὢν ἔφεδρος
δισσοῖς μέλλει θεῖος Ὀρέστης
ἅψειν.

c 5 *κινήσεσί τισι.* See the amusing story in Lucian, *Philopseud.* 19, of the moving statue that came down from its pedestal at night, walked round the house, and spent a long time enjoying a bath. The moving figures ascribed to Daedalus are mentioned by Plato (*Meno* 97 D) and Aristotle (*De Anima,* i. 3).

c 9 *ἐνεργείας.* The addition of *δαιμονικῆς* in the later MSS. BIO may be a gloss intended to make the sense more definite.

c 10 *διὰ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνέσεως.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 102 B *πρὸς ἄνεσιν τῆς λύπης.*

182 a 1 *καθυπεκρίνοντο.* The daemons pretended that their own false miracles were wrought by the souls of the dead whom they professed to call up.

b 1 *κοσμοκράτορας.* Cf. Eph. vi. 12. On this term as applied to daemons Seguier quotes a curious passage from the *Testamentum Salomonis* Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναί μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα· καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἑπτὰ πνεύματα συνδεδεσμένα εὔμορφα τῷ εἴδει. Κἀγὼ Σολομὼν ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασα, καὶ ἐπηρώτησα λέγων· Καὶ ὑμεῖς τίνες ἐστέ. Οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔφησαν μιᾷ φωνῇ καὶ εἶπον· Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τὰ λεγόμενα στοιχεῖα, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, Ἀπάτη, Ἔρις, Κλωθώ, Ζάλη, Πλάνη, Δύναμις. On the *Testamentum Salomonis* see Schürer, *The Jewish People*, Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 154.

b 3 *ὑποκρινομένων.* I can find no other instance of the construction with the preposition, ὑποκρίνεσθαι εἰς δαίμονας. See 183 c 6 *θεοὺς ὑποκρινομένων.*

d 7 *διὰ τὸ θέειν.* Cf. 49 c.

d 8 *θεωρεῖν* seems to be meant for another derivation of *θεῶν.*

183 a 6 *τροπικωτέροις* 'Morum doctrinae coniunctioribus' (Viger). The usual meaning 'figurative' is more suitable to ἀλληγορίαις. It occurs very frequently in Athanasius, especially in the *Epistles to Serapion*, where οἱ Τροπικοί, 'the Figurists,' are the same as the Πνευματομάχοι, i. 670, 681.

a 8 *στῆναι*, 'to stop,' is the reading of all MSS. except AH, which have *μετιέναι*, 'to pass to this stage of deception,' at least as good a reading.

b 8 *τὸ τέταρτον.* The fourth class of gods consisted of human passions and faculties. The fifth of human activities such as war and the arts of peace.

c 1 *εἰδωλοποιήσαντες.* The word is used here of material images, and elsewhere of mental images, as in Plut. *Mor.* 1113 A οἱ ποιηταὶ πολλάκις εἰδωλοποιοῦντες. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* iii. 189 τὸ γὰρ τὴν Πλάτωνος εἰδωλοποιίαν λέγειν ἐπιδεικτικὴν εἶναι δύνασθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ . . . τέλεον λῃρῶδές ἐστιν.

c 4 *ἕκτον καὶ ἕβδομον.* The sixth class consists of daemons who pretend to be gods, the seventh of those who profess to be the souls of the departed.

c 8 *ἐπιτωθάζον.* See Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* τωθάζων χλευάζων, σκώπτων, διασύρων.

c 9 ὃ καὶ αὐτό, i. e. the whole class of daemons, to be distinguished now in a moral aspect.

d 4 τὰ μηδ' ἀντιρρήσεως δεόμενα, i. e. the fourth class mentioned above (b 2) as the deification of human passions and faculties.

4] **184 a** 2 ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον. The term ποιότης seems to have been first introduced by Plato, *Theaet.* 182 A ἴσως οὖν ἡ ποιότης ἅμα ἀλλόκοτόν τε φαίνεται ὄνομα καὶ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀθρόον λεγόμενον.

ἣν ὕλην καλοῦσι. It is not in Plato, but in Timaeus Locrus, 97 E, that we find τὸ ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον called ὕλη. ἀρχαὶ μὲν ὧν τῶν γεννωμένων ὡς μὲν ὑποκείμενον ἁ ὕλα, ὡς δὲ λόγος μορφᾶς τὸ εἶδος.

b 5 μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην. See note on 42 a 2; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 103; and the article 'Parseeism' by Spiegel in *Schaff-Herzog's Encyclopaedia.*

b 6 εἴτε Θρᾴκιος ἀπὸ 'Ορφέως. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 696 'Plutarcho autem haec scribenti fanatica Bacchi solemnia ante oculos fuisse docent haec quae sequuntur *De Def. Orac.*, xiii. 321. . . .'

'Vitiose Plutarchus hinc colligit sacra Orphica perinde ut Phrygum et Aegyptiorum solemnia non diis sed daemonibus, quales Xenocrates imaginatus est, instituta esse, &c.'

c 3 'Ησίοδος. Hesiod, *Opp.* 109, places first the men of the golden age, who after death become good daemons (122); secondly the silver age, happy mortals, honoured as such after death (126–41); thirdly the age of brass, men perishing by mutual slaughter, and leaving no name (154); fourthly a divine race of heroes (159) who are called demigods, and dwell after death in the islands of the blessed (171); and fifthly the iron age, of Hesiod's own time (175–201). The last sentence in Eusebius, ἐξ ὧν . . . ἀποκριθέντων, is an abbreviated paraphrase of the passage in Plutarch.

c 10 Δημητρίῳ. Cf. 89 b 5. Demetrius is one of the persons of the dialogue, described by Plutarch (c. ii) as a 'γραμματικὸς returning home to Tarsus out of Britain.' 'A most interesting memorial of him is still extant in the musuem at York, a little bronze tablet inscribed with the letters, Θεοις τοις του Ηγημονικου (*sic*) Πραιτωριου Σκριβα Δημητριος, a dedication tallying with the epithet "holy" here given to him. He was probably a *scriba quaestorius*, "treasury clerk," like Horace, and had been employed

in the finance department in the government office at Eboracum, the headquarters for the northern province. A second tablet bears Ωκεανωι και Τηθυι Δημητριος' (C. W. King, *Plutarch's Theosophical Essays*, p. 72. Bohn).

d 3 ἐφ' ᾧ βούλεται, 'quolibet adhibito iudice.' The Latin has 'quod unum ipse vult,' but in his note Viger corrects this, and gives 'devant qui il voudra.'

d 4 ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν. Plat. *Symp.* 327 E πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ.

185 a 4 δραχμήν. For ῥάγδην, the common reading in Plutarch, adopted by Heinichen, Wyttenbach suggests 'δράγδην *plena iniecta manu.*' But δραχμήν the reading of the best MSS. of Eusebius both here and at 206 a 1 is undoubtedly right, and has its original meaning a '*handful.*' Compare 149 d 4 δραγμάτων, and 318 d 3 δρακί.

τῶν 'Εμπεδοκλέους. The verses of Empedocles are quoted below, 187 d 5, from Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 361 C.

b 3 περίττωμα, used chiefly in a depreciative sense, as of 'refuse,' or 'dregs.'

b 6 ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 354 C μύθοις καὶ λόγοις ἀμυδρὰς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν. 'Obscura veritatis indicia et argumenta.' Wytt. in loc. 'Elegans est paronomasia in ἐμφάσεις et διαφάσεις, *signa in quibus et per quae veritas apparet.*'

b 7 εὔστομά μοι κείσθω. Hdt. ii. 171; a formula which became proverbial. So εὐστομεῖν is equivalent to εὐφημεῖν, Arist. *Nub.* 833; Lobeck, *Phryn.* 469.

b 8 ἀποφράδας, 'nefastos dies.' Plat. *Legg.* 800 D ὁπόταν ἡμέραι μὴ καθαραί τινες ἀλλὰ ἀποφράδες ὦσι.

c 1 ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοί. Cf. 62 c.

c 2 Pind. *Fr.* 224

μανίαι τ' ἀλαλαί τ' ὀρινομένων
ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνῳ.

For ἀλαλαί τ' ὀρινομένων the MSS. of Eusebius have ἄλλαι ὀρινόμεναι. In Plutarch. *Mor.* 623 B ἐριαύχενι stands in place of ῥιψαύχενι. Cf. 706 E.

d 3 ἀφοσιούμενοι. Dion. Hal. iv. 79 οὐδ' ἀφοσιώσασθαι τῶν φαρμακειῶν ἀμφοτέρων τὰς διαβολάς.

ἀλαστόρων. Plut. *Mor.* 297 A ἀλάστωρ μὲν κέκληται ὁ ἄλαστα

καὶ πολὺν χρόνον μνημονευθησόμενα δεδρακώς. Wyttenb. annot. in loc. 'variant in eius origine docti homines, quos laudat *Etym. M.* in voce.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 418 B, 509 B, *Coriol.* 231 B, *Marius* 409 D, *Cicer.* 885 B. Athen. 541 C τῆς Σικελίας ἀλάστωρ.

d 5 διὰ παρθένον. Soph. *Trach.* 353

ὡς τῆς κόρης
ταύτης ἕκατι κεῖνος Εὔρυτόν θ' ἕλοι
τήν θ' ὑψίπυργον Οἰχαλίαν.

186 b 1 δαίμοσιν ἐκαθικέτευον. Hdt. vi. 68 Ἀπικομένῃ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε.

5] **187 a** 1 Βέλτιον οὖν. See the similar passage in Plut. *Def. Orac.* 419 A.

b 1 Πλάτων. See the famous passage in the *Symposium* 202 E, where the daemons are described as an intermediate race carrying on all communications between gods and men, and introducing all kinds of divination, sacrifice, and magic. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Phil.* i. 489 'How far the famous Platonic exposition, *Symp.* 202 E, is of Pythagorean origin, cannot be determined.'

Πυθαγόρας. Diog. L. viii. 32 (Πυθαγόρας) εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων, καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι. Here also the daemons are further described as the authors of dreams, divinations, lustrations, and expiatory sacrifices. See Zeller, ibid.

b 2 Ξενοκράτης. Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 2. 29 [62] θεὸν δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας πυρώδεις ὀλυμπίους θεούς, καὶ ἑτέρους ὑποσεληνίους δαίμονας ἀοράτους. Ibid. [66] (Οἱ Στωικοὶ) . . . θεοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἀνωτάτω δὲ πάντων νοῦν ἐναιθέριον εἶναι θεόν.

Χρύσιππος. Plut. *Mor.* 277 A οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον οἴονται φιλόσοφοι φαῦλα δαιμόνια περινοστεῖν, οἷς οἱ θεοὶ δημίοις χρῶνται κολασταῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοσίους καὶ ἀδίκους ἀνθρώπους.

τοῖς πάλαι θεολόγοις. Wytt. '*Veteres theologi* significantur Orpheus, Musaeus, similesque ad Epimenidem et Pherecydem usque. Sic appellat Orpheum Plutarchus *Def. Orac.* 436 D' (οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταί). *Mor.* 1030 B οἵ τε πάλαι θεολόγοι πρεσβύτατοι φιλόσοφοι ὄντες.

c 1 ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας. 'Ad verbum propemodum reponitur in *Def. Orac.* 417 B' (Wytt.).

c 2 γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικά. 'Saepe confunduntur, licet diversa

sint bella. *De Gigantibus* Ovid, *Metam.* 151, Apollod. i. 6, *De Titanibus*, Hesiod, *Theog.* 630 seq., Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 795, Apollod. i. 1. 3. Heynius in notis' (Wytt.).

c 3 πολλαί τινες. Κρόνου τινός, which is the reading in Plutarch, has been corrupted into πολλαί τινες in Eusebius.

c 4 φυγαί. 'Recepimus φυγαί, quia Eusebiani Theodoretianique auctoritatem exempli habet, ac tolerabilius saltem est vetere φθόγγοι: magis tamen satisfaciat Reiskii φόνοι *caedes*. Bacchus a Titanibus discerptus traditur a Plutarcho infra 305 F' (Wytt.).

d 1 πρὸς τοὺς θεούς. Connected in Eusebius with what follows: 'have a similar relation to the gods,' i. e. refer not to gods but to daemons. In Plutarch πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς is connected with what goes before: 'are kept secret and out of sight of the many.'

d 5 Αἰθέριον μέν. The same passage is quoted by Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* vii. 17, and is alluded to above 185 a 4. It is treated by Mullach, *Fr. Phil. Gr.* i. 2, as part of the Prooemium of the poem of Empedocles Περὶ Φύσεως.

188 b 1 Ἐκεῖνος. Plut. *Def. Orac.* 421 B. Cleombrotus, the speaker in the dialogue, is describing a barbarian who appeared among men once only in every year in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, and spent the rest of his time with the wandering nymphs and daemons. 'He was the handsomest man to look on that I ever saw, and was always free from every kind of disease, administering to himself only once a month the fruit of a certain medicinal and bitter herb. . . . He was at all times full of learning, and on one day in each year became inspired to prophecy.'

b 2 Δελφῶν. The dialogue is supposed to be held at Delphi.

b 5 Πύθωνα. The MSS. of Eusebius have τὴν Πυθίαν, but Πύθωνα the reading in Plutarch is required by the following context, which refers to Apollo as 'the slayer.'

ἐννέα ἐτῶν. Every ninth year the Delphians sent a procession to Tempe, representing the battle of Apollo with the Python, and his banishment to Tempe after the battle. Plut. *Mor.* 293 E.

τὰ Τέμπη. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 568

'Est nemus Haemoniae, praerupta quod undique claudit
Silva; vocant Tempe, per quae Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis.'

Cf. Shelley, *Hymn of Pan*, Stanza ii.

b 7 *ἐνιαυτῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περιόδοις.* On the various lengths attributed to the 'Great Year' see 849 c, and Diod. Sic. ii. 47 'It is also said that the god (Apollo) arrives at the island at intervals of nineteen years, the time in which the returns of the stars to the same place are completed; and that for this reason the period of nineteen years is called by the Greeks Meton's year.'

b 8 *Φοῖβον ὡς ἀληθῶς*, 'a true Phoebus.' The epithet originally 'refers to *the radiance of youth*, which was always a chief attribute of Apollo' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*). But afterwards, as in this passage, it indicated the purity and holiness of deity, to which Apollo was restored after his punishment and repentance for slaying the Cyclopes (Apollod. iii. 10. 4). Apollo brought back to Delphi a branch of laurel plucked in Tempe, and this was commemorated in the festival mentioned above. *Καὶ τῷ κατακομίζοντι παιδὶ τὴν Τεμπικὴν δάφνην εἰς Δελφοὺς παρομαρτεῖ αὐλητής*, Plut. *De Musica*, 1136 A.

c 7 *Σολύμους.* Cf. Hdt. i. 173 'Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabited by the Lycians: the Milyae of the present day were, in those times, called Solymi.' On the ethnic character of the Solymi, and their supposed connexion with the Israelites, see Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 412 B, and Rawlinson, Hdt. i. 658. The Solymi are mentioned by Homer, *Il.* vi. 184, as conquered by Bellerophon. They are placed by Strabo between Lycia and Pisidia, and on the heights of Taurus (pp. 630, 631, 667).

d 1 *Ἄρυτον, καὶ Τόσιβιν.* The names in Plutarch are Arsalus, Dryus, and Troesobus.

d 4 *Σκιροὺς θεούς.* For *σκληρούς*, the reading in Plutarch, Eusebius has substituted *σκιρούς*, which probably has the same meaning 'hard.'

d 8 *εἶπεν ὁ ξένος.* The speaker was Cleombrotus, who had recently returned from long wandering in Egypt and beyond the Red Sea (Plut. *Mor.* 410 A).

189 a 3 *Ἑρμαῖος.* Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 365 F *ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμαῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.* Ibid. 368 B *τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ (Ὀσίριδος) τὸν Ομφιν εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἑρμαῖός φησιν δηλοῦν ἑρμηνευόμενον.* 'Alibi scriptorem non memoratum repperimus' (Wytt.). The other four names were all borne by authors of repute.

b 1 *τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥς φησι, δαιμόνων.* Porphyry's statements con-

cerning *evil* daemons have been already set forth at large in Book IV.

c 4 *μαρτύρεται*. Cf. 143 d 2.

6] **190 a** 2 ὁ ἐν Βραγχίδαις. See note on 61 d 9 Διδυμέα.

d 8 τὰ ἀρρητότατα τῶν ἀρρήτων. Cf. 144 c 4.

7] **191 b** 1 ποτὲ δῖα μάταιον. The unintelligible and unmetrical reading of A ποτ' ἀδείμαντον is well replaced by δῖα μάταιον in BIO, and there is no need of conjectures such as θέσπισμα μάταιον (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 225) or ἄειδε μάταιον (Voss. marg., Unger). Homer constantly uses δῖα in such phrases as δῖα θεάων, δῖα γυναικῶν (*Od.* iv. 305). Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* viii. 1 δῖα σελήνη.

c 6 Καὶ μήποτε κ.τ.λ. This opinion on the nature of the soul is commonly printed as if it were a reflexion of Eusebius. But Wolff ascribes it more correctly to Porphyry, so that Eusebius begins again with the words Ταῦτα οὐκ ἐμά.

τρίμορφος τριμερής τε. Hecate was τρίμορφος, Proserpina, Luna, Diana, described by herself 175 c 7 as τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα. Apparently it occurs to Porphyry that this character of Hecate, as 'uniting the threefold elements of nature' (175 b 9), and able to give a soul to the world (ψυχῶσαι) may be the source of the three principles in the soul defined by Plato in the famous passage of the *Republic* 436 A, as τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές, and τὸ νοητικόν or λογιστικόν.

d 2 πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καλεῖται. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 372 d καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ τὴν σελήνην ἐπικαλοῦνται. Joh. Lydus, *De Mens.* iii. 8. 24 καὶ γὰρ ὑγρὰ τὴν φύσιν ἡ σελήνη, ὅθεν καὶ αἱ περὶ ἐρώτων μαγγανεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὴν γίγνονται (Wolff). Porphyry does not mention τὸ νοητικόν as not being concerned πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά.

d 5 Πάνυ δέ με θράττει. Aug. *De Civ.* x. 11 'Miratur autem quod non solum dii alliciantur victimis, sed etiam compellantur atque cogantur facere quod homines volunt.'

For further notes on this passage see the longer quotation 197 d 1.

192 a 6 τί καὶ τίνι ⟨αὐτοί⟩. Neither τίνα αὐτῷ AH, nor τί καὶ τίνι αὐτῶν BIO, is free from suspicion. '*αὐτοὶ* scripsit Wolff, quem secutus est Dindorf, a lectione codicum procul recedens' (Heikel). The difference between αὐτῶι and αὐτοὶ seems to me but slight, and the sense is certainly improved by the emphatic αὐτοὶ δεδηλώκασιν. Wolff and Dindorf cut the knot by omitting both τίνα

and τί καὶ τίνι, and in my translation I have done the same. Heikel omits τί καί and explans τίνι αὐτῶν thus: 'Et munera (ὅ τι) uniuscuiusque et nomina eorum (τίνι αὐτῶν) afferuntur.' If καὶ τί καὶ τίνι is retained the passage might be rendered, so as to avoid tautology, 'what office is assigned to each, and *why*, and to which.'

a 7 Διδυμαῖος. Cf. 61 d 9.

πεῦσις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 614 D πεύσεις ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ μὴ γλίσχρας.

a 9 Μητέρι μὲν μακάρων. Athenag. *Leg.* xxii πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας τὸν μὲν Κρόνον χρόνον, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν γῆν, τὴν μὲν συλλαμβάνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ ἀποτίκτουσαν, ἔνθεν καὶ μήτηρ πάντων νομίζεται.

b 1 Hom. *Hymn. In Matr. Deor.* xiv. 3

> ᾗ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
> εὔαδεν.

b 2 Παλλάδι δ' εὐπήληκι. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 120

> ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπήληκος Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ δουρὶ
> τὸν τέττιγ' ὄψει μ', ὦνερ, ἐφεζόμενον.

μόθοι. Hom. *Il.* vii. 117 καὶ εἰ μόθου ἔστ' ἀκόρητος.

b 6 εὐαλδῆ. Plut. *Mor.* 664 D τὰ δὲ ἀστραπαῖα τῶν ὑδάτων εὐαλδῆ καλοῦσιν οἱ γεωργοί.

σταχυητρόφα. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 209

> ὄφρα σε καὶ φθίμενον Δηοῦς σταχυητρόφος αὖλαξ
> θέλγῃ ἀροτραίῃ κείμενον ἐν θαλάμῃ.

8] **193 a** 1 ὁ Ῥόδιος Πυθαγόρας. 'Scriptor ignotus. Videtur περὶ θεῶν scripsisse. Aeneas Gaz. Theophrasti, p. 61, Boisson: Ὁ γοῦν Πυθαγόρας, οὐχ ὁ Σάμιος ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥόδιος, μέλλων ψυχομαντείαν παραδιδόναι, τίνες οἱ καλούμενοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζητεῖ πότερον θεοὶ ἢ δαίμονες' (Wolff).

b 3 εὐμαρέστερον. Cf. 3 b 3 εὐμαρῶς, note.

c 2 πειθανάγκην. Cic. *Epp. ad Atticum*, ix. 13 'Ego autem non tam γοητείαν huius timeo quam πειθανάγκην. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις, inquit Πλάτων, οἶσθ' ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις.' The passage of Plato is *Epp.* vii. 329 D τὰς δὲ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις ἴσμεν, ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις εἰσίν. The same interpretation of the word is given by Suidas and adopted by Casaubon in Polyb. xxii. 25. 8 ἡ μετὰ βίας πειθώ, where Schweighäuser proposes the less suitable meaning ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ πείθεσθαι.

ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν. The reference seems to be to the verses quoted at 191 b, as being from the same poem.

c 4 *ἀπείριτον*. Cf. Hom. *Od.* x. 195

νῆσον, τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται.

c 6 *τεῇς ὑποθημοσύνῃσι*, literally, *at thy suggestions*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xv. 412

ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν Ἀθήνης.

d 4 *πολυφράδμονος*. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* i. 1311 *πολυφράδμων ὑποφήτης*.

d 7 *Τίπτε . . . χατίζων*. The accusative after *χατίζων* is unusual; but see 195 c 3 *Τίπτε ἐπιδευόμενοι*. 'Usus ab Homerio *τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ;* (*Il.* x. 85; *Od.* i. 225) profectus est' (Wolff).

d 8 *θειοδάμοις . . . ἀνάγκαις*. Lucian, *Phars.* vi. 490

'Cuius commercia pacti
Obstrictos habuere deos? Parere necesse est
An iuvat?'

Claudian, *In Rufin.* i. 147

'Novi quo Thessala cantu
Eripiat lunare iubar, quid signa sagacis
Aegypti valeant, qua gens Chaldaea vocatis
Imperet arte deis.'

These and many similar passages are quoted by Seguier in a very learned note.

d 10 ⟨*ἀπορρήτοις*⟩. For this we find *ἀπειρίτοις* in AHO, probably suggested by the occurrence of the same word in c 4. Viger suggests *ἀπορρήτοις* which is adopted by Dindorf and by Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 730, who refers to Iambl. *De Myst.* vi. 6 *ὁ θεουργὸς διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων ἐπιτάττει τοῖς κοσμικοῖς.*

ἴυγξιν. The *ἴυγξ* or 'wryneck,' whirled round on a magic wheel, was used as a love-charm for gods and men. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 381

ποικίλαν ἴυγγα τετράκναμον Οὐλυμπόθεν
ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζεύξαισα κύκλῳ
μαινάδ' ὄρνιν Κυπρογένεια φέρεν
πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι.

In Theocr. *Id.* ii the frequent refrain is

Ἶυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.

194 a 2 *ἀήταις*. Plat. *Crat.* 410 B *οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ πνεύματα ἀήτας καλοῦσι* (L. and Sc.).

a 3 πανομφέας. Cf. Hom. *Il.* viii. 250

ἔνθα πανομφαίῳ Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί.

a 4 εἰσκρίνεις. 'Vulgo hoc verbum dicitur de animarum in corpora nascentium transitione, ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴσκρισις Philopon. *De Mund. Creat.* vi. 25. 597 A τὰς ψυχὰς εἰσκρίνεσθαι σώμασι: Philo, *De Mund.* 1151 B; Porph. *Abst.* i. 19 'unde transfertur ad daemonum et in statuas et in homines insinuationem magicam, ut in Hecatae Oraculo Euseb. v. 8,' Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* (Wolff).

b 2 For ἐπιμύσαντες the metre requires ἐπημύσαντες, 'bowing to.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 148

ἐπί τ' ἠμύει ἀσταχύεσσιν.

Ibid. 373

τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος.

b 3 Δηωΐον. Scaliger's emendation in place of δήϊοι AH here and δηΐῳ 145 d 7. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 747, note 6 'Δηώ ist Hypokoriston von Δημήτηρ (Hom. *Hymn. in Cer.* 492 Δηοῖ ἄνασσα).' Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 759 'Deoïa quercus.'

b 4 ὑποφήτορες. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* i. 22

Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.

c 1 ἑαυτῶν depends on ἐπανάγκους (AHI), χρησμούς being understood after ἐκδιδόασιν, and χρησμός with ἐκδοθείς below. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayoum Towns*, Pap. xc. 12, xci. 15, where ἐπάναγκον seems to be used adverbially, as ἐπάναγκες in *Oxyrh. Pap.* ciii. 16, cxxxiii. 17. Cf. I. Firmic. Mat. *De errore profanorum*, rell. (col. 1014) (quoting from Porphyry περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας): 'In primis enim librorum partibus, id est in ipsis auspiciis, [positus] dixit:

Serapis vocatus, et intra corpus hominis collocatus, talia respondit: . . . Serapis tuus ab homine vocatur et venit, et cum venerit statim iussus includitur, et loquendi necessitas, nolenti forsitan, imperatur.'

d 8 δοχῆος. Cf. 126 c 6 δοχέως.

d 9 λεπταλέων ὑμένων. Cf. Theophrast. *Fr. de Sensibus*, 37 λέγει τοὺς ὑμένας τῶν ὀμμάτων λεπτοὺς εἶναι: Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* iii. 13 Μέγιστοι δὲ τῶν ὑμένων εἰσὶν οἵ τε περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον δύο, κ.τ.λ.

μαλακὸν δ' ἐνέπλησε χιτῶνα. The context seems to point to the *coating* of the inward organs, as in Aristot. *De Partibus Animal.* iv. 5. 11 ἐν χιτῶνι ὑμενώδει.

ὁ ἀνθῶν οὐ συμφέρει, πίμπρησι γάρ. 'Aristoph. *Vesp.* 36 Ἔχουσα φωνὴν ἐμπεπρησμένης ὑός' (Seguier).

b 2 εἰσκριθῇ. Porph. *Abst.* i. 19 ἀκούσας τις εἰσκρίνεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς δίδωσιν.

b 7 τρίκρανος. Cf. Georgiadas, *Porph. Fr.* 49 'Only in one place (Eus. *P. E.* iv. 22) does Porphyry give a physical explanation of the daemons.'

b 9 Ἑκάτη. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 324.

τρίστοιχον. The three elements meant are earth, air, and water: cf. c 7–d 3.

c 1 καὶ πάλιν φησίν. 'Plura igitur Porphyrius de Hecate daemonum malorum domina h. l. dixerat.'

c 6 ἀπειρολεχής. Viger's conjecture. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 225 'In eiusdem deae oraculo, Eus. iv. 23. 176, pro ἀπειροτεχνής certe ἀπειρολεχής scribendum.'

c 7 τριστοίχου φύσεως. See the note on 191 c 6.

BOOK V

1] **178 d** 6 χρηστήρια διαλελοίπασιν. Plut. *Mor. De Defectu Oraculorum* throughout. Milton, *Ode on the Nativity*, v. 173 'The oracles are dumb, &c.'

d 11 ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. The event referred to is the defeat and death of Maxentius, 112 A.D. Cf. Eus. *H. E.* ix. 9.

179 a 1 τοπάρχας. Gen. xli. 34 καταστησάτω τοπάρχας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The word is frequently used in the Septuagint, and in 2 (4) Kings xviii. 24, Dan. iii. 2, vi. 7, is applied to subordinate officers military or civil.

a 2 ἐθναρχίας. Cf. Eus. *Const. Tricenn.* xvi ἐπαρχίας καὶ ἐθναρχίας καὶ τοπαρχίας τυραννίδας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας, where ἐθναρχίας and τοπαρχίας mean 'national and local governments,' and πολυαρχίας in antithesis to τυραννίδας means 'the government of the many,' as also ibid. iii ἀναρχία γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ στάσις ἡ ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας ἀντιπαρεξαγομένη πολυαρχία. In 2 Cor. xi. 32 'the governor under Aretas the king' is entitled 'Ethnarch.' Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 47, xv. 1, 2.

d 6 τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ. The treatise 'Against Christians': cf. 31 a 1, and Georgiadas, 39–46 seqq.

d 8 *τοσούτων ἐτῶν*. The genitive is unusual in the sense of duration, and *τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν* (AHI) ought to have been adopted in the text: cf. Hom. *Od.* xxi. 402

αἲ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν.

Hdt. vi. 134 *ἐς τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου.*

d 9 *ἐπιδημίας . . . οὔσης*. Cf. Eus. *H. E.* ix. 7 *τῇ τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν αὐτὴν ἐπιδημίᾳ ἀνθεῖν*. *Orat. Const.* i *ἐπιλαμψάσης δὲ παραυτίκα τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιδημίας.*

180 b 2 *διαιωνίζει*. Eus. *Vita Const.* iii. 41 *διαιωνίζων τὴν μνήμην*: iv. 2 *ἄληστον καὶ διαιωνίζουσαν.*

d 1 *κραταιότατα*, the reading of I, and originally of A. 'In voce *κραταιοτάτην* est *ά* et *ην* in rasura in A, in I legitur *κραταιότατα*, quod rectum putandum est' (Heikel); cf. 181 d 8 *τὴν πλάνην κραταιότερον ἐπικυρούσης.*

d 2 *ὑπερνικώσης*. Rom. viii. 37 *ὑπερνικῶμεν.*

2] **181 b** 2 *ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες*. Athan. 231 extr. *ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*. Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.* 1, 3 *ἐμφιλοχωρούσης τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν.*

b 4 *ἐξατμιζομένων ἀναδόσει*. Plut. *Mor.* 31 E *Καὶ τὸ 'Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε' κελεύων ἀναγινώσκειν ὑφέν, ὡς τὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιώμενον ἀέρα διὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν Ἀναδωδωναῖον ὄντα.*

b 7 *νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοποιίαν*. A notable assertion that the false gods were for the most part men deified after death.

ἰλυσπώμενον. Plat. *Tim.* 92 A *ἄποδα αὐτὰ καὶ ἰλυσπώμενα ἐπὶ γῆς ἐγέννησαν.*

c 3 *ἔφεδροι*, properly those who stand by to take the place of a defeated combatant. Cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 866

τοιάνδε πάλην μόνος ὢν ἔφεδρος
δισσοῖς μέλλει θεῖος Ὀρέστης
ἅψειν.

c 5 *κινήσεσί τισι*. See the amusing story in Lucian, *Philopseud.* 19, of the moving statue that came down from its pedestal at night, walked round the house, and spent a long time enjoying a bath. The moving figures ascribed to Daedalus are mentioned by Plato (*Meno* 97 D) and Aristotle (*De Anima*, i. 3).

c 9 *ἐνεργείας*. The addition of *δαιμονικῆς* in the later MSS. BIO may be a gloss intended to make the sense more definite.

c 10 *διὰ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνέσεως*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 102 B *πρὸς ἄνεσιν τῆς λύπης.*

182 a 4 *καθυπεκρίνοντο*. The daemons pretended that their own false miracles were wrought by the souls of the dead whom they professed to call up.

3] **c** 3 *κοσμοκράτορας*. Cf. Eph. vi. 12. On this term as applied to daemons Seguier quotes a curious passage from the *Testamentum Salomonis* Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναί μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα· καὶ εἰσήλθοσαν πνεύματα συνδεδεσμένα εὔμορφα τῷ εἴδει. Κἀγὼ Σαλομὼν ταῦτα ἐθαύμασα, καὶ ἐπηρώτησα λέγων· Καὶ ὑμεῖς τίνες ἐστέ; Οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔφησαν μιᾷ φωνῇ καὶ εἶπον· Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τὰ λεγόμενα στοιχεῖα, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, Ἀπάτη, Ἔρις, Κλωθώ, Ζάλη, Πλάνη, Δύναμις. On the *Testamentum Salomonis* see Schürer, *The Jewish People*, Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 154.

c 5 *ὑποκρινομένων*. I can find no other instance of the construction with the preposition, *ὑποκρίνεσθαι εἰς δαίμονας*. See 183 c 6 *θεοὺς ὑποκρινόμενον*.

d 7 *διὰ τὸ θέειν*. Cf. 29 c.

d 8 *θεωρεῖν* seems to be meant for another derivation of *θεός*.

183 a 6 *τροπικωτέραις*. 'Morum doctrinae coniunctioribus' (Viger). The usual meaning 'figurative' is more suitable to *ἀλληγορίαις*: it occurs very frequently in Athanasius, especially in the *Epistles to Serapion*, where οἱ Τροπικοί, 'the Figurists,' are the same as the Πνευματομάχοι, i. 670, 681.

a 8 *στῆναι*, 'to stop,' is the reading of all MSS. except AH, which have *μετιέναι*, 'to pass to this stage of deception,' at least as good a reading.

b 8 *τὸ πέμπτον*. The fourth class of gods consisted of human passions and faculties. The fifth of human activities such as war and the arts of peace.

c 1 *ἀνειδωλοποιήσαντες*. The word is used here of material images, and elsewhere of mental images, as in Plut. *Mor.* 1113 A οἱ ποιηταὶ πολλάκις ἀνειδωλοποιοῦντες. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* iii. 189 τὸ γὰρ τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀνειδωλοποίησιν λέγειν ἐπιδεικτικὴν εἶναι δύνασθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ . . . τέλεον ληρῶδές ἐστιν.

c 4 *ἕκτον καὶ ἕβδομον*. The sixth class consists of daemons who pretend to be gods, the seventh of those who profess to be the souls of the departed.

c 8 *ἐπιτωθάζον*. See Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* τωθάζων· χλευάζων, σκώπτων, διασύρων.

c 9 ὃ καὶ αὐτό, i.e. the whole class of daemons, to be distinguished now in a moral aspect.

d 4 τὰ μηδ' ἀντιρρήσεως δεόμενα, i.e. the fourth class mentioned above (b 2) as the deification of human passions and faculties.

4] **184 a** 2 ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον. The term ποιότης seems to have been first introduced by Plato, *Theaet.* 182 A ἴσως οὖν ἡ ποιότης ἅμα ἀλλόκοτόν τε φαίνεται ὄνομα καὶ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀθρόον λεγόμενον.

ἣν ὕλην καλοῦσι. It is not in Plato, but in Timaeus Locrus, 97 E, that we find τὸ ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον called ὕλη. ἀρχαὶ μὲν ὧν τῶν γεννωμένων ὡς μὲν ὑποκείμενον ἁ ὕλα, ὡς δὲ λόγος μορφᾶς τὸ εἶδος.

b 5 μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην. See note on 42 a 2; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 103; and the article 'Parseeism' by Spiegel in *Schaff-Herzog's Encyclopaedia.*

b 6 εἴτε Θρᾴκιος ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 696 'Plutarcho autem haec scribenti fanatica Bacchi solemnia ante oculos fuisse docent haec quae sequuntur *De Def. Orac.*, xiii. 321. . . .'

'Vitiose Plutarchus hinc colligit sacra Orphica perinde ut Phrygum et Aegyptiorum solemnia non diis sed daemonibus, quales Xenocrates imaginatus est, instituta esse, &c.'

c 3 Ἡσίοδος. Hesiod, *Opp.* 109, places first the men of the golden age, who after death become good daemons (122); secondly the silver age, happy mortals, honoured as such after death (126–41); thirdly the age of brass, men perishing by mutual slaughter, and leaving no name (154); fourthly a divine race of heroes (159) who are called demigods, and dwell after death in the islands of the blessed (171); and fifthly the iron age, of Hesiod's own time (175–201). The last sentence in Eusebius, ἐξ ὧν . . . ἀποκριθέντων, is an abbreviated paraphrase of the passage in Plutarch.

c 10 Δημητρίῳ. Cf. 89 b 5. Demetrius is one of the persons of the dialogue, described by Plutarch (c. ii) as a 'γραμματικός returning home to Tarsus out of Britain.' 'A most interesting memorial of him is still extant in the musuem at York, a little bronze tablet inscribed with the letters, Θεοις τοις του Ηγημονικου (*sic*) Πραιτωριου Σκριβα Δημητριος, a dedication tallying with the epithet "holy" here given to him. He was probably a *scriba quaestorius*, "treasury clerk," like Horace, and had been employed

in the finance department in the government office at Eboracum, the headquarters for the northern province. A second tablet bears Ωκεανωι και Τηθυι Δημητριος' (C. W. King, *Plutarch's Theosophical Essays*, p. 72. Bohn).

d 3 ἐφ' ᾧ βούλεται, 'quolibet adhibito iudice.' The Latin has 'quod unum ipse vult,' but in his note Viger corrects this, and gives 'devant qui il voudra.'

d 4 ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν. Plat. *Symp.* 327 E πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ.

185 a 4 δραχμήν. For ῥάγδην, the common reading in Plutarch, adopted by Heinichen, Wyttenbach suggests 'δράγδην *plena iniecta manu.*' But δραχμήν the reading of the best MSS. of Eusebius both here and at 206 a 1 is undoubtedly right, and has its original meaning a '*handful.*' Compare 149 d 4 δραγμάτων, and 318 d 3 δρακί.

τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους. The verses of Empedocles are quoted below, 187 d 5, from Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 361 C.

b 3 περίττωμα, used chiefly in a depreciative sense, as of 'refuse,' or 'dregs.'

b 6 ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 354 C μύθοις καὶ λόγοις ἀμυδρὰς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν. 'Obscura veritatis indicia et argumenta.' Wytt. in loc. 'Elegans est paronomasia in ἐμφάσεις et διαφάσεις, *signa in quibus et per quae veritas apparet.*'

b 7 εὔστομά μοι κείσθω. Hdt. ii. 171; a formula which became proverbial. So εὐστομεῖν is equivalent to εὐφημεῖν, Arist. *Nub.* 833; Lobeck, *Phryn.* 469.

b 8 ἀποφράδας, 'nefastos dies.' Plat. *Legg.* 800 D ὁπόταν ἡμέραι μὴ καθαραί τινες ἀλλὰ ἀποφράδες ὦσι.

c 1 ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοί. Cf. 62 c.

c 2 Pind. *Fr.* 224

μανίαι τ' ἀλαλαί τ' ὀρινομένων
ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνῳ.

For ἀλαλαί τ' ὀρινομένων the MSS. of Eusebius have ἄλλαι ὀρινόμεναι. In Plutarch. *Mor.* 623 B ἐριαύχενι stands in place of ῥιψαύχενι. Cf. 706 E.

d 3 ἀφοσιούμενοι. Dion. Hal. iv. 79 οὐδ' ἀφοσιώσασθαι τῶν φαρμακειῶν ἀμφοτέρων τὰς διαβολάς.

ἀλαστόρων. Plut. *Mor.* 297 A ἀλάστωρ μὲν κέκληται ὁ ἄληστα

καὶ πολὺν χρόνον μνημονευθησόμενα δεδρακώς. Wyttenb. annot. in loc. ' variant in eius origine docti homines, quos laudat *Etym. M.* in voce.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 418 B, 509 B, *Coriol.* 231 B, *Marius* 409 D, *Cicer.* 885 B. Athen. 541 C *τῆς Σικελίας ἀλάστωρ.*

d 5 *διὰ παρθένον.* Soph. *Trach.* 353

ὡς τῆς κόρης
ταύτης ἕκατι κεῖνος Εὔρυτόν θ' ἕλοι
τήν θ' ὑψίπυργον Οἰχαλίαν.

186 b 1 *δαίμοσιν ἐκαθικέτευον.* Hdt. vi. 68 *Ἀπικομένῃ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε.*

5] 187 a 1 *Βέλτιον οὖν.* See the similar passage in Plut. *Def. Orac.* 419 A.

b 1 *Πλάτων.* See the famous passage in the *Symposium* 202 E, where the daemons are described as an intermediate race carrying on all communications between gods and men, and introducing all kinds of divination, sacrifice, and magic. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Phil.* i. 489 ' How far the famous Platonic exposition, *Symp.* 202 E, is of Pythagorean origin, cannot be determined.'

Πυθαγόρας. Diog. L. viii. 32 (*Πυθαγόρας*) *εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων, καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι.* Here also the daemons are further described as the authors of dreams, divinations, lustrations, and expiatory sacrifices. See Zeller, ibid.

b 2 *Ξενοκράτης.* Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 2. 29 [62] *θεὸν δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας πυρώδεις ὀλυμπίους θεούς, καὶ ἑτέρους ὑποσεληνίους δαίμονας ἀοράτους.* Ibid. [66] (*Οἱ Στωικοὶ*) . . . *θεοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἀνωτάτω δὲ πάντων νοῦν ἐναιθέριον εἶναι θεόν.*

Χρύσιππος. Plut. *Mor.* 277 A *οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον οἴονται φιλόσοφοι φαῦλα δαιμόνια περινοστεῖν, οἷς οἱ θεοὶ δημίοις χρῶνται κολασταῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοσίους καὶ ἀδίκους ἀνθρώπους.*

τοῖς πάλαι θεολόγοις. Wytt. '*Veteres theologi* significantur Orpheus, Musaeus, similesque ad Epimenidem et Pherecydem usque. Sic appellat Orpheum Plutarchus *Def. Orac.* 436 D' (*οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταί*). *Mor.* 1030 B *οἵ τε πάλαι θεολόγοι πρεσβύτατοι φιλόσοφοι ὄντες.*

c 1 *ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας.* ' Ad verbum propemodum reponitur in *Def. Orac.* 417 B' (Wytt.).

c 2 *γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικά.* ' Saepe confunduntur, licet diversa

sint bella. *De Gigantibus* Ovid, *Metam.* 151, Apollod. i. 6, *De Titanibus*, Hesiod, *Theog.* 630 seq., Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 795, Apollod. i. 1. 3. Heynius in notis' (Wytt.).

c 3 *πολλαί τινες*. *Κρόνου τινός*, which is the reading in Plutarch, has been corrupted into *πολλαί τινες* in Eusebius.

c 4 *φυγαί*. 'Recepimus *φυγαί*, quia Eusebiani Theodoretianique auctoritatem exempli habet, ac tolerabilius saltem est vetere *φθόγγοι*: magis tamen satisfaciat Reiskii *φόνοι caedes*. Bacchus a Titanibus discerptus traditur a Plutarcho infra 305 F' (Wytt.).

d 1 *πρὸς τοὺς θεούς*. Connected in Eusebius with what follows: 'have a similar relation to the gods,' i. e. refer not to gods but to daemons. In Plutarch *πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς* is connected with what goes before: 'are kept secret and out of sight of the many.'

d 5 *Αἰθέριον μέν*. The same passage is quoted by Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* vii. 17, and is alluded to above 185 a 4. It is treated by Mullach, *Fr. Phil. Gr.* i. 2, as part of the Prooemium of the poem of Empedocles Περὶ Φύσεως.

188 b 1 Ἐκεῖνος. Plut. *Def. Orac.* 421 B. Cleombrotus, the speaker in the dialogue, is describing a barbarian who appeared among men once only in every year in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, and spent the rest of his time with the wandering nymphs and daemons. 'He was the handsomest man to look on that I ever saw, and was always free from every kind of disease, administering to himself only once a month the fruit of a certain medicinal and bitter herb. . . . He was at all times full of learning, and on one day in each year became inspired to prophecy.'

b 2 Δελφῶν. The dialogue is supposed to be held at Delphi.

b 5 Πύθωνα. The MSS. of Eusebius have *τὴν Πυθίαν*, but *Πύθωνα* the reading in Plutarch is required by the following context, which refers to Apollo as 'the slayer.'

ἐννέα ἐτῶν. Every ninth year the Delphians sent a procession to Tempe, representing the battle of Apollo with the Python, and his banishment to Tempe after the battle. Plut. *Mor.* 293 E.

τὰ Τέμπη. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 568

'Est nemus Haemoniae, praerupta quod undique claudit
Silva; vocant Tempe, per quae Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis.'

Cf. Shelley, *Hymn of Pan*, Stanza ii.

b 7 *ἐνιαυτῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περιόδοις.* On the various lengths attributed to the 'Great Year' see 849 c, and Diod. Sic. ii. 47 'It is also said that the god (Apollo) arrives at the island at intervals of nineteen years, the time in which the returns of the stars to the same place are completed; and that for this reason the period of nineteen years is called by the Greeks Meton's year.'

b 8 *Φοῖβον ὡς ἀληθῶς,* 'a true Phoebus.' The epithet originally 'refers to *the radiance of youth*, which was always a chief attribute of Apollo' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*). But afterwards, as in this passage, it indicated the purity and holiness of deity, to which Apollo was restored after his punishment and repentance for slaying the Cyclopes (Apollod. iii. 10. 4). Apollo brought back to Delphi a branch of laurel plucked in Tempe, and this was commemorated in the festival mentioned above. *Καὶ τῷ κατακομίζοντι παιδὶ τὴν Τεμπικὴν δάφνην εἰς Δελφοὺς παρομαρτεῖ αὐλητής,* Plut. *De Musica,* 1136 A.

c 7 *Σολύμους.* Cf. Hdt. i. 173 'Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabited by the Lycians: the Milyae of the present day were, in those times, called Solymi.' On the ethnic character of the Solymi, and their supposed connexion with the Israelites, see Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 412 B, and Rawlinson, Hdt. i. 658. The Solymi are mentioned by Homer, *Il.* vi. 184, as conquered by Bellerophon. They are placed by Strabo between Lycia and Pisidia, and on the heights of Taurus (pp. 630, 631, 667).

d 1 *Ἄρυτον, καὶ Τόσιβιν.* The names in Plutarch are Arsalus, Dryus, and Troesobus.

d 4 *Σκιροὺς θεούς.* For *σκληρούς,* the reading in Plutarch, Eusebius has substituted *σκιρούς,* which probably has the same meaning 'hard.'

d 8 *εἶπεν ὁ ξένος.* The speaker was Cleombrotus, who had recently returned from long wandering in Egypt and beyond the Red Sea (Plut. *Mor.* 410 A).

189 a 3 *Ἑρμαῖος.* Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 365 F *ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμαῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.* Ibid. 368 B *τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ (Ὀσίριδος) τὸν Ομφιν εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἑρμαῖός φησιν δηλοῦν ἑρμηνευόμενον.* 'Alibi scriptorem non memoratum repperimus' (Wytt.). The other four names were all borne by authors of repute.

b 1 *τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥς φησι, δαιμόνων.* Porphyry's statements con-

cerning *evil* daemons have been already set forth at large in Book IV.

c 4 *μαρτύρεται.* Cf. 143 d 2.

6] **190 a** 2 ὁ ἐν Βραγχίδαις. See note on 61 d 9 Διδυμέα.

d 8 *τὰ ἀρρητότατα τῶν ἀρρήτων.* Cf. 144 c 4.

7] **191 b** 1 *ποτὲ δῖα μάταιον.* The unintelligible and unmetrical reading of A *ποτ' ἀδείμαντον* is well replaced by *δῖα μάταιον* in BIO, and there is no need of conjectures such as *θέσπισμα μάταιον* (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 225) or *ἄειδε μάταιον* (Voss. marg., Unger). Homer constantly uses *δῖα* in such phrases as *δῖα θεάων*, *δῖα γυναικῶν* (*Od.* iv. 305). Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* viii. 1 *δῖα σελήνη.*

c 6 Καὶ *μήποτε κ.τ.λ.* This opinion on the nature of the soul is commonly printed as if it were a reflexion of Eusebius. But Wolff ascribes it more correctly to Porphyry, so that Eusebius begins again with the words Ταῦτα *οὐκ ἐμά.*

τρίμορφος τριμερής τε. Hecate was *τρίμορφος*, Proserpina, Luna, Diana, described by herself 175 c 7 as *τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα.* Apparently it occurs to Porphyry that this character of Hecate, as 'uniting the threefold elements of nature' (175 b 9), and able to give a soul to the world (*ψυχῶσαι*) may be the source of the three principles in the soul defined by Plato in the famous passage of the *Republic* 436 A, as *τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*, *τὸ θυμοειδές*, and *τὸ νοητικόν* or *λογιστικόν.*

d 2 *πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καλεῖται.* Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 372 d *καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ τὴν σελήνην ἐπικαλοῦνται.* Joh. Lydus, *De Mens.* iii. 8. 24 *καὶ γὰρ ὑγρὰ τὴν φύσιν ἡ σελήνη, ὅθεν καὶ αἱ περὶ ἐρώτων μαγγανεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὴν γίγνονται* (Wolff). Porphyry does not mention *τὸ νοητικόν* as not being concerned *πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά.*

d 5 Πάνυ *δέ με θράττει.* Aug. *De Civ.* x. 11 'Miratur autem quod non solum dii alliciantur victimis, sed etiam compellantur atque cogantur facere quod homines volunt.'

For further notes on this passage see the longer quotation 197 d 1.

192 a 6 *τί καὶ τίνι* ⟨*αὐτοί*⟩. Neither *τίνα αὐτῷ* AH, nor *τί καὶ τίνι αὐτῶν* BIO, is free from suspicion. '*αὐτοὶ* scripsit Wolff, quem secutus est Dindorf, a lectione codicum procul recedens' (Heikel). The difference between *αὐτῶι* and *αὐτοὶ* seems to me but slight, and the sense is certainly improved by the emphatic *αὐτοὶ δεδηλώκασιν.* Wolff and Dindorf cut the knot by omitting both *τίνα*

and τί καὶ τίνι, and in my translation I have done the same. Heikel omits τί καί and explans τίνι αὐτῶν thus: 'Et munera (ὅ τι) uniuscuiusque et nomina eorum (τίνι αὐτῶν) afferuntur.' If καὶ τί καὶ τίνι is retained the passage might be rendered, so as to avoid tautology, 'what office is assigned to each, and *why*, and to which.'

a 7 Διδυμαῖος. Cf. 61 d 9.

πεῦσις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 614 D πεύσεις ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ μὴ γλίσχρας.

a 9 Μητέρι μὲν μακάρων. Athenag. *Leg.* xxii πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας τὸν μὲν Κρόνον χρόνον, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν γῆν, τὴν μὲν συλλαμβάνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ ἀποτίκτουσαν, ἔνθεν καὶ μήτηρ πάντων νομίζεται.

b 1 Hom. *Hymn. In Matr. Deor.* xiv. 3

> ᾗ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
> εὔαδεν.

b 2 Παλλάδι δ' εὐπήληκι. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 120

> ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπήληκος Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ δουρὶ
> τὸν τέττιγ' ὄψει μ', ὦνερ, ἐφεζόμενον.

μόθοι. Hom. *Il.* vii. 117 καὶ εἰ μόθου ἔστ' ἀκόρητος.

b 6 εὐαλδῆ. Plut. *Mor.* 664 D τὰ δὲ ἀστραπαῖα τῶν ὑδάτων εὐαλδῆ καλοῦσιν οἱ γεωργοί.

σταχυητρόφα. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 209

> ὄφρα σε καὶ φθίμενον Δηοῦς σταχυητρόφος αὖλαξ
> θέλγῃ ἀροτραίῃ κείμενον ἐν θαλάμῃ.

8] **193 a** 1 ὁ Ῥόδιος Πυθαγόρας. 'Scriptor ignotus. Videtur περὶ θεῶν scripsisse. Aeneas Gaz. Theophrasti, p. 61, Boisson: Ὁ γοῦν Πυθαγόρας, οὐχ ὁ Σάμιος ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥόδιος, μέλλων ψυχομαντείαν παραδιδόναι, τίνες οἱ καλούμενοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζητεῖ πότερον θεοὶ ἢ δαίμονες' (Wolff).

b 3 εὐμαρέστερον. Cf. 3 b 3 εὐμαρῶς, note.

c 2 πειθανάγκην. Cic. *Epp. ad Atticum*, ix. 13 'Ego autem non tam γοητείαν huius timeo quam πειθανάγκην. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις, inquit Πλάτων, οἶσθ' ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις.' The passage of Plato is *Epp.* vii. 329 D τὰς δὲ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις ἴσμεν, ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις εἰσίν. The same interpretation of the word is given by Suidas and adopted by Casaubon in Polyb. xxii. 25. 8 ἡ μετὰ βίας πειθώ, where Schweighäuser proposes the less suitable meaning ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ πείθεσθαι.

ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν. The reference seems to be to the verses quoted at 191 b, as being from the same poem.

c 4 ἀπείριτον. Cf. Hom. *Od.* x. 195

νῆσον, τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται.

c 6 τεῇς ὑποθημοσύνῃσι, literally, *at thy suggestions.* Cf. Hom. *Il.* xv. 412

ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν Ἀθήνης.

d 4 πολυφράδμονος. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* i. 1311 πολυφράδμων ὑποφήτης.

d 7 Τίπτε . . . χατίζων. The accusative after χατίζων is unusual; but see 195 c 3 Τίπτε ἐπιδευόμενοι. 'Usus ab Homerio τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ; (*Il.* x. 85; *Od.* i. 225) profectus est' (Wolff).

d 8 θειοδάμοις . . . ἀνάγκαις. Lucian, *Phars.* vi. 490

'Cuius commercia pacti
Obstrictos habuere deos? Parere necesse est
An iuvat?'

Claudian, *In Rufin.* i. 147

'Novi quo Thessala cantu
Eripiat lunare iubar, quid signa sagacis
Aegypti valeant, qua gens Chaldaea vocatis
Imperet arte deis.'

These and many similar passages are quoted by Seguier in a very learned note.

d 10 ⟨ἀπορρήτοις⟩. For this we find ἀπειρίτοις in AHO, probably suggested by the occurrence of the same word in c 4. Viger suggests ἀπορρήτοις which is adopted by Dindorf and by Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 730, who refers to Iambl. *De Myst.* vi. 6 ὁ θεουργὸς διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων ἐπιτάττει τοῖς κοσμικοῖς.

ἴυγξιν. The ἴυγξ or 'wryneck,' whirled round on a magic wheel, was used as a love-charm for gods and men. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 381

ποικίλαν ἴυγγα τετράκναμον Οὐλυμπόθεν
ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζεύξαισα κύκλῳ
μαινάδ' ὄρνιν Κυπρογένεια φέρεν
πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι.

In Theocr. *Id.* ii the frequent refrain is

Ἴυγξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.

194 a 2 ἀήταις. Plat. *Crat.* 410 B οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ πνεύματα ἀήτας καλοῦσι (L. and Sc.).

a 3 πανομφέας. Cf. Hom. *Il.* viii. 250

ἔνθα πανομφαίῳ Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί.

a 4 εἰσκρίνεις. 'Vulgo hoc verbum dicitur de animarum in corpora nascentium transitione, ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴσκρισις Philopon. *De Mund. Creat.* vi. 25. 597 A τὰς ψυχὰς εἰσκρίνεσθαι σώμασι: Philo, *De Mund.* 1151 B; Porph. *Abst.* i. 19 'unde transfertur ad daemonum et in statuas et in homines insinuationem magicam, ut in Hecatae Oraculo Euseb. v. 8,' Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* (Wolff).

b 2 For ἐπιμύσαντες the metre requires ἐπημύσαντες, 'bowing to.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 148

ἐπί τ' ἠμύει ἀσταχύεσσιν.

Ibid. 373

τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος.

b 3 Δηώϊον. Scaliger's emendation in place of δήϊοι AH here and δηΐῳ 145 d 7. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 747, note 6 'Δηώ ist Hypokoriston von Δημήτηρ (Hom. *Hymn. in Cer.* 492 Δηοῖ ἄνασσα).' Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 759 'Deoïa quercus.'

b 4 ὑποφήτορες. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* i. 22

Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.

c 1 ἑαυτῶν depends on ἐπανάγκους (AHI), χρησμούς being understood after ἐκδιδόασιν, and χρησμός with ἐκδοθείς below. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayoum Towns*, Pap. xc. 12, xci. 15, where ἐπάναγκον seems to be used adverbially, as ἐπάναγκες in *Oxyrh. Pap.* ciii. 16, cxxxiii. 17. Cf. I. Firmic. Mat. *De errore profanorum*, rell. (col. 1014) (quoting from Porphyry περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας): 'In primis enim librorum partibus, id est in ipsis auspiciis, [positus] dixit:

Serapis vocatus, et intra corpus hominis collocatus, talia respondit: . . . Serapis tuus ab homine vocatur et venit, et cum venerit statim iussus includitur, et loquendi necessitas, nolenti forsitan, imperatur.'

d 8 δοχῆος. Cf. 126 c 6 δοχέως.

d 9 λεπταλέων ὑμένων. Cf. Theophrast. *Fr. de Sensibus*, 37 λέγει τοὺς ὑμένας τῶν ὀμμάτων λεπτοὺς εἶναι: Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* iii. 13 Μέγιστοι δὲ τῶν ὑμένων εἰσὶν οἵ τε περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον δύο, κ.τ.λ.

μαλακὸν δ' ἐνέπλησε χιτῶνα. The context seems to point to the *coating* of the inward organs, as in Aristot. *De Partibus Animal.* iv. 5. 11 ἐν χιτῶνι ὑμενώδει.

195 a 2 αὐλοῦ. Hom. *Il.* xvii. 297

ἐγκέφαλος δὲ παρ' αὐλὸν ἀνέδραμεν ἐξ ὠτειλῆς.

Schol. αὐλὸς γὰρ καλεῖται πᾶν τὸ στενὸν καὶ ἐπίμηκες κατὰ μεταφορὰν τοῦ ὀργάνου. Here it means *the throat.*

9] **c** 1 βροτός. In this and the next verse the speaker is the daemon, who pleads that the mortal δοχεύς possessed by him can bear the strain no longer.

c 5 ἔρπε. 'Come hither,' as in Eur. *Andr.* 722

ἕρπε δεῦρ' ὑπ' ἀγκάλας, βρέφος.

Wolff thinks that ἐπιέρχεο is corrupt. As the daemon is the speaker, and τόνδε the δοχεύς, the line would have been better translated

'Hither come quickly, and this mortal save.'

d 1 περίφρων. Literally, 'Cease, cunning man, from spells.'

d 2 ⟨θάμνων⟩. This is Viger's conjecture for τάμνων. I have rendered θάμνων, which is a general term for shrubs, by 'willow' (λύγος), 'πρὸς δεσμοὺς γὰρ καὶ πλέγματα ἡ λύγος ἐπιτήδειος' (Athen. xv. 11).

d 3 ⟨Νειλαίην⟩. Vig. νηλείην A, 'cruel,' for which the proper form would be νηλειῆ. Νειλέην H, from which Viger conjectured Νειλαίην, and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* i. 108 Νειλῴην, both forms being in use. Egypt was famous for its fine linen, Hdt. ii. 86. 95.

d 5 Ὑψίπρωρον. Wolff 'pedem *meum* ad caelum tolle.' But it was the man's body that was occupied by the daemon.

196 a 2 Μούσαις ⟨μέτα⟩ λύετε. The various readings of the MSS. are corrupt: μιγαλοίοτε AH, μέγα λύετε BIO Gaisf., μίγα Vig. Marg. Heinichen, μέγα κλείετε Dind. Μούσαις μέτα seems to be an obvious emendation.

a 3 ⟨θείαις⟩. Wolff's emendation for θειαὶ AH, θεαὶ BIO.

a 6 γραμμάς. Magic circles or other figures, within which the daemons were confined. Cf. Goethe, *Faust* (Mephistopheles to the Witch)

'Zieh deinen Kreis, sprich deine Sprüche.'

'Draw thy circle, speak thy spells.'

c 4 περιέργου. Acts xix. 19 τῶν τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων, 'curious arts,' '*magical,*' Marg. R.V.

c 6 τούτων (AH), 'this testimony of theirs'; but τούτῳ (IO), 'to him,' cf. 193 a, is better.

d 7 μαγγανείαις. Plat. *Legg.* 908 D, 933 A.

10] **197 d** 1–**d** 5. Quoted before, 191 d.

d 2 *δίκαιον εἶναι ἀξιοῦντες*. The answer is more ingenious than direct, Iambl. *De Myst.* iv. 4 *πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο ἔχω περὶ τοῦ δικαιοπραγεῖν διαμφισβητῆσαι.* He goes on to say that the gods, when their just vengeance is invoked against an evil-doer, look not only at the present crime but at his whole past life, and at the whole moral order of the world, and so judge differently from mankind.

d 6 *ἀπὸ ἐμψύχων μὲν ἀποχῆς . . . εἶναι*, 'to be of the sect of abstainers from animal food.' Demosth. 288. 18 *τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς*. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 620. 3.

d 8 *νεκροῦ μὲν ἀθιγῆ*. Seguier remarks, 'Nihil aliud est quam nova exhibitio versuum Euripidis in *Iph. in Taur.* 380

> *τὰ τῆς θεοῦ δὲ μέμφομαι σοφίσματα,*
> *ἥτις, βροτῶν μὲν ἤν τις ἅψηται φόνου*
> *ἢ καὶ λοχείας ἢ νεκροῦ θίγῃ χεροῖν,*
> *βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη,*
> *αὐτὴ δὲ θυσίαις ἥδεται βροτοκτόνοις.*

198 a 1 *ἐπόπτην*. Cf. 30 b, 65 b; Iambl. vi. 1.

a 5 *ἀπειλὰς προσφέροντα.* An example of such threats is given by Wiedemann, 274, should the gods refuse to come, 'Then shall ye be destroyed, ye nine gods; the heaven shall no longer exist, the five days over and above the year shall cease to be, offerings shall no more be made to the gods, the lords of Heliopolis . . . the mid-day sun shall no longer shine, the Nile shall not bestow its waters of inundation.'

a 6 *τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς Ἴσιδος*. Cf. 47 c 5, 54 b 4; Hdt. ii. 61; Pausan. 880; Athenag. *Legat.* 28.

a 7 *τὸ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητον*. The same phrase occurs twice in the answer of Iamblichus (*De Myst.* vi. 5, 7) and has been misunderstood by editors, who changed Ἀβύδῳ into ἀβύσσῳ (Gale), or ἀδύτῳ (Taylor). Prof. Flinders Petrie, who has been excavating the ruins of Abydos, says in a private letter of May 20, 1902, 'I have no doubt that the Osiris shrine was as old as the kingdom, i. e. *circ.* 5000 B. C.'

The head of Osiris was buried at Abydos (Ermann, 320), which was therefore considered the special grave of this god, and 'the secret in Abydos' was connected with Osiris, as is evident from the language of Iamblichus (vi. 7): 'The parts of the universe remain in order, because the beneficent power of

Osiris remains pure and undefiled.... All things continue immovable and perpetual, because the course of the sun is never stopped. And all things remain perfect and entire, because the secrets in Abydos (τὰ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητα) are never revealed.' Cf. Masp. i. 196; Strab. 814.

b 1 βᾶριν. The name for an Egyptian boat. Cf. Hdt. ii. 96; Aesch. *Suppl.* 874

Αἰγυπτίαν γὰρ βᾶριν οὐχ ὑπερθορεῖ.

Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 364 D. 'The sun and moon they symbolize as using not chariots but boats.' In the present passage βᾶριν refers to the solar bark in which the dead were conveyed to the place of burial, and in which (if the mummy were previously taken to the tomb of Osiris at Abydos) the soul of the deceased went straight to the very spot whence he descended into Hades through a narrow gorge or 'cleft' in the Libyan range: see Masp. i. 196.

στήσει. Cf. G. W. (Birch, iii. 442) 'If the cries (of the women) cease but for a minute, the bearers of the bier protest that they cannot proceed, that a supernatural power roots them to the spot.' Cf. G. W. ibid. 444. As the βᾶρις was the solar bark, the symbolical meaning of the threat στήσειν τὴν βᾶριν was 'to stop the course of the sun.'

διασκεδάσει τῷ Τυφῶνι. Cf. 46 d 7.

b 2 τίνα οὐχ ὑπερβολὴν . . . καταλείπει. Eusebius here borrows his phraseology from Polybius, xvi. 23. 4 ὑπερβολὴν οὐ κατέλιπον χαρᾶς, ibid. 25. 6 ὥσθ' ὑπερβολὴν μὴ καταλιπεῖν. Either οὐχ must be rejected in Eusebius, or he has misused the phrase.

ἐμπληξίας. Cf. Aeschin. 84. 30 τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν.

b 5 Χαιρήμων. Cf. 92 a note.

ἱερογραμματεύς. Clem. Al. 657 'Those who are educated among the Egyptians learn first of all that style of Egyptian writing which is called Epistolographic, and secondly the Hieratic, which the sacred scribes (Ἱερογραμματεῖς) use, and lastly the Hieroglyphic.'

c 1 τὸν ἐξ ἰλύος ἀναφανέντα. Cf. Iambl. *De Myst.* vii. 2, where the mud (ἰλύς) represents everything material and corporeal, out of which the god is revealed as its cause, rising above and transcending it. 'The following symbol likewise testifies the truth of this.'

ἐπὶ τῷ λωτῷ καθήμενον. Iambl. ibid. 'The sitting above the

lotus symbolizes a transcendency which has no contact with the ἰλύς, and implies an intellectual empire.' A different interpretation is given by G. W. (Birch, iii. 128 ff.); cf. Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 92, note 10.

c 2 ἐπὶ πλοίου ναυτιλλόμενον. Iambl. ibid. 'The god sailing in a ship represents the power which governs the world. As therefore the pilot, being separate from the ship, presides over the rudder, so the sun subsisting separately presides over the helm of the whole world.' This, again, is differently interpreted by G. W. (Birch, iii. 458) 'Of Charon it may be observed that both his name and character are taken from Horus, who had the peculiar office of steersman in the sacred boats of Egypt; and the piece of money given him for ferrying the dead across the Styx appears to have been borrowed from the gold or silver plate put into the mouth of the dead by the Egyptians.'

c 3 κατὰ ζώδιον μετασχηματιζόμενον. Iambl. ibid. vii. 3 'Since, however, every part of the heavens, and every sign of the zodiac, all the motion of the heavens, and every period of time according to which the world is moved, and all things in the universe receive powers descending from the sun, . . . the symbolical mode of signification represents these also, saying that the sun changes his forms every hour, and is transfigured according to the signs of the zodiac.'

c 4 αὐτοπτεῖσθαι. Cf. Iambl. ibid. οὐκ ἐν ταῖς αὐτοψίαις μόνον, 'not only in visions which are seen by the bodily eyes' (Taylor). Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea* 1 τὰ μὲν αὐτοψίῃ ἔμαθον.

c 9 τὰ ἄσημα . . . ὀνόματα. Iamblichus (vii. 4) replies that such names, even if unintelligible to us, are all significant to the gods after an ineffable manner, different from any process of human reason. Taylor in his note refers to Plato, *Crat.* 391 D κάλλιστα ἐν οἷς διορίζει (Ὅμηρος) ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἅ τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὀνόματα καλοῦσι καὶ οἱ θεοί.

τὰ βάρβαρα. Iambl. ibid. 'This also has a mystical reason. For since the gods have shown that the whole dialect of sacred nations, such as Egyptians and Assyrians, is becoming to things sacred, we ought also for this reason to think it right to present our communications to the gods in the language congenial to them.' Cf. Pausan. 449 ἐπίκλησιν ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπᾴδει βάρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς ξυνετὰ Ἕλλησιν.

d 2 *τὸ ἀκοῦον.* Iambl. vii. 5 Ἀλλ' ὁ ἀκούων, φῄς, κ.τ.λ.

αὐτάρκης ἡ αὐτὴ μένουσα ἔννοια. The answer of Iamblichus is that if names were given conventionally, it would be a matter of indifference to change one for another; but if they are adapted to the nature of things, those which are most assimilated to it must be most welcome to the gods; and if the names are translated, they do not convey the same ideas.

d 5 Αἰγυπτίᾳ χρώμενος φωνῇ. Iambl. ibid. vii. 5 *πρῶτος καὶ παλαιός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς φωνῆς.* Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 2 Πρῶτοι μὲν ὧν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἐννοίην λαβεῖν, . . . πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα ἱρὰ ἔγνωσαν καὶ λόγους ἱροὺς ἔλεξαν.

d 6 *τεχνάσματα.* Iambl. ibid. *εἰ δ' αὖ γοήτων ἐστὶ ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα κ.τ.λ.*

προκαλύμματα. Iambl. ibid. 'But neither are these veiled symbols (*προκαλύμματα*) of our passions which we ascribe to the divine nature.'

d 8 *ἐναντίας ἐννοίας.* Iambl. ibid. 'Nor do we form ideas of the divine nature contrary to its own real mode of existence.'

199 a 3 *οἱ μὲν ἀπαθεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐμπαθεῖς.* Iambl. i. 10 *τῇ τοῦ ἐμπαθοῦς καὶ ἀπαθοῦς διαφορᾷ χωρίζεις τῶν κρειττόνων τὰς οὐσίας, κ.τ.λ.*

a 4 *αἰσχρορρημοσύνας.* Iambl. i. 11 *τὰς δ' αἰσχρολογίας, κ.τ.λ.*

a 5 *θεῶν κλήσεις.* Iambl. i. 12 Ἀλλὰ αἱ κλήσεις, φησίν, κ.τ.λ.

προσκλήσεις αὐτῶν. Iambl. ibid. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἱ προσκλήσεις διὰ πάθους συνάπτουσι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς ἱερέας· κ.τ.λ. In *πρόσκλησις* besides 'invocation' (*κλῆσις*) there is the further meaning of invoking aid to ourselves.

a 6 *μήνιδος ἐξιλάσεις.* Iambl. i. 13. Gale translates this: 'Sed et ratio possit reddi *supplicationum quibus divinam iram procuramus*, si recte intelligamus qualis sit deorum ira.' Taylor calls this 'most erroneous,' apparently himself misunderstanding '*procuramus*' in the sentence which he has underlined.

ἐκθύσεις, 'expiatory offerings.' Iambl. ibid. Αἱ δὲ ἐκθύσεις ὅ τι πάρεστι κακὸν ἐντοῖς περὶ γῆν τόποις ἰατρεύουσι.

b 7 *ἀνάγκαι θεῶν.* Iambl. i. 14 *θεῶν ἴδιαι ἀνάγκαι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν γίγνονται.* 'It is well observed by Proclus that "divine necessity concurs with the divine will." Θεία ἀνάγκη συντρέχει τῇ θείᾳ βουλήσει. Proclus in *Tim.* lib. i' (Taylor).

b 2 Εἰ δ' οὐ παρεῖται μέν. Cf. Seguier, 'Merus soloecismus est, et ferri nequit.' But see Hermann's note (p. 831) on Vig. *De Idiot. Gr.* 'Desideramus exempla in quibus εἰ δ' οὐ legatur. Nam in quibus legitur, in iis οὐ non est pro μή positum sed artissime coniungi cum verbo aliquo sequenti debet, ita ut cum hoc verbo coniunctum unam notionem constituat. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 296 εἰ δέ τοι οὐ δώσει ἑὸν ἄγγελον εὐρύοπα Ζεύς, Thuc. i. 121 (εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι . . . οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν), Eur. *Med.* 88 (εἰ τούσδε γ' εὐνῆς οὕνεκ' οὐ στέργει πατήρ) ubi fallitur Elmsleius.'

c 3 καταδέσμους. Plat. *Rep.* 364 C ἐπαγωγαῖς τισι καὶ καταδέσμοις τοὺς θεούς, ὥς φασι, πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν. Stallbaum refers to Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* 'Επαγωγαί, Plat. *Legg.* 933 A, D καταδέσεσιν.

11] **200 a** 2 παρ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἄνθρωποι. On the instruction of mankind by the gods, see Plat. *Protag.* 322 C.

a 4 παραστατικά, 'tending to prove,' 'confirmatory.' Clem. Al. 862 ὀμνύναι ἐστὶ τὸ ὅρκον ἀπὸ διανοίας προσφέρεσθαι παραστατικῆς (MS. παραστατικῶς), J. B. Mayor, Index in Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. Sext. Emp. *Math.* viii. 249 εἰ τὸ σημεῖον ἀληθές, εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ἀληθοῦς παραστατικόν.

παραθησόμεθα, 'quote in one's own favour.' Plat. *Polit.* 275 B τὸν μῦθον παρεθέμεθα.

a 5 ἀμάρτυρον. Thuc. ii. 41 οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι.

12] **c** 1 πηγάνου. Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* i. 3. 4 τῶν τε γὰρ φρυγανωδῶν καὶ λαχανωδῶν ἔνια μονοστελέχη καὶ οἷον δένδρου φύσιν ἔχοντα γίνεται καθάπερ ῥάφανος πήγανον. For ἀγρίοιο δέμας Wolff adopts Scaliger's conjecture ἀγρίου δέσμας, but the expression δένδρου φύσιν implies that there would be wood large enough for the body of the statue.

c 2 κατοικιδίοις σκαλαβώταις. Aristot. *Plant.* i. 4. 13 Πάλιν τῶν φυτῶν τὰ μέν εἰσι κατοικίδια τὰ δὲ κηπαῖα καὶ ἕτερα ἄγρια.

Meinecke, Menander, *Eunuch. Fr.* 3, 'Grammat. Bekk. p. 452 'Ασκαλαβώτην οὐχὶ καλαβώτην λέγουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ γαλεώτην.'

c 4 ζώοισι καὶ ⟨αἰθριάσας⟩. A has ἀθροίσας, and BO ὑπαιθριάσας. For the sake of the metre I have adopted αἰθριάσας. Wolff reads ζῴοις καὶ ὑπαιθριάσας, rendering the last word 'postquam pernoctavisti sub divo.' The transitive sense, 'after exposing in the open air,' seems preferable. See Schol. ad Theocr. *Id.* ii. 12

(Gaisf. *Poet. Min. Gr.* vol. 3) τῶν καιρῶν . . . οὓς ἀνατρέφει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς παραλλαγήν. See 113 c 5, note.

d 1 αὐτογενέθλων. Hermann, *Orphica*, *Fr.* xxxviii. πατρικὸς νόος αὐτογένεθλος.

d 4 ἀναθήματα. Eur. *Hec.* 308

ἰδού με κἀνάθημα σοῦ ἔχει καλόν.

d 5 πάλιν ἄλλοτε. Cf. 201 c 6 for the description of the statue here meant.

15] 201 a 3 Σάραπις. See note on 94 b, and G. W. (Birch, iii. 95 ff.), where a full account is given both of the original Egyptian Sarapis, and of the statue brought from Sinope to Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, and identified by the Greeks with Sarapis.

b 3 λαμπτῆρσι. Diod. Sic. iii. 37 διὰ δὲ τοῦ πυρωτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀστραπῇ παραπλησίους τὰς λαμπηδόνας προσβάλλοντας.

ὑπερμαρμαίρουσαν. 'flammas superantem' (Wolff).

b 4 χαροποῖσι. Hom. *Od.* xi. 611 χαροποί τε λέοντες, 'bright-eyed.'

σιδηρέοις ἄξοσι. Hom. *Il.* v. 723 κύκλα σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς (Wolff).

b 5 ἰαινομένων. Hom. *Il.* xv. 103

οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέῃσιν

ἰάνθη.

c 5 παγγενέτειρα. See 124 b 6, and note.

c 6 Ἑκάτη. Hecate is sometimes identified with Persephone, and even with Demeter, as in c 8; but more usually she accompanies Demeter in the search for her daughter, carrying a torch. See Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 24, 438, Hesiod. *Theog.* 411 ff. On a vase at Naples Persephone is brought to her mother by Hermes and Hecate (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 763).

c 7 πάντα ποίει. This refers to some previous directions about the shrine in which the statue was to be placed: ξόανον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ.

c 8 Δημήτερος. See note on c 6.

ἀγλαοκάρπου. See note on 113 c 9.

d 1 δράκοντες. Cf. Soph. Ῥιζοτόμοι *Fr.* 480, where Hecate is described as

> στεφανωσαμένη
> δρυσὶ καὶ πλεκταῖς
> ὠμῶν σπείραισι δρακόντων.

14] **202 b** 2 Κλῄζειν Ἑρμείην. 'Quidni Mercurio dies Mercurii? Quare conjicio . . . Κληίζειν Ἑρμῆν τοῦδ' ἤματι, Ἠέλιον δέ' (Wolff). Instead of so violent an alteration of the text, it would be better to suppose that the preceding verse contained some such words as ἤματι δ' αὐτοῦ

'On his own day
Hermes thou must invoke, the Sun likewise
On the Sun's day.'

c 1 τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεύς. 'The seven-toned lyre' is mentioned in Eur. *Ion* 881, where Apollo is addressed as

ὦ τᾶς ἑπταφθόγγου μέλπων
κιθάρας ἐνοπάν.

c 2 Ὀστάνην, a common Magian name. See note on 42 a.

d 1 οὐρανοῦ, 'poeta adiecerat, ne ambages deessent oraculo' (Wolff). I was myself at first misled by the ambiguous language. See the *Corrigenda*.

ἀστέρες οἱ θαλάττιοι. 'Star-fish.' Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* v. 15. 20 ὁ δὲ καλούμενος ἀστὴρ οὕτω θερμός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν, ὥσθ', ὅ τι ἂν λάβῃ, παραχρῆμα ἐξαιρούμενον δίεφθον εἶναι. Plut. *Mor.* 987 B quotes the star-fish as an example of the craft of animals in catching their prey. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀστὴρ ὧν ἂν ἅψηται, πάντα διαλυόμενα καὶ διατηκόμενα γινώσκων, ἐνδίδωσι τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιορᾷ ψαυόμενος ὑπὸ παριόντων ἢ προσπελαζόντων. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 5. 16 'Stella marina vulpino sanguine illita et adfixa limini superiori aut (*tolle* aut) clavo aereo ianuae.' Wolff, who refers to Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1336 f, adds that the nailing the star-fish before the doors shows that there was to be a shrine of Hecate προπυλαία.

d 5 κηρὸν ἐν πυρὸς μένει. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* ii. 28

ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
ὣς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις.

d 10 δεῖμα νερτέρων κυνῶν. Theocr. ibid. 10

ἀλλά, Σελάνα,
φαῖνε καλόν· τὶν γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἅσυχα, δαῖμον,
τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτᾳ, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι.

Verg. *Aen.* vi. 257

'Visaeque canes ululare per umbram
Adventante dea.'

d 11 Ἑκάτης. Wolff corrects the metre by substituting τῆς θεᾶς, and adds a full stop.

d 12 λαμπάς. Hecate holding a torch meets Demeter in her search for Persephone: Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 52

ἤντετό οἱ Ἑκάτη σέλας ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσα.

d 13 ξίφος. In Lucian, *Philopseudes* 22, Hecate appears amid earthquake and thunder, as a woman three hundred feet high, holding a torch in her left hand, and in her right a sword twenty cubits long, with serpents for legs and for hair.

d 14 δράκων. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 33

'Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
Altera Tisiphonen. Serpentes atque videres
Infernas errare canes.'

203 a 2 θείς. If this be retained, we must suppose αὐτά or τὰ ἅμματα to be understood. But Wolff reads δρῦς, which is supported by στεφανωσαμένη δρυσί in the Fragment of Sophocles quoted on 201 d 1, and by Ap. Rh. iii. 1214

πέριξ δέ μιν ἐστεφάνωντο
σμερδαλέοι δρυΐνοισι μετὰ πτόρθοισι δράκοντες.

a 3 κλείς. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* i. 6 (Εἰς Ἑκάτην)

παντὸς κόσμου κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν.

Ibid. ii. 4 Hecate is addressed as Προθυραία, κλειδοῦχε.

a 7 ὁ θαυμαστὸς θεολόγος. Cf. Card. A. Mai, *De novo Porphyrii opere*, p. vii 'Satis est denique testimonium Caesariensis Eusebii, a quo Porph. licet adversarius insigni tamen cum nominum honorificentia appellatur (P. E. v. 14; iv. 6).' The Cardinal seems not to have perceived that the praise is severely ironical.

b 6 φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς AH. The words περὶ ἡμᾶς are omitted in the later MSS. IO, and do not improve the sense.

15] **c** 2 χαρακτήρων. Cf. Hdt. i. 116 ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου.

d 1 ὀπάσασθαι. As ὀπάζω often means 'to give,' the middle voice means 'to have given to oneself,' 'to receive.' In Homer the active meaning is 'to give as a companion,' the middle 'to take as a companion.' See *Il.* x. 238, xix. 238.

204 a 2 φιλοπαθεῖς, 'slaves of passion,' 'sensual.'

16] **d** 1 Ἀμφὶ δὲ Πυθώ. Wolff has a long and interesting note, showing that the following response must have been published between the times of Nero and of Hadrian, when there was

a revival of oracles, and that the probable author of it was 'Alexander the false Prophet' who in Lucian 237 sends inquirers to the various oracles of Apollo

ἐς Κλάρον ἴεσο νῦν, τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ὄπ' ἀκούσῃς.
Βραγχιδέων ἀδύτοισι πελάζεο καὶ κλύε χρησμῶν.
ἐς Μαλλὸν χώρει θεσπίσματά τ' Ἀμφιλόχοιο.

⟨καὶ⟩ Κλαρίην. This is Viger's conjecture for the corrupt readings Πυθῶοι Κλαρίῃ τε A, Πυθὼ Κλαρίην τε BIO. Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 54) describes the visit of Germanicus to the Clarian oracle. In Hom. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 40 Claros is described as αἰγλήεσσα and in *Hymn.* ix. 5 *ad Artem.* as ἀμπελόεσσα.

d 2 θεμιτώδεσιν. Strab. 422 κατασκευάσαι τὸ μαντεῖον Ἀπόλλωνα μετὰ Θέμιδος. Apollod. i. 4. 3 Ἀπόλλων . . . ἧκεν εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμῳδούσης τότε Θέμιδος.

d 8 Διδύμων. Strab. 634 'Next after Poseidion, which belongs to Miletus, is the oracle of Didymean Apollo at Branchidae, as much as eighteen furlongs from the sea.' Compare with this the statement of Pausan. v. 7 'There is a river in Ionia similar to the Alpheus; its source is in the mountain Mycale and it flows under the sea, and comes up again (ἄνεισιν) at Branchidae at the harbour called Panormus.' For ἴασιν, which has no subject nearer than πηγαί, we might adopt ἄνεισιν from Pausanias.

205 a 3 Νικαεῦσι. The Nicaea here meant is probably the Locrian city close to Thermopylae.

b 4 τοῦ μαντείου. On the famous oracle of Ammon in the Oasis see 61 d 2. It had been lately visited by Cleombrotus (Plut. *Mor.* 410 B).

c 5 καθάπερ νάματα. Near most of the famous Oracles there were rivers or fountains whose waters were supposed to inspire the prophets. See Porphyry, *Ep. ad Anebon.* 14 οἱ δ' ὕδωρ πίνοντες, καθάπερ ὁ ἐν Κολοφῶνι ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κλαρίου, οἱ δὲ στομίοις παρακαθιζόμενοι, ὡς αἱ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεσπίζουσαι, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑδάτων ἀτμιζόμενοι, καθάπερ αἱ ἐν Βραγχίδαις προφήτιδες. Cf. Iambl. iii. 11. Wolff refers to Pausan. ix. 2. 1, Plut. *De defect. Orac.* 412 B, 437 C, Pausan. v. 7. 3, Strab. 814.

17] **206 a** 1 μονονουχὶ δραχμήν. See note on 185 a 4.

a 6 ὦ Ἡρακλέων. There is no evidence to connect the Heracleon here mentioned with any of the same name otherwise known.

c 2 Δημόκριτος. Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* xv. 16; *De Nat. Deor.* i.

43 'Mihi quidem etiam Democritus . . . nutare videtur in natura deorum. Tum enim censet imagines divinitate praeditas inesse universitati rerum, . . . tum animantes imagines, quae vel prodesse nobis soleant (εὔλογχα *haec* εἴδωλα *sunt*), vel nocere (*haec* δυστράπελα): tum ingentes quasdam imagines tantasque, ut universum mundum complectantur extrinsecus. Quae quidem omnia sunt patria Democriti quam Democrito digniora' (Viger).

c 3 εὐλόγχων, a word formed from λέλογχα the irregular perfect of λαγχάνω. Cf. Lucian, *Soloecist.* p. 573 'When some one said λέλογχα for εἴληχα, It is rare, said he, and only found in inaccurate writers.' Cf. Plut. *Vit. Aemil. Paulli*, c. 1. In Sext. Empir. *Adv. Mathem.* ix. 19 εὐλόγχων has been changed into εὐλόγων, which is less suitable. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 288 'Democritus assumed "that there dwelt in the air beings who were similar to man in form, but superior to him in greatness, power, and duration of life: these beings manifest themselves when emanations and images, streaming forth from them and often reproducing themselves at a great distance, become visible and audible to men and animals, and they are held to be gods, although in truth they are not divine and imperishable, but only less perishable than man."'

εἰδώλων. On the εἴδωλα of Democritus, see Lucret. v. 1169

'Quippe etenim iam tum divum mortalia saecla
Egregias animo facies vigilante videbant
Et magis in somnis mirando corporis auctu.'

c 7 Ἐπιθέρσης. In Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* Epitherses is mentioned as a grammarian of Nicaea, and possibly the father of Aemilianus: but in this passage of Plutarch the speaker Cleombrotus is a Lacedaemonian and calls Epitherses his fellow-citizen.

d 4 Παξῶν. Two small islands Paxos and Antipaxos lying to the south of Corcyra, and far to the north of the Echinades.

d 11 Παλῶδες. The name of a muddy (πηλῶδες) salt-water lake close to Buthrotum in Epirus.

Πὰν ὁ μέγας. It is to this story that Milton alludes in his *Ode on the Nativity*, stanza xx

'The lonely mountains o'er
And the resounding shore
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament.'

207 b 4 φιλολόγους, 'learned,' 'studious,' as in 208 c 1. Stob. *Flor.* ii. 36. 26 Ζήνων τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφασκε τοὺς μὲν φιλολόγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ λογοφίλους, ibid. *Ecl. Eth.* vi. 6 [214] μηδ' εἶναι φιλόλογον λογόφιλον δὲ μᾶλλον.

Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης. The neighbourhood of Ithaca would naturally suggest the name of Penelope, rather than any other of the reputed mothers of Pan. Cf. Hdt. ii. 145 'To the time of Pan, son of Penelopé (Pan, according to the Greeks, was her child by Mercury), is a shorter space than to the Trojan war, eight hundred years or thereabouts.'

c 2 πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. 'This emperor must be Trajan, as Demetrius was just returned from Britain at the time of the dialogue. The island, as lying nearest to the coast, must have been Anglesey, the focus of Druidism. If Aemilian was an "old man" when he told the story just quoted, and his father had flourished under Tiberius, this dialogue comes down to the end of the first century' (C. W. King, Translation of Plutarch *On the cessation of Oracles*, p. 93 note).

c 6 διοσημίας. Aristoph. *Ach.* 171

διοσημία 'στὶ καὶ ῥανὶς βέβληκέ με.

c 7 πρηστῆρας, 'hurricanes.' Lucret. vi. 423

'Presteras Grai quos ab re nominitarunt.'

'If the wind cannot break the cloud, it forces it down in the shape of a column to the sea, where it bursts and causes a furious boiling and surging. . . . Epicurus in Diog. L. x. 104 explains these *presteres*: Pliny ii. 131–34 will throw more light on Lucr.' H. A. J. Munro.

d 2 ἀναλάμψεις. The substantive is hardly found elsewhere. Xen. *Cyr.* v. 1. 16 τὰ ξύλα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀναλάμπει.

208 a 1 ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτήρ. . . . The simplicity of Eusebius in accepting this tale, and finding in it 'a lamentation of evil daemons' as presaging evil to themselves from our Saviour's death, is less wonderful than the credulity of modern writers who suppose that 'The Great Pan' is no other than Christ himself. See Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 585, with Mosheim's long note in refutation of the strange conceit. In Plutarch the story is told as evidence that the so-called gods were mortal.

a 5 τῷ περιμένοντι αὐτοὺς Ταρτάρῳ. St. Luke viii. 31, 2 Pet. ii. 4 ταρταρώσας.

18] c 6 *τὴν Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτήν*. See the note on 209 c 1. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 20

'In foribus letum Androgei; tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi, miserum! septena quotannis
Corpora natorum: stat ductis sortibus urna.'

Cf. *Cretan Exploration Fund Report*, A.D. 1901. 'Excavations . . . continued during the present year have brought to light an ancient palace of vast extent, which there is every reason to identify with the traditional House of Minos and at the same time with the legendary "Labyrinth."'

c 7 *Ἐλοίμωσσον*. Cf. Lucian, *Conscr. Hist.* 15 *οἱ τότε λοιμώξαντες*, in reference to the great plague described by Thucydides.

209 a 5 *Σωκράτει τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου*. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 58 A.

a 7 *τις τῶν νέων*. This author's name, Oenomaus, is given below, 213 c. He was a Cynic philosopher of the second century, who was provoked to denounce the oracles by having been himself deceived. His exposure of the oracles, entitled *Γοήτων Φωρά*, is known only from the extracts preserved by Eusebius here and at 213 d et seqq., 255 b. Some grammarians distinguish *φώρα* 'detection' from *φωρά* 'theft': Chandler, *Gk. Acc.* 164.

19] c 1 *τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων ἀποκτείναντες*. 'Historiam vide ap. Diod. iv. 60, 61; Plut. *Thes.* 15; Apollod. iii. 15. 7. 3' (Saarmann, *Adnott.* in *Oen. Fr.*). Cf. Pausan. i. 27.

c 4 *Λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ κ.τ.λ.* 'Oraculum ab aliis non traditum' (Saarm.).

c 6 *Μίνωϊ*. Cf. 208 c 6; Apollod. iii. 15. 8. 4; Catull. lxiv. 76 seqq.

d 4 *ἐθαλασσοκράτει*. Cf. Thuc. i. 4; Hdt. i. 171; Apollod. iii. 15. 7. 4 *μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ θαλασσοκρατῶν ἐπολέμησε στόλῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας*.

d 6 *Ὁμήρῳ*. Hom. *Od.* xix. 178

ἔνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.

Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 624 'Do you believe, as Homer says, that Minos went every ninth year to converse with his Olympian sire?' Ps.-Plat. *Minos*, 14 'For *ὄαρος* means "converse," and *ὀαριστής* is a companion in conversation.' 'Miror quod Gaisf. toleraverit *ὀαριστύς* (*commercium*)' (Saarm.). Cf. Hor. 1 *Carm.* xxviii. 9

'Et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus'; Saarmann, *Adnott. in Oenomai Fr.*

210 a 2 *ἀποθανουμένους*. Catull. ibid. 81

'Ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis
Proiicere optavit potius quam talia Cretam
Funera Cecropiae—ne funera—portarentur.'

a 3 *κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων δικαστήν*. Plat. *Gorg.* 523 E 'I have already appointed judges sons of my own, two from Asia, Minos and Rhadamanthus, and one from Europe, Aeacus . . . and upon Minos I will confer the privilege of deciding in the last resort, in the case of doubt on the part of the other two' (Cope).

a 5 *κόρων*. The MSS. have *κορῶν* 'maidens.' 'Scribo *κόρων*, cum non solum puellae sed etiam adolescentes sint' (Saarm.).

20] **b** 3 *τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας*. On the various and conflicting accounts of the several attempts of the Heracleidae to gain possession of the Peloponnese see the article 'Heracleidae' in Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

c 2 *ὁ Ἀριδαίου*. Aristomachus was the son of Cleodaeus (Hdt. vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131), the mistake in the father's name being probably due to the accidental repetition of the first part of the name Aristomachus. Cleodaeus was slain, as here related, in the third expedition. Aristomachus about twenty years later consulted the Delphic oracle and misunderstood it. Pausan. 127 *Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεοδαίου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἁμαρτὼν δι' αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἥμαρτεν*. According to Apollodorus ii. 8. 1. 2 Aristomachus received the same answer which had been given to Hyllus who made two unsuccessful expeditions, that he should wait till *τὸν τρίτον καρπόν*, and the additional answer here mentioned by Oenomaus.

c 6 *στεννγρῶν*. 'Vigerus falso vertit "per liquidas fauces," quasi verbum *στεννγρός* constet ex *στενός* et *ὑγρός*. Contra talem opinionem disputat Galenus xvii. 1. 897 (Kühn): *οὐ γὰρ ἐγκεῖται τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει, καθάπερ ἄν τις οἰηθείη μὴ γιγνώσκων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸ στενὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι στεννγρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στεννγροῦ, ὅπερ οὐδ' αὐτὸ πλέον σημαίνει τοῦ στενοῦ*' (Saarmann).

d 3 *γῆν . . . στεννγρήν*. 'Hinc primum apparet in versu scribendum esse *στεννγρῆς*' (Wolff). Cf. Theodoret. 139, 41 *Ἀριστόμαχος οὐ νενοηκὼς τὴν στεννγρήν*. Saarmann agrees with Wolff, and referring to Theodoret and to d 3 *γῆν . . . στεννγρήν*,

d 2 *τὸ ἀκοῦον.* Iambl. vii. 5 Ἀλλ' ὁ ἀκούων, φῄς, κ.τ.λ.

αὐτάρκης ἡ αὐτὴ μένουσα ἔννοια. The answer of Iamblichus is that if names were given conventionally, it would be a matter of indifference to change one for another; but if they are adapted to the nature of things, those which are most assimilated to it must be most welcome to the gods; and if the names are translated, they do not convey the same ideas.

d 5 *Αἰγυπτίᾳ χρώμενος φωνῇ.* Iambl. ibid. vii. 5 πρῶτος καὶ παλαιός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς φωνῆς. Cf. Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 2 Πρῶτοι μὲν ὧν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἐννοίην λαβεῖν, . . . πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα ἱρὰ ἔγνωσαν καὶ λόγους ἱροὺς ἔλεξαν.

d 6 *τεχνάσματα.* Iambl. ibid. εἰ δ' αὖ γοήτων ἐστὶ ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα κ.τ.λ.

προκαλύμματα. Iambl. ibid. 'But neither are these veiled symbols (προκαλύμματα) of our passions which we ascribe to the divine nature.'

d 8 *ἐναντίας ἐννοίας.* Iambl. ibid. 'Nor do we form ideas of the divine nature contrary to its own real mode of existence.'

199 a 3 *οἱ μὲν ἀπαθεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐμπαθεῖς.* Iambl. i. 10 τῇ τοῦ ἐμπαθοῦς καὶ ἀπαθοῦς διαφορᾷ χωρίζεις τῶν κρειττόνων τὰς οὐσίας, κ.τ.λ.

a 4 *αἰσχρορρημοσύνας.* Iambl. i. 11 τὰς δ' αἰσχρολογίας, κ.τ.λ.

a 5 *θεῶν κλήσεις.* Iambl. i. 12 Ἀλλὰ αἱ κλήσεις, φησίν, κ.τ.λ.

προσκλήσεις αὐτῶν. Iambl. ibid. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἱ προσκλήσεις διὰ πάθους συνάπτουσι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς ἱερέας· κ.τ.λ. In πρόσκλησις besides 'invocation' (κλῆσις) there is the further meaning of invoking aid to ourselves.

a 6 *μήνιδος ἐξιλάσεις.* Iambl. i. 13. Gale translates this: 'Sed et ratio possit reddi *supplicationum quibus divinam iram procuramus*, si recte intelligamus qualis sit deorum ira.' Taylor calls this 'most erroneous,' apparently himself misunderstanding '*procuramus*' in the sentence which he has underlined.

ἐκθύσεις, 'expiatory offerings.' Iambl. ibid. Αἱ δὲ ἐκθύσεις ὅ τι πάρεστι κακὸν ἐντοῖς περὶ γῆν τόποις ἰατρεύουσι.

b 7 *ἀνάγκαι θεῶν.* Iambl. i. 14 θεῶν ἴδιαι ἀνάγκαι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν γίγνονται. 'It is well observed by Proclus that "divine necessity concurs with the divine will." Θεία ἀνάγκη συντρέχει τῇ θείᾳ βουλήσει. Proclus in *Tim.* lib. i' (Taylor).

b 2 Εἰ δ' οὐ παρεῖται μέν. Cf. Seguier, 'Merus soloecismus est, et ferri nequit.' But see Hermann's note (p. 831) on Vig. *De Idiot. Gr.* 'Desideramus exempla in quibus εἰ δ' οὐ legatur. Nam in quibus legitur, in iis οὐ non est pro μή positum sed artissime coniungi cum verbo aliquo sequenti debet, ita ut cum hoc verbo coniunctum unam notionem constituat. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 296 εἰ δέ τοι οὐ δώσει ἑὸν ἄγγελον εὐρύοπα Ζεύς, Thuc. i. 121 (εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι . . . οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν), Eur. *Med.* 88 (εἰ τούσδε γ' εὐνῆς οὕνεκ' οὐ στέργει πατήρ) ubi fallitur Elmsleius.'

c 3 καταδέσμους. Plat. *Rep.* 364 C ἐπαγωγαῖς τισι καὶ καταδέσμοις τοὺς θεούς, ὥς φασι, πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν. Stallbaum refers to Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ἐπαγωγαί, Plat. *Legg.* 933 A, D καταδέσεσιν.

11] **200 a** 2 παρ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἄνθρωποι. On the instruction of mankind by the gods, see Plat. *Protag.* 322 C.

a 4 παραστατικά, 'tending to prove,' 'confirmatory.' Clem. Al. 862 ὀμνύναι ἐστὶ τὸ ὅρκον ἀπὸ διανοίας προσφέρεσθαι παραστατικῆς (MS. παραστατικῶς), J. B. Mayor, Index in Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. Sext. Emp. *Math.* viii. 249 εἰ τὸ σημεῖον ἀληθές, εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ἀληθοῦς παραστατικόν.

παραθησόμεθα, 'quote in one's own favour.' Plat. *Polit.* 275 B τὸν μῦθον παρεθέμεθα.

a 5 ἀμάρτυρον. Thuc. ii. 41 οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι.

12] **c** 1 πηγάνου. Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* i. 3. 4 τῶν τε γὰρ φρυγανωδῶν καὶ λαχανωδῶν ἔνια μονοστελέχη καὶ οἷον δένδρου φύσιν ἔχοντα γίνεται καθάπερ ῥάφανος πήγανον. For ἀγρίοιο δέμας Wolff adopts Scaliger's conjecture ἀγρίου δέσμας, but the expression δένδρου φύσιν implies that there would be wood large enough for the body of the statue.

c 2 κατοικιδίοις σκαλαβώταις. Aristot. *Plant.* i. 4. 13 Πάλιν τῶν φυτῶν τὰ μέν εἰσι κατοικίδια τὰ δὲ κηπαῖα καὶ ἕτερα ἄγρια.

Meinecke, Menander, *Eunuch. Fr.* 3, 'Grammat. Bekk. p. 452 Ἀσκαλαβώτην οὐχὶ καλαβώτην λέγουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ γαλεώτην.'

c 4 ζώοισι καὶ ⟨αἰθριάσας⟩. A has ἀθροίσας, and BO ὑπαιθριάσας. For the sake of the metre I have adopted αἰθριάσας. Wolff reads ζῴοις καὶ ὑπαιθριάσας, rendering the last word 'postquam pernoctavisti sub divo.' The transitive sense, 'after exposing in the open air,' seems preferable. See Schol. ad Theocr. *Id.* ii. 12

(Gaisf. *Poet. Min. Gr.* vol. 5) τῶν καρπῶν . . . οὓς ἀνατρέφει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς παραύξησιν. See 113 c 5, note.

d 2 αὐτογενέθλου. Hermann, *Orphica*, *Fr.* xxxviii. πατρικὸς νόος αὐτογένεθλος.

d 4 ἀναθρήσεις. Eur. *Hec.* 808

ἰδοῦ με κἀνάθρησον οἷ' ἔχω κακά.

d 5 πάλιν ἄλλοτε. Cf. 201 c 6 for the description of the statue here meant.

13] **201 a** 3 Σάραπις. See note on 94 b, and G. W. (Birch, iii. 95 ff.), where a full account is given both of the original Egyptian Sarapis, and of the statue brought from Sinope to Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, and identified by the Greeks with Sarapis.

b 3 λαμπηδόνα. Diod. Sic. iii. 37 διὰ δὲ τοῦ πυρωποῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀστραπῇ παραπλησίους τὰς λαμπηδόνας προσβάλλοντας.

φλογμοτύραννον, 'flammas superantem' (Wolff).

b 4 χαροποῖσι. Hom. *Od.* xi. 611 χαροποί τε λέοντες, 'bright-eyed.'

μετώποις ἀμφίς. Hom. *Il.* v. 723 κύκλα σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς (Wolff).

b 5 ἰαινόμενον. Hom. *Il.* xv. 103

οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέῃσιν
ἰάνθη.

c 5 τραγοσκελεῖ. See 124 b 6, and note.

c 6 Ἑκάτη. Hecate is sometimes identified with Persephone, and even with Demeter, as in c 8; but more usually she accompanies Demeter in the search for her daughter, carrying a torch. See Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 24, 438, Hesiod, *Theog.* 411 ff. On a vase at Naples Persephone is brought to her mother by Hermes and Hecate (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 763).

c 7 πάντα ποίει. This refers to some previous directions about the shrine in which the statue was to be placed: ξόανον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ.

c 8 Δημήτερος. See note on c 6.

ἀγλαοκάρπου. See note on 113 c 9.

d 1 δράκοντες. Cf. Soph. Ῥιζοτόμοι *Fr.* 480, where Hecate is described as

στεφανωσαμένη
δρυσὶ καὶ πλεκταῖς
ὠμῶν σπείραισι δρακόντων.

14] **202 b 2** Κλῄζειν Ἑρμείην. 'Quidni Mercurio dies Mercurii? Quare conjicio . . . Κληΐζειν Ἑρμῆν τοῦδ' ἤματι, Ἥλιον δέ' (Wolff). Instead of so violent an alteration of the text, it would be better to suppose that the preceding verse contained some such words as ἤματι δ' αὐτοῦ

'On his own day
Hermes thou must invoke, the Sun likewise
On the Sun's day.'

c 1 τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεύς. 'The seven-toned lyre' is mentioned in Eur. *Ion* 881, where Apollo is addressed as

ὦ τᾶς ἑπταφθόγγου μέλπων
κιθάρας ἐνοπάν.

c 2 Ὀστάνην, a common Magian name. See note on 42 a.

d 1 οὐρανοῦ, 'poeta adiecerat, ne ambages deessent oraculo' (Wolff). I was myself at first misled by the ambiguous language. See the *Corrigenda*.

ἀστέρες οἱ θαλάττιοι. 'Star-fish.' Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* v. 15. 20 ὁ δὲ καλούμενος ἀστὴρ οὕτω θερμός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν, ὥσθ', ὅ τι ἂν λάβῃ, παραχρῆμα ἐξαιρούμενον διέφθον εἶναι. Plut. *Mor.* 987 B quotes the star-fish as an example of the craft of animals in catching their prey. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀστὴρ ὧν ἂν ἅψηται, πάντα διαλυόμενα καὶ διατηκόμενα γινώσκων, ἐνδίδωσι τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιορᾷ ψαυόμενος ὑπὸ παριόντων ἢ προσπελαζόντων. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 5. 16 'Stella marina vulpino sanguine illita et adfixa limini superiori aut (*tolle* aut) clavo aereo ianuae.' Wolff, who refers to Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1336 f, adds that the nailing the star-fish before the doors shows that there was to be a shrine of Hecate προπυλαία.

d 5 κηρὸν ἐν πυρὸς μένει. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* ii. 28

ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
ὣς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις.

d 10 δεῖμα νερτέρων κυνῶν. Theocr. ibid. 10

ἀλλά, Σελάνα,
φαῖνε καλόν· τὶν γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἄσυχα, δαῖμον,
τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ' Ἑκάτᾳ, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι.

Verg. *Aen.* vi. 257

'Visaeque canes ululare per umbram
Adventante dea.'

d 11 Ἑκάτης. Wolff corrects the metre by substituting τῆς θεᾶς, and adds a full stop.

d 12 λαμπάς. Hecate holding a torch meets Demeter in her search for Persephone: Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 52

ἤντετό οἱ Ἑκάτη σέλας ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσα.

d 13 ξίφος. In Lucian, *Philopseudes* 22, Hecate appears amid earthquake and thunder, as a woman three hundred feet high, holding a torch in her left hand, and in her right a sword twenty cubits long, with serpents for legs and for hair.

d 14 δράκων. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 33

'Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
Altera Tisiphonen. Serpentes atque videres
Infernas errare canes.'

203 a 2 θείς. If this be retained, we must suppose αὐτά or τὰ ἅμματα to be understood. But Wolff reads δρῦς, which is supported by στεφανωσαμένη δρυσί in the Fragment of Sophocles quoted on 201 d 1, and by Ap. Rh. iii. 1214

πέριξ δέ μιν ἐστεφάνωντο
σμερδαλέοι δρυΐνοισι μετὰ πτόρθοισι δράκοντες.

a 3 κλείς. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* i. 6 (Εἰς Ἑκάτην)

παντὸς κόσμου κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν.

Ibid. ii. 4 Hecate is addressed as Προθυραία, κλειδοῦχε.

a 7 ὁ θαυμαστὸς θεολόγος. Cf. Card. A. Mai, *De novo Porphyrii opere*, p. vii 'Satis est denique testimonium Caesariensis Eusebii, a quo Porph. licet adversarius insigni tamen cum nominum honorificentia appellatur (P. E. v. 14; iv. 6).' The Cardinal seems not to have perceived that the praise is severely ironical.

b 6 φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς AH. The words περὶ ἡμᾶς are omitted in the later MSS. IO, and do not improve the sense.

15] **c** 2 χαρακτήρων. Cf. Hdt. i. 116 ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου.

d 1 ὀπάσασθαι. As ὀπάζω often means 'to give,' the middle voice means 'to have given to oneself,' 'to receive.' In Homer the active meaning is 'to give as a companion,' the middle 'to take as a companion.' See *Il.* x. 238, xix. 238.

204 a 2 φιλοπαθεῖς, 'slaves of passion,' 'sensual.'

16] **d** 1 Ἀμφὶ δὲ Πυθώ. Wolff has a long and interesting note, showing that the following response must have been published between the times of Nero and of Hadrian, when there was

a revival of oracles, and that the probable author of it was 'Alexander the false Prophet' who in Lucian 237 sends inquirers to the various oracles of Apollo

> ἐς Κλάρον ἴεσο νῦν, τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ὄπ' ἀκούσῃς.
> Βραγχιδέων ἀδύτοισι πελάζεο καὶ κλύε χρησμῶν.
> ἐς Μαλλὸν χώρει θεσπίσματά τ' Ἀμφιλόχοιο.

⟨καὶ⟩ Κλαρίην. This is Viger's conjecture for the corrupt readings Πυθώοι Κλαρίῃ τε A, Πυθὼ Κλαρίην τε BIO. Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 54) describes the visit of Germanicus to the Clarian oracle. In Hom. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 40 Claros is described as αἰγλήεσσα and in *Hymn.* ix. 5 *ad Artem.* as ἀμπελόεσσα.

d 2 θεμιτώδεσιν. Strab. 422 κατασκευάσαι τὸ μαντεῖον Ἀπόλλωνα μετὰ Θέμιδος. Apollod. i. 4. 3 Ἀπόλλων . . . ἧκεν εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμῳδούσης τότε Θέμιδος.

d 8 Διδύμων. Strab. 634 'Next after Poseidion, which belongs to Miletus, is the oracle of Didymean Apollo at Branchidae, as much as eighteen furlongs from the sea.' Compare with this the statement of Pausan. v. 7 'There is a river in Ionia similar to the Alpheus; its source is in the mountain Mycale and it flows under the sea, and comes up again (ἄνεισιν) at Branchidae at the harbour called Panormus.' For ἴασιν, which has no subject nearer than πηγαί, we might adopt ἄνεισιν from Pausanias.

205 a 3 Νικαεῦσι. The Nicaea here meant is probably the Locrian city close to Thermopylae.

b 4 τοῦ μαντείου. On the famous oracle of Ammon in the Oasis see 61 d 2. It had been lately visited by Cleombrotus (Plut. *Mor.* 410 B).

c 5 καθάπερ νάματα. Near most of the famous Oracles there were rivers or fountains whose waters were supposed to inspire the prophets. See Porphyry, *Ep. ad Anebon.* 14 οἱ δ' ὕδωρ πίνοντες, καθάπερ ὁ ἐν Κολοφῶνι ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κλαρίου, οἱ δὲ στομίοις παρακαθιζόμενοι, ὡς αἱ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεσπίζουσαι, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑδάτων ἀτμιζόμενοι, καθάπερ αἱ ἐν Βραγχίδαις προφήτιδες. Cf. Iambl. iii. 11. Wolff refers to Pausan. ix. 2. 1, Plut. *De defect. Orac.* 412 B, 437 C, Pausan. v. 7. 3, Strab. 814.

17] **206 a** 1 μονονουχὶ δραχμήν. See note on 185 a 4.

a 6 ὦ Ἡρακλέων. There is no evidence to connect the Heracleon here mentioned with any of the same name otherwise known.

c 2 Δημόκριτος. Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* xv. 16; *De Nat. Deor.* i.

43 'Mihi quidem etiam Democritus . . . nutare videtur in natura deorum. Tum enim censet imagines divinitate praeditas inesse universitati rerum, . . . tum animantes imagines, quae vel prodesse nobis soleant (*εὔλογχα haec εἴδωλα sunt*), vel nocere (*haec δυστράπελα*): tum ingentes quasdam imagines tantasque, ut universum mundum complectantur extrinsecus. Quae quidem omnia sunt patria Democriti quam Democrito digniora' (Viger).

c 3 *εὐλόγχων*, a word formed from *λέλογχα* the irregular perfect of *λαγχάνω*. Cf. Lucian, *Soloecist.* p. 573 'When some one said *λέλογχα* for *εἴληχα*, It is rare, said he, and only found in inaccurate writers.' Cf. Plut. *Vit. Aemil. Paulli*, c. 1. In Sext. Empir. *Adv. Mathem.* ix. 19 *εὐλόγχων* has been changed into *εὐλόγων*, which is less suitable. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 288 'Democritus assumed "that there dwelt in the air beings who were similar to man in form, but superior to him in greatness, power, and duration of life: these beings manifest themselves when emanations and images, streaming forth from them and often reproducing themselves at a great distance, become visible and audible to men and animals, and they are held to be gods, although in truth they are not divine and imperishable, but only less perishable than man."'

εἰδώλων. On the *εἴδωλα* of Democritus, see Lucret. v. 1169

'Quippe etenim iam tum divum mortalia saecla
Egregias animo facies vigilante videbant
Et magis in somnis mirando corporis auctu.'

c 7 *Ἐπιθέρσης*. In Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* Epitherses is mentioned as a grammarian of Nicaea, and possibly the father of Aemilianus: but in this passage of Plutarch the speaker Cleombrotus is a Lacedaemonian and calls Epitherses his fellow-citizen.

d 4 *Παξῶν*. Two small islands Paxos and Antipaxos lying to the south of Corcyra, and far to the north of the Echinades.

d 11 *Παλῶδες*. The name of a muddy (*πηλῶδες*) salt-water lake close to Buthrotum in Epirus.

Πὰν ὁ μέγας. It is to this story that Milton alludes in his *Ode on the Nativity*, stanza xx

'The lonely mountains o'er
And the resounding shore
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament.'

207 b 4 φιλολόγους, 'learned,' 'studious,' as in 208 c 1. Stob. *Flor.* ii. 36. 26 Ζήνων τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφασκε τοὺς μὲν φιλολόγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ λογοφίλους, ibid. *Ecl. Eth.* vi. 6 [214] μηδ' εἶναι φιλόλογον λογόφιλον δὲ μᾶλλον.

Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης. The neighbourhood of Ithaca would naturally suggest the name of Penelope, rather than any other of the reputed mothers of Pan. Cf. Hdt. ii. 145 'To the time of Pan, son of Penelopé (Pan, according to the Greeks, was her child by Mercury), is a shorter space than to the Trojan war, eight hundred years or thereabouts.'

c 2 πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. 'This emperor must be Trajan, as Demetrius was just returned from Britain at the time of the dialogue. The island, as lying nearest to the coast, must have been Anglesey, the focus of Druidism. If Aemilian was an "old man" when he told the story just quoted, and his father had flourished under Tiberius, this dialogue comes down to the end of the first century' (C. W. King, Translation of Plutarch *On the cessation of Oracles*, p. 93 note).

c 6 διοσημίας. Aristoph. *Ach.* 171

διοσημία 'στὶ καὶ ῥανὶς βέβληκέ με.

c 7 πρηστῆρας, 'hurricanes.' Lucret. vi. 423

'Presteras Grai quos ab re nominitarunt.'

'If the wind cannot break the cloud, it forces it down in the shape of a column to the sea, where it bursts and causes a furious boiling and surging. . . . Epicurus in Diog. L. x. 104 explains these *presteres*: Pliny ii. 131–34 will throw more light on Lucr.' H. A. J. Munro.

d 2 ἀναλάμψεις. The substantive is hardly found elsewhere. Xen. *Cyr.* v. 1. 16 τὰ ξύλα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀναλάμπει.

208 a 1 ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτήρ. . . . The simplicity of Eusebius in accepting this tale, and finding in it 'a lamentation of evil daemons' as presaging evil to themselves from our Saviour's death, is less wonderful than the credulity of modern writers who suppose that 'The Great Pan' is no other than Christ himself. See Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 585, with Mosheim's long note in refutation of the strange conceit. In Plutarch the story is told as evidence that the so-called gods were mortal.

a 5 τῷ περιμένοντι αὐτοὺς Ταρτάρῳ. St. Luke viii. 31, 2 Pet. ii. 4 ταρταρώσας.

18] c 6 τὴν Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτήν. See the note on 209 c 1. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 20

'In foribus letum Androgei; tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi, miserum! septena quotannis
Corpora natorum: stat ductis sortibus urna.'

Cf. *Cretan Exploration Fund Report*, A. D. 1901. 'Excavations . . . continued during the present year have brought to light an ancient palace of vast extent, which there is every reason to identify with the traditional House of Minos and at the same time with the legendary "Labyrinth."'

c 7 Ἐλοίμωσσον. Cf. Lucian, *Conscr. Hist.* 15 οἱ τότε λοιμώξαντες, in reference to the great plague described by Thucydides.

209 a 5 Σωκράτει τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 58 A.

a 7 τις τῶν νέων. This author's name, Oenomaus, is given below, 213 c. He was a Cynic philosopher of the second century, who was provoked to denounce the oracles by having been himself deceived. His exposure of the oracles, entitled Γοήτων Φωρά, is known only from the extracts preserved by Eusebius here and at 213 d et seqq., 255 b. Some grammarians distinguish φώρα 'detection' from φωρά 'theft': Chandler, *Gk. Acc.* 164.

19] c 1 τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων ἀποκτείναντες. 'Historiam vide ap. Diod. iv. 60, 61; Plut. *Thes.* 15; Apollod. iii. 15. 7. 3' (Saarmann, *Adnott.* in *Oen. Fr.*). Cf. Pausan. i. 27.

c 4 Λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ κ.τ.λ. 'Oraculum ab aliis non traditum' (Saarm.).

c 6 Μίνωϊ. Cf. 208 c 6; Apollod. iii. 15. 8. 4; Catull. lxiv. 76 seqq.

d 4 ἐθαλασσοκράτει. Cf. Thuc. i. 4; Hdt. i. 171; Apollod. iii. 15. 7. 4 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ θαλασσοκρατῶν ἐπολέμησε στόλῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας.

d 6 Ὁμήρῳ. Hom. *Od.* xix. 178

ἔνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.

Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 624 'Do you believe, as Homer says, that Minos went every ninth year to converse with his Olympian sire?' Ps.-Plat. *Minos*, 14 'For ὄαρος means "converse," and ὀαριστής is a companion in conversation.' 'Miror quod Gaisf. toleraverit ὀαριστύς (*commercium*)' (Saarm.). Cf. Hor. 1 *Carm.* xxviii. 9

'Et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus'; Saarmann, *Adnott. in Oenomai Fr.*

210 a 2 *ἀποθανουμένους*. Catull. ibid. 81

'Ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis
Proiicere optavit potius quam talia Cretam
Funera Cecropiae—ne funera—portarentur.'

a 3 *κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων δικαστήν*. Plat. *Gorg.* 523 E 'I have already appointed judges sons of my own, two from Asia, Minos and Rhadamanthus, and one from Europe, Aeacus . . . and upon Minos I will confer the privilege of deciding in the last resort, in the case of doubt on the part of the other two' (Cope).

a 5 *κόρων*. The MSS. have *κορῶν* 'maidens.' 'Scribo *κόρων*, cum non solum puellae sed etiam adolescentes sint' (Saarm.).

20] **b** 3 *τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας*. On the various and conflicting accounts of the several attempts of the Heracleidae to gain possession of the Peloponnese see the article 'Heracleidae' in Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

c 2 *ὁ Ἀριδαίου*. Aristomachus was the son of Cleodaeus (Hdt. vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131), the mistake in the father's name being probably due to the accidental repetition of the first part of the name Aristomachus. Cleodaeus was slain, as here related, in the third expedition. Aristomachus about twenty years later consulted the Delphic oracle and misunderstood it. Pausan. 127 *Ἀριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεοδαίου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἁμαρτὼν δι' αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἥμαρτεν*. According to Apollodorus ii. 8. 1. 2 Aristomachus received the same answer which had been given to Hyllus who made two unsuccessful expeditions, that he should wait till *τὸν τρίτον καρπόν*, and the additional answer here mentioned by Oenomaus.

c 6 *στενυγρῶν*. 'Vigerus falso vertit "per liquidas fauces," quasi verbum *στενυγρός* constet ex *στενός* et *ὑγρός*. Contra talem opinionem disputat Galenus xvii. 1. 897 (Kühn): *οὐ γὰρ ἐγκεῖται τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει, καθάπερ ἄν τις οἰηθείη μὴ γιγνώσκων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸ στενὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι στενυγρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στενυγροῦ, ὅπερ οὐδ' αὐτὸ πλέον σημαίνει τοῦ στενοῦ*' (Saarmann).

d 3 *γῆν . . . στενυγρήν*. 'Hinc primum apparet in versu scribendum esse *στενυγρῆς*' (Wolff). Cf. Theodoret. 139, 41 *Ἀριστόμαχος οὐ νενοηκὼς τὴν στενυγρήν*. Saarmann agrees with Wolff, and referring to Theodoret and to d 3 *γῆν . . . στενυγρήν*,

asks 'Cur uterque non dixit τὰ στένυγρα? Necesse est, opinor, in versu illo στενύγρων mutari in στενύγρης vel potius στενυγρῆς, quod poposcerunt Heyne ad Apollod. ii. 8. 2. 6 et Wolff, *Porph.* p. 80.' The passage of Apollodorus is quoted in the next note. The argument that the oracle must have said δι' ὁδοῖο στενυγρῆς and not δι' ὁδοῖο στενυγρῶν seems rather hypercritical, and insufficient to justify the alteration of the reading confirmed by all the MSS.

στενυγρήν. 'Iam de accentu . . . στένυγρος enim pronuntiare liceret si esset compositum ex στενός et ὑγρός (cf. δίυγρος, κάθυγρος): quod cum ita non esse viderimus, alteram formam στενυγρός adsciscere malim. Simonides Galeni xvii. 1. 897

μοῦνος στενυγρῇ συμπεσὼν ἐν ἀτραπῷ' (Saarmann).

Seguier remarks that if Temenus had supposed the word to be compounded with ὑγρός, he would at once have understood that he was to go by sea.

τὴν εὐρυγάστορα. Apollod. ibid. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀντεῖπε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ χρησμοὺς οὐ συμβάλλειν· λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον, καὶ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγάστορα, δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. Müller, *Dor.* i. 57 tried to turn this answer into trimeter Iambics, and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 852 after criticizing Müller makes it into two much worse Hexameters. That oracles were sometimes given in prose is seen in Hdt. i. 91 (Wolff).

d 5 δόξαν ἐμποιήσας. 'Polyaenus, *Stratag.* i. 9 "Temenus cum ceteris Heraclidis habens in animo Rhium transfretare, misit transfugas Locrios qui nuntiarent Peloponnensibus se stare in anchoris Naupacti quasi Rhium navigaturos, sed revera velle ingredi per Isthmum: cui rei fide facta, Peloponnenses convenerunt ad Isthmum, et Temenus Rhium occupavit sine pugna"' (Seguier).

d 6 Ναυάτου. For this name unknown to geographers we ought certainly to substitute Naupactus, which was so named because the Dorians who returned with the sons of Aristomachus built their fleet there (Strab. 426; Pausan. 897; Apollod. ibid.).

Τυπαίου. The well-known hill of this name close to Olympia cannot possibly be meant in this context. Ῥυπαίου has been suggested as an emendation, but Ῥύπες from which it is sup-

posed to be formed is too far distant on the opposite side of the Gulf (Pausan. 536). A more probable suggestion is 'Ρίον, that name being applicable either to Rhium or to Antirrhium, as in Thuc. ii. 86 'Ρίον τὸ Μολυκρικόν and τοῦτο μὲν τὸ 'Ρίον, and in the passage quoted by Séguier 'Aristides adversus Platonem, folio 143 editionis Florentinae 1517, "Sed, O strenue, cur non crimini vertis etiam Heraclidis quod non ingressi sint terra in Peloponnesum, sed transeuntes e Rhione in Rhionem?"' Whichever Rhium is assumed to be indicated, the application of στρατοπεδεύεσθαι to a fleet in Hdt. vii. 124 removes the chief difficulty. It is however most probable that 'Antirrhium on the confines of Aetolia and Locris, which they call Molycrion Rhium' (Pausan. 336), is here meant, for Molycrium lies 'between Naupactus and Rhium,' and it was to Molycrium that Cresphontes son of Aristomachus conducted the fleet from Naupactus. Pausan. 380 'Ο δὲ σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιέναι, μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ πειρᾶσθαι. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρῄνεσε, καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἐς Μολύκριον ἐκ Ναυπάκτου πλοῦν καθηγήσατο αὐτοῖς.

Κάρνον ἱππότην. The accusative ἱππότην, though found in all MSS. of Eusebius, is certainly a corruption of Ἱππότης. Pausan. 238 Τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἱππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος, ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μήνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος: cf. Apollod. ii. 8. 3. 1 τοῦτον βαλὼν ἀκοντίῳ Ἱππότης ὁ Φύλαντος, κ.τ.λ.

d 7 τὸν Αἰτωλόν. In the context of the passage just quoted Carnus is twice called an Acarnanian.

d 10 καὶ τό. Saarmann reads κατὰ τό, a good emendation.

211 a 1 Ἀπόλλωνι ⟨Καρνείῳ⟩. The scholia on Theocr. *Id.* v. 83 contain four different accounts of the origin of the Κάρνεια, the first of which agrees with Oenomaus. Cf. Pausan. 238; Athen. 635; Clinton, *F. H. Epit.* 58.

a 3 ἀνεμάξαο. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xix. 92

ἔρδουσα μέγα ἔργον, ὃ σῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις.

Hdt. i. 155 ἐγώ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω.

b 7 ⟨ἐπ' ἀποθανόντι⟩. A good emendation by Saarmann in place of ἐναποθανόντι, the reading of the MSS. Cf. 231 a 7 ἐπ' ἀποθανόντι ὀνάγρῳ.

c 1 'Ομηρικὴν νόσον. Hom. *Il.* i. 10.

c 4 ⟨ἧς⟩. After the past tense ἂν ἐλῄξατε the imperfect is

more appropriate with ἵνα than the common reading ᾖς, subjunctive. Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 813.

c 5 παραβουκολῆσαι. A word not found elsewhere.

d 2 πλίνθοις. Cf. Hdt. i. 50 καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε.

d 6 προδεδάνειστο. Lucian, *Sacrif.* iii. referring to the prayer of Chryses (Hom. *Il.* i. 39 f.), speaks of him as 'having made loans' to the god (προδανείσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι), for which he claimed to be repaid.

212 a 2 προμηθούμενος, 'making provision for.' Cf. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 385

Ἐν τῷ προμηθεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τολμᾶν.

a 7 μὴ ... ἡρμόσατο. In such a construction μή does not simply and directly deny the fact, but deprecates the thought of it. Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 741. Hermann, Adnott. in Viger. *De Idiot. Gr.* 804 'Saepe etiam in recta oratione eadem ratio obtinet, ubi cavendum ne μή pro οὐ positum putetur. Nam ubi rem non simpliciter negant Graeci, sed videri negandum indicant, μή ponunt.'

b 1 μονονουχὶ φήσας. Literally 'all but affirming,' i. e. 'seeming to give assurance.'

b 2 Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβάς. 'Primum occurrit ap. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5' (Saarmann). This is true of the metrical form but only in part, as is seen in Hdt. i. 53 προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν καταλῦσαι.

21] c 1 Hdt. i. 47 (Rawlinson) 'The moment that the Lydians entered the sanctuary, and before they put their questions (as to what their master was doing at that moment), the Pythoness thus answered them in hexameter verse:—

I can count the sands, and I can measure the ocean;
I have ears for the silent, and know what the dumb man meaneth;
Lo! on my sense there striketh the smell of a shell-cover'd tortoise,
Boiling now on a fire, with the flesh of a lamb, in a cauldron,—
Brass is the vessel below, and brass the cover above it.'

The first two lines of the oracle are quoted by Origen, *c. Celsum*, ii. 9. Cf. Clem. *Protrept.* 38.

c 3 ἐπίστημα. Saarmann remarks that the word is not found

elsewhere, but Oenomaus is very fond of substantives in μα, as εἴδημα below.

d 2 εἰδήμασι, 'bits of knowledge.' The word seems to occur only here.

d 3 ἀνδράποδον. Croesus was taken captive in war, and brought in fetters to Cyrus. He seems to be called a slave here by anticipation. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* ii. 1 ἐπιγελᾷ καὶ ἐξονειδίζει ἀνδράποδα καὶ καθάρματα ἡμᾶς (Κροῖσον καὶ Σαρδανάπαλον) ἀποκαλῶν.

213 a 4 καταλῦσαι. The middle voice would be required to express the idea of overthrowing one's own empire.

νοεῖσθαι. The addition of ἐστι in AH is rightly rejected in BIO, since the infinitive is in oblique oration dependent on προσεγκαλοῖεν.

a 6 ἡμίμηδος. Hdt. i. 55 'After sending these presents to the Delphians, Croesus a third time consulted the oracle, for having once proved its truthfulness, he wished to make constant use of it. The question whereto he now desired an answer was Whether his kingdom would be of long duration? The following was the reply of the Pythoness:—

> Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media;
> Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus;
> Haste, oh! haste thee away, nor blush to behave like a coward' (Rawlinson).

b 1 τὴν ἔκτυφον μοῦσαν. 'μοῖραν, non μοῦσαν pars codicum recte (?) exhibet . . . alludit Oen. ad Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 A. Cf. Tim. Lex. ἄτυφος' (Saarmann). It is probable that the unusual word ἔκτυφος was formed in imitation of Plato's ἀτύφου μοίρας, many other imitations of which are quoted by Ruhnken; but that is not a sufficient reason for adopting the inappropriate reading of cod. O μοῖραν, 'quam lectionem eruditi considerent' (Ruhnken). Cf. 761 d 12 ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν ἄτυφον, κ.τ.λ.

b 2 τὴν ἄμαντιν μαντικήν. Cf. 218 b 8 ὁ ἄμαντις αὐτὸς ἐγώ.

b 6 τί δὲ ὅλως, 'why at all,' changed in the later MSS. to τί δ' ὅμως.

c 1 τί δὲ σὺ κνηφιᾷς; This, with various accents, is the reading of the MSS., except that AHI have σοι for σύ. But both κνηφία and κνηφιάω are unknown words, and there are many conjectural emendations: τί δέ σοι κνίσσας; Vig., τί δὲ σὺ κνισιᾷς; Dindorf, τί δὲ

σὺ κνηστιᾶς; Toup. ap. Gaisf., τί δὲ σὺ κνησιᾷς; (L. and Sc.). Of these Viger's conjecture seems the best, as retaining σοι with the best MSS., and giving a simple and appropriate sense.

22] d 4 παραπληξίαν. On the many cognate forms see Lobeck, *Phryn.* 530.

214 a 1 ἐμπορίαν, 'merchandise,' 'goods,' 'bargain.' Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 500

ὡς ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ νῆα καὶ ἐμπορίην κακὸς Εὖρος
ὤλεσεν, Εὐίππου δ' αὐτὸ λέλειπτ' ὄνομα.

ἐνεπορευσάμεθα. Cf. Diog. L. vii. 2 (Ζήνων) πορφύραν ἐμπεπορευμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐναυάγησεν.

a 2 ὦ Κλάριε. Cf. 61 d 9, and Tac. *Ann.* ii. 54, where the peculiar rites of the oracle are described on the occasion of the visit of Germanicus.

a 4 πανημαδόν. The more regular form of the adverb occurs in Hdt. vii. 183 πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες.

a 5 ὀλιζοῦται, formed from ὀλίζων the comparative of ὀλίγος. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 519

λαοὶ δ' ὑπολίζονες ἦσαν.

a 6 ὁ βάκηλος. Cf. Luc. *Eunuch.* 356 τὸ δὲ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῶν βακήλων χεῖρον εἶναι.

b 1 ἱδρῶτα. Hesiod, *Opp.* 289

τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ῥηϊδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

See note on 223 d 3.

Τρηχῖνα. Trachis, being so named from its 'rough' mountainous character, recalled the τρηχὺς οἶμος, and the ἱδρῶτα of Hesiod's verses, while the blooming garden suggested the ῥηϊδίη of the same passage.

b 6 τῆς ἀρετῆς refers again to the beginning of the passage in Hesiod.

b 7 καίπερ δυσφορῶν ὅμως. Heikel corrected the unusual order of the words, καίπερ ὅμως δυσφορῶν, found in the MSS.

c 1 ἐθάλφθη. The verb means properly 'to warm,' hence 'to comfort,' but also 'to cheat.' Aristoph. *Eq.* 210

αἴ κε μὴ θαλφθῇ λόγοις.

c 6 τὰς ἐν ἐλπίδι φάτνας, 'mangers existing only in hope,' like

'châteaux en Espagne.' It appears to be a proverbial expression, and to refer to horses tired with a long journey, and looking forward to the food in the manger (Viger). 'Deest proverbiorum collectaneis quae habemus' (Seguier).

23] **215 a** 3 *Ἔν τε τοῖσιν Εὐπέλευσιν.* 'A wiser than Oedipus would be wanted to restore this oracle' (Viger). Yes, 'Davus, sum, non Oedipus': but why try to restore, or explain what was meant to be unintelligible? *Εὐπέλευσιν* is the reading of A both here and in 215 a 7: it is the name of no known people, invented for the very purpose of obscurity. Cf. 215 c 1 *μετὰ τοῦ ἀδιανοήτου ποιήματος.*

χρέος θήσεται, literally 'will place a loan,' 'lay an obligation,' as *τίθεσθαι χάριν.* Cf. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 782

τούτων σὺ τὴν μὲν τῇδε, τὴν δ' ἐμοὶ χάριν
θέσθαι θέλησον.

Holsten tried to correct and explain the lines, but not very successfully.

a 4 *ἐκτεκμαρθέν.* The compound seems not to be found elsewhere.

οὐδέ μιν σκομφύξεται. Cf. Heikel '*μικρὸν ἕξεται* est falsa correctio libr. A. In I est *μιν σκομφύξεται.*' The word is evidently invented in order to be unintelligible, and it was needless to add as Heikel does 'Propono quod sententiae satisfaciat *μὴν σκευάζεται.*'

b 2 *ἐκ Κολοφῶνος.* Oenomaus seems to have been consulting the oracle at Colophon. See 61 d 5.

b 4 *ταννστρόφοιο.* A word found only here.

b 5 *⟨ἐναρίζει⟩.* The MSS. have *ἐνάριζε.* I find that Saarmann had anticipated my conjecture. Cf. 145 b 4.

ποιηβόρους, found only here.

b 7 *Ἀμφίλοχος.* Cf. 61 b 10.

b 8 *σὺ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰ γενοίμην.* If *ἐν Δελφοῖς* is joined with *σύ,* it must be understood again after *γενοίμην.* Cp. Hdt. v. 33 *ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ.*

24] **216 b** 4 *πόλιν φύγετ'.* Hdt. vii. 140 *λιπὼν φεῦγ'.* There is a line in Herodotus, omitted here

δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.

b 6 *οὐ χέρες, κ.τ.λ.* In Herodotus

οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει.

c 2 *πολλὰ δὲ τῆδ' ἀπολεῖ, κ.τ.λ.* In Herodotus

πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοὐ τὸ σὸν οἶον.

c 4 *ῥεούμενοι.* Cf. Ap. Rh. iv. 1284

ἢ ὅτ' ἂν αὐτόματα ξόανα ῥέῃ ἱδρώοντα
αἵματι.

Verg. *Georg.* i. 480

'Et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur.'

Shakes. *Jul. Caes.* ii. 2

'She dreamt to-night she saw my statua,
Which like a fountain with a hundred spouts
Did run pure blood.'

d 1 *Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐθάρρεις αὐτῷ.* With *οὐ γάρ* (AH) the meaning is, You must have thought the answer prophetic 'for otherwise you would not have had so much confidence in him.' For the imperfect without *ἂν* in a conditional sense see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 398. 3. With *σὺ γάρ* (BIO), as in my translation, the argument is: 'You must have thought it prophetic, for you had such confidence in him as to consult him yourself.'

d 4 *Οὐ δύναται Παλλάς.* Hdt. vii. 141, quoted in part by Clem. Al. 792, and by Thedoret. *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 140. 22.

d 6 *ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας.* 'I, Apollo, having made it firm as adamant.'

d 7 *ἁλισκομένων.* After this word Eusebius has omitted

ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος
ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,

where 'the limit of Cecrops' is the general boundary of Attica, and Cithaeron the boundary *towards Delphi*, which naturally occurs to the prophetess (Rawlinson).

d 12 *νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας.* There is a line omitted before this

πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν.

217 a 1 *Ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς.* Cf. Hdt. vii. 143 quoted below 218 b 5, and Plut. *Themist.* x. 116.

a 5 *ἀντισπουδία.* Found only here.

ἐπιπρέπει. Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 83 *ἔπειτα τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φήσει τις τὴν κακίαν ἐπιπρέπειν*; Plut. *Mor.* 794 a *χάριν ἐπιπρέπουσαν τοῖς τηλικούτοις.*

b 7 *ἐπακτῷ πυρί.* If Zeus wished to destroy the buildings had he no thunderbolt to do it with, instead of calling in the foreign fire of the Persians?

c 2 φληναφᾶν. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1475

ἐνταῦθα σαυτῷ παραφρόνει καὶ φληνάφα.

d 5 τῷ σοφισμῷ. In that age a naval battle could only take place in summer, either early or late, when the corn was sown, or when it was gathered.

d 7 ἐπεισκυκλούμενοι. See 121 b 5, note.

218 a 4 ἡμικάκους. Soph. *Fr.* 885 'Pollux vi. 161 Ἡμίκακος Εὐκλείδης λέγει καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ ἡμικάκως (Thesmoph. 449 Τέως μὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἡμικάκως ἐβοσκόμην).'

b 5 Ὁ γοῦν ἐπιλυσάμενος. Cf. Hdt. vii. 143. Themistocles argued from the phrase 'O holy Salamis' that the oracle threatened defeat to the enemy, not to the Athenians.

b 6 πρόφασις, 'an avowed cause,' whether true as here, or a mere pretext.

c 1 τὸν Λυδόν. Cf. 113 a 6, Hdt. i. 55.

c 5 πασσυδί. Cf. Thuc. viii. 1 πασσυδὶ διεφθάρθαι.

d 1 βασιλέα πενθήσει. See the oracle 219 b 4.

25] **219** b 1 Ὑμῖν, ὦ Σπάρτης. Hdt. vii. 220. The last three verses of the oracle, not quoted by Eusebius, were as follows:—

Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
ἀντιβίην, Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἑ φημὶ
σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσηται.

c 7 κριθομαντεία. On the various modes of divination see 62 a. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* x. 176

'Cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent
Et linguae volucrum et praesagi fulminis ignis.'

Statius, *Theb.* viii. 181 'Cum quo volucres mea fata loquentur?'

c 8 γαλαῖ. 'Theophr. *Char.* xvii. τὴν ὁδὸν ἐὰν παραδράμῃ γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι ἕως διεξέλθῃ τις ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλλῃ' (Saarmann).

d 1 κορῶναι. Hdt. iv. 15: Aristeas of Proconnesus told the Metapontines that 'Apollo had once come to their city, but to no other of the Italiots; and he who was now Aristeas had accompanied the god, but at that time he was a crow.' Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 27. 11

'Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
Solis ab ortu.'

Cf. Liv. x. 40 'Ante consulem haec dicentem corvus voce clara

occinuit, quo laetus consul augurio, affirmans nunquam humanis rebus magis praesentem interfuisse deos, signa canere et clamorem tolli iussit.'

καθύπνια παραπαίσματα, AI, 'delusions.' The received reading παραπταίσματα, BO, 'blunders,' 'stumblings,' seems to be less appropriate.

26] **220 b** 4 ἀπήντα ἡ ἐργασία. Cf. Herodotus (i. 174), who says that the workmen seemed to be wounded in an unusual and unnatural way in all parts of the body and especially about the eyes from the splintering of the rock.

c 2 Ἰσθμὸν ⟨δέ⟩. 'Omnium oraculorum iambicis editorum an iquissimum' (Saarmann). Cf. Wolff, *Porph. De Philos. ex Orac.* 68 on the metres of oracles.

c 3 εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο. For this use of κε in the protasis cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 526

εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισι,
τῷ κέν μιν παρέλασσ' οὐδ' ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν.

c 5 On the construction of ῥᾳδιούργημα see Viger, *de Idiotism. Gr.* 143, where the words σημεῖον, τεκμήριον, ἀπόδειξις, τέλος, μαρτύριον, are shown to be used in the same way, as a preface in apposition to the following sentence.

d 1 τῇ ἀποτροπῇ. Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 3. 3 Συμβουλῆς δὲ τὸ μὲν προτροπὴ τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή.

d 3 ἀνατρέπειν. 'Vide modo quam acute Oenomaus verbo ἀνατρέπειν usus sit. Nam eo ipso quod deus eos ἀπέτρεψεν etiam res eorum ἀνέτρεψεν. Cf. supra 220 c 4 ἀποτραπόμενοι' (Saarmann).

27] **221 b** 3 ἀναψαμένη τὰ πείσματα. 258 a 3 ὧν τὰ πείσματα ἀνῆπται ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας βουλήσεως. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 770

ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀναψόμεσθα πρυμνήτην κάλων.

τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Plat. *Gorg.* 524 A Μίνῳ δὲ πρεσβεῖα δώσω ἐπιδιακρίνειν.

c 1 Οὔ σε μάχης. The whole story, including the oracle, is found in Pausan. 307.

d 7 Παρθένον. Wolff, 73 'Ecce hexametri. Haec genuina erat forma. Nam "quis credat Oenomaum hominem acutissimum, quum dedita opera prophetarum fraudes excuteret, exemplo vano et fictitio usum esse?" Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 852.' The oracle is given in iambic verse in Pausan. 301

Κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσι
κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Αἰπυτιδῶν ἀφ' αἵματος
θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.
Ἢν δὲ σφαλῆτε, καὶ παρ' ἀλλοίου τότε
θύειν διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἑκουσίως.

d 9 Τὰ γὰρ παρευρήματα. The daughter of Lyciscus, an Aepytid, was first chosen by lot, but rejected as being supposititious. Aristodemus then offered his daughter, but her lover, to whom she was betrothed, declared that she was pregnant by him. Thereupon Aristodemus killed her, and she was found to be still a virgin (Pausan. 302). These are '*the false inventions*' rejected by Oenomaus.

222 b 10 Ἥκεις. Cf. Hdt. i. 65. Herodotus adds: 'Some report besides that the Pythoness delivered to him the entire system of laws which are still observed by the Spartans.' See Plut. *Lycurgus*, 42; Strab. 762.

c 5 δώσω. The complete line was found by Cardinal Mai in a fragment of Diodorus:

δώσω, τὴν οὐκ ἄλλη ἐπιχθονίη πόλις ἕξει.

28] **d** 1 Τυρταίου. This conjecture of Heinichen is confirmed by the new collation of cod. A, in which the reading of all the MSS. Τυρταῖον is corrected above the line into Τυρταίου. Three fragments of the poem of Tyrtaeus called Εὐνομία are preserved in Gaisford's *Poet. M. Gr.* iii. 242. Cf. Strab. 362 ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν, Athen. 630; Pausan. 315; Plat. *Legg.* 629 A Schol.

σκοπόν, 'a spy,' Heinichen. The better meaning seems to be 'the mark' or 'model,' as in Plat. *Gorg.* 507 D οὗτος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὁ σκοπὸς εἶναι πρὸς ὃν βλέποντα δεῖ ζῆν.

223 a 4 ἐδίδαξας τὸν Λυκοῦργον. Cf. Strab. 482.

a 9 Ἕως ἄν. For Ἕως as a monosyllable cf. Hom. *Il.* xvii. 727, *Od.* ii. 148. This oracle is only found in Oenomaus.

b 1 πρεσβηγενέας, apparently found only here.

b 2 ἐποπιζόμενοι. Hom. *Od.* v. 146

Διὸς δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν.

Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad Aphrod.* 290.

b 5 παρεγγυήσεως, 'exhortation,' or 'encouragement.' Cf. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 7. 24 βοώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Θάλαττα, θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυώντων.

b 7 Ὑπερβορεούς. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 34

ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
εὐφαμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων
χαίρει.

See the story of Opis and Argé in Hdt. iii. 35, and that of Achaeia in Pausan. 392.

c 1 Ἀστερίας. Asteria was the daughter of Coeus, sister of Leto, and mother of Hecate (Hesiod, *Theog.* 409; Apollod. i. 2. 2; 2. 4), and gave her name to the island afterwards called Delos. Cf. Callim. *Hymn. ad Del.* 40

τόφρα δ' ἔτ' Ἀστερίη σὺ καὶ οὐδέπω ἔκλεο Δῆλος.

c 3 σὺν θώκῳ. Cf. Hom. *Od.* v. 3

οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θῶκόνδε καθίζανον.

Cratin. *Archiloch.* Fr. 4 Διὸς μεγάλου θᾶκοι.

c 7 συνθώκου. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1267

ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων
Αἰδὼς ἐπ' ἔργοις πᾶσι.

d 3 Εἰσὶν ὁδοὶ δύο. The allegory of '*The two Ways*' is found in Hesiod, *Opp.* 285, and in '*The choice of Hercules*' as quoted from 'Prodicus the wise' by Xenophon, *Mem. Socr.* ii. 1. 21. Cf. Justin. M. *Apol.* ii. 11; Cic. *De Off.* i. 32; Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 20; Sil. Ital. xv. 18. The same form of expression is used in Deut. xxx. 15, Jer. xxi. 8, Matt. vii. 13, 14, in the Didaché, § 1, in Hermas, *Mand.* vi. 1, 2, and Lactant. *Div. Inst.* vi. 3. See Dr. C. Taylor's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and *The two Ways in Hermas and Xenophon.*

224 a 4 παρεγγυήματος. Cf. 223 b 5 note.

a 6 δάφνης ἐμφαγόντων. Cf. 112 b 7 ὅτι λάλον καιόμενον, εἰς παράστασιν τοῦ προφητεύειν τὸν θεόν. δαφνηφάγος, 'inspired,' Lycophron. L. and Sc. Tibull. ii. 5. 63 (Sibylla loquitur):

'Vera cano; sic usque sacras innoxia laurus
Vescar et aeternum sit mihi virginitas.'

Juv. *Sat.* vii. 19

'Nectit quicumque canoris
Eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.'

See Dr. Mayor's note and numerous illustrations.

Κασταλίας ὕδωρ πιόντων. Cf. Pers. *Prolog.* 1

'Nec fonte labra prolui caballino.'

29] c 2 ἱπποβότου. The usual epithet of Argos in Homer. *Il.* ii. 287

ἐνθάδ' ἔτι στείχοντες ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο.

c 5 ὀλοοίτροχον, 'a rolling stone,' or 'boulder.' Hom. *Il.* xiii. 137

ὀλοοίτροχος ὣς ἀπὸ πέτρης.

'Hic ὀλοοίτροχος Cypselum subobscure significat, qui tamquam immanis quidam et vastus molaris Corinthios obtriturus esset. Vide infra, p. 233. Ceterum idem Herodotus libro citato (v. 92), ex huius oraculi verbis prius alterum a Corinthiis intellectum esse ait, quod Bacchiadis editum fuerat hunc in modum:

Αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
Καρτερόν, ὠμηστήν, πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει.

Aquila Cypseli matrem Labdam significabat; Petra vero tribum in qua censebatur Aetion' (Viger).

c 7 Στέλλ' ἐπὶ χρυσείους. I have not found this oracle elsewhere. 'Hic tantum exstat' (Saarmann).

d 2 Περὶ δὲ κενῆς δόξης. Cf. Theocr. *Id.* xiv. 49

δύστανοι Μεγαρῆες, ἀτιμοτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρᾳ.

Schol. Ἱστορεῖ γὰρ Δεινίας ὅτι οἱ Μεγαρεῖς φρονηματισθέντες ποτὲ ὅτι κράτιστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶν ἐπύθοντο τοῦ θεοῦ τίνες κρείττονες τυγχάνοιεν. Ὁ δὲ ἔφη·

Γαίης μὲν πάσης . . . .
. . . . Ἀρεθούσης.
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶνδ' εἰσὶν ἀμείνονες, οἵτε μεσηγὺ
Τίρυνθος ναίουσι καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου,
Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες, κέντρα πτολέμοιο.
ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι
οὔτε δυωδέκατοι οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

Clemens Al. 901 ascribes the last two verses to Theognis.

d 3 τὸ Πελασγικὸν οὖδας. Cf. Strab. 369 τὴν μὲν Θετταλίαν Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος καλῶν (Hom. *Il.* ii. 681).

d 4 ἵπποι Θρῄκιαι. On the horses of Thrace see Hom. *Il.* x. 435; Eurip. *Rhes.* 304; Verg. *Aen.* ix. 49, v. 565.

Λακεδαιμόνιαι. Cf. Theodor. *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 141, 15 Οὗτος καὶ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαινεῖ γυναῖκας ἀδεῶς οἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσι μιγνυμένας.

30] **225** c 1 πρὸ κυνός. Horace gives the same advice, 1 Od. xvii. 17.

c 6 *γονεῇν διζήμενος*. Cf. Pausan. 785, who quotes the oracle and adds that 'Erginus king of Orchomenos took the advice, and married a young wife, who bare two sons Trophonius and Agamedes, of whom the former was said to be the son of Apollo.' Cf. Ap. Rh. iii. 1317

χάλκεον ἱστοβοῆα θοῇ συνάρασσε κορώνῃ
ζεύγληθεν.

Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph*. 842.

31] **226 a** 1 ⟨*Ἀρχιλόχῳ*⟩. The MSS. have *Ἀντιόχῳ*, but nothing is known of Antiochus of Paros, and Hermann remarks (*Poet. Min. Gr.* 88) that the name Archilochus is frequently interchanged with Dinolochus, Antiochus, Amphilochus and others: cf. 227 a 4, c 3; Athen. iii. (76).

a 4 *εἰς Θάσον ἐλθέ*. Cf. Strab. 487 *Πάρος· ἐντεῦθεν ἦν Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ ποιητής· ὑπὸ δὲ Παρίων ἐκτίσθη Θάσος*.

b 1 *Φαιστοῦ*. Phaestus a town in Crete, named from a son of Hercules who migrated thither from Sicyon in accordance with an oracle. Cf. Hom. *Il*. ii. 648, Pausan. 125.

Τάρρας, a town on the South-West coast of Crete, where Apollo had a temple: cf. Pausan. 835 *συγγενέσθαι δὲ τῇ Ἀκακαλλίδι Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν πόλει Τάρρᾳ*. Dium was the promontory at the centre of the North coast of Crete.

b 4 *ὄλβον μή*. For this reading of all the MSS. Saarmann conjectures *ὅρκον δή*. With either reading, *πατρίοισι νόμοις* probably is an allusion to the proverbial saying *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται*.

c 6 *Ἐπιμενιδείους καθαρμούς*. On Epimenides, the poet and prophet of Crete, see Pausan. 35 'In front of this temple (the Eleusinium at Athens) . . . Epimenides the Knossian is represented sitting: he is said to have gone into the country and entered a cave and gone to sleep: and that sleep did not leave him before forty years had passed, and afterwards he wrote epic poems, and made lustrations for Athens and other cities.' Strab. 479 *ἐκ δὴ τῆς Φαιστοῦ τὸν τοὺς καθαρμοὺς ποιήσαντα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν Ἐπιμενίδην φασὶν εἶναι*.

32] d 1 *Χαρίλαος*, king of Sparta, was son of Polydectes, and nephew of Lycurgus. With the aid of his colleague Archelaus he destroyed the border town of Aegys, to which there may be an allusion in *ἐπικτήτου μοίρης*.

227 a 3 θαυμάζει τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον. On the merits and faults of Archilochus see Theocr. *Epigr.* xix.; Orig. *c. Cels.* iii. 25; Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* ii. 15. 16; Farnell, *Gk. Lyr. Poet.* 111.

33] c 4 Μνησαρχίδη. Mnesarchus the father of Euripides is here called Mnesarchides.

d 2 Ὁμήρῳ. Cf. Plut. *De Vit. et Poës. Hom.* 4 'When he was grown up and had already gained a reputation for poetry, he inquired of the god who his parents were and of what country; and he replied thus

Ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος μητρὸς πατρίς, ἥ σε θανόντα
δέξεται· ἀλλὰ νέων ἀνδρῶν αἴνιγμα φύλαξαι.

Another oracle of this kind is quoted 229 c 5.

d 10 δυηπαθέων. Cf. Ap. Rh. iv. 1164 δυηπαθέων ἀνθρώπων.

228 c 1 Ὁ φονεὺς αὐτοῦ. See Plut. *De Sera Num. Vind.* 560 E, with Wyttenbach's note.

d 2 ἐστεφανοῦτο. Imperfect, because he was crowned repeatedly.

d 6 ἐραστής. Saarmann's conjecture ἐργάτης agrees well with ἔργον ἐπετήδευεν. The profligacy of Euripides, implied in ἐραστής, was mere idle scandal.

229 a 4 Σαβαῖοι. The true name Σαπαῖοι is found in Pausan. 547 Σαπαίων δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν ἰαμβείῳ μνήμην ἔσχε. The Sapaei lay near the frontier of Macedonia and Thrace, not far from Philippi. Cf. Strab. 549 Εἶτα Σάϊοι, παρ' οἷς φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος τὴν ἀσπίδα ῥῖψαι· Ἀσπίδα μὲν Σαίων τις ἀνείλετο . . . οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ οὗτοι Σαπαῖοι νῦν ὀνομάζονται.

a 5 Λυκάμβαι. See Farnell's *Gk. Lyr. Poet.* 113, and Archil. *Fr.* 94 Πάτερ Λυκάμβα κ.τ.λ. and *Fr.* 96

Ὅρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν
ἅλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν.

a 6 Θυέστης. Euripides wrote tragedies on Thyestes and on Oedipus, from both which Stobaeus quotes many passages in the *Florilegium*.

Φινεύς. No tragedy of Euripides so named is mentioned by Stobaeus or by Fabricius; but Aeschylus and Sophocles each wrote a tragedy on the story of Phineus and the Harpies. Cf. Apollod. i, 9. 21, Orph. *Argon.* 674 sq.; Verg. *Aen.* iii. 210–18.

a 8 ⟨δοκοῦσιν⟩, Heinich. Dind. The reading of the MSS. ἂν

διανύσαι . . . ἐμελλῆσαι ἂν has arisen from failing to observe that the first ἂν is an anticipation of the second.

b 1 διασκευάσαι. Plut. *Anton.* 926 ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πᾶνας . . . διεσκευασμένοι.

c 5 μητρίς. See note on 227 d 2. Pausan. 858 quotes the same oracle. Cf. Plut. ii. 792 E ἡ δὲ πατρὶς καὶ μητρίς, ὡς Κρῆτες καλοῦσι, this use of μητρίς being peculiar to the Cretans.

d 8 κοπρίᾳ. Cf. 94 d 2.

34 | 230 b 4 ψάμμον. Cf. 212 c 1.

b 8 Κλεομήδην. The story of Cleomedes is told almost exactly as here by Pausanias vi. 474, and the disappearance of the body is mentioned by Plutarch, *Romulus*, p. 35.

c 3 ἐξηγητά. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 427 C πάτριος ἐξηγητής, *Legg.* 759 C.

231 b 2 ἐπιδικάσεται. Cf. Demosth. 1051 ἐπεδικάσατο τοῦ κλήρου.

b 3 ἀνασχέσθαι. Saarmann proposes ἀνασχήσεται and ἀπειλήσει, to avoid the change of construction.

b 7 σιδηροῖς χρῷτο τοῖς ἱμᾶσιν, 'should have his caestus bound with iron.' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 405

'Ingentia septem
Terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant.'

b 8 τῷ Θασίῳ πύκτῃ. 'The Thasian boxer' is Theagenes, of whom the strange story which follows is related by Pausanias 478 at much length.

232 a 1 ⟨Δήμητηρ' ἀπαμήσεις⟩. Cf. Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* 'Thasos': 'There is not enough corn grown in the island for its present population, which consists only of 6,000 Greek inhabitants dispersed in twelve small villages. Hence we are surprised to find it called by Dionysius (*Perieg.* 532) Δημήτερος ἀκτή.'

b 2 ἰκόμων Δήμητρι. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* 454

οὖθαρ ἀρούρης

. . . .

μέλλεν ἄφαρ ταναοῖσι κομήσειν ἀσταχύεσσι.

b 7 γαῖαν ἀρώσεις. Meineke reads γᾶν ἀναρώσεις; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 175 καὶ ὑμέας ἄλλος ἀρώσει. But as the regular future ἀρόσω has the short vowel, the better form would be ἀρόσσεις. Cf. Donaldson, *Gk. Gr.* 182.

d 6 ἴν' ᾖ. This should be printed ἴν' ἦ, imperfect after ὤφελες.

35] **233 a** 2 Κύψελος Αἰακίδης. For the story of Cypselus see Hdt. v. 92, and compare 224 c 5. In the text of Eusebius the commoner patronymic Αἰακίδης has been substituted for Ἠετίδης, or Ἀετίδης (Valcknaer). Pausanias (419) gives a full description of the chest (κυψέλη) in which Cypselus was concealed by his mother, and of the ancient carvings and inscriptions upon it.

b 3 Φάλαρις. Athenaeus (602) relates the story in the same way on the authority of Heracleides Ponticus: but a different version by Aelian is followed in Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*, 'Melanippus.'

b 6 The oracle is given in Athenaeus

Εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφυ,
θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐφαμερίοις φιλότατος.

b 8 διαλελυμένον. The meaning is not very certain: 'molle ac solutum' (Vig.), i. e. 'feeble.' 'An metro solutum?' (Wyttenb.). As διαλύεσθαι often means to 'reconcile' or 'settle a quarrel,' perhaps the oracle is here called 'conciliatory,' as in accordance with 232 d 10 τοὺς τυράννους κολακεύειν εἰώθασιν.

36] **d** 2 φαλλην όν, a word found only in this passage, which Theodoret. *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 141. 35 derives from φαλλός. Cf. Pausan. 842 ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι Διόνυσον Φαλλῆνα ἐκέλευσεν. From this passage Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1086, would read

Φαλλῆνος τιμῶσι Διωνύσοιο κάρηνον.

But it is evident that there is further corruption in the latter part of the passage.

d 9 ἐφεώρων. Hom. *Od.* xvii. 487 ἐφορῶντες. The sense is the same as in Hesiod, *Opp.* 252

οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα.

234 a 5 ἐλάϊνον κορμόν. Cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 255

κορμοῦ τοσουτονὶ βάρος χλωρᾶς φέρων ἐλάας.

b 7 διοπετές, ἀλλὰ ποσειδωνοπετές. Eur. *Iph. in T.* 977

Φοῖβός μ' ἔπεμψε δεῦρο διοπετὲς λαβεῖν
ἄγαλμ' Ἀθηνῶν τ' ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι χθονί.

c 1 ἡγήσωνται. On the subjunctive after a past tense, see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 841. 5.

c 2 οὐ τύχην, ἀλλὰ τυφεδόνα, A play on words of similar

sound: τυφεδόνα, found elsewhere only in Callimach. ap. Herodian (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

c 11 ὑποπεσεῖται, a word frequently occurring in Sext. Emp. e.g. *Math.* vii. 52 ὑποπεσεῖται διότι κ.τ.λ. 'it will occur that.'

BOOK VI

The subjects discussed in this Book, 'Fate, Free-Will, Foreknowledge Absolute,' are more or less fully treated by nearly all the early Christian writers, and it will be seen by the references in our notes that Eusebius was well acquainted with their works.

1] **237 a** 6 ⟨ὁ κλών⟩. 'Sic scripsi pro ὁδῶν, quia et subjectum deest, et substantivum desideratur quod prolem humanam ad similitudinem surculi arboris significet' (Wolff). Cf. Eur. *Ion* 423

> *σὺ δ' ἀμφὶ βωμούς, ὦ γύναι, δαφνηφόρους*
> *λαβοῦσα κλῶνας εὐτέκνους εὔχου θεοῖς*
> *χρησμούς μ' ἐνεγκεῖν.*

b 1 οὔ τι δὲ κοῦρον. Cf. Cic. *De Div.* i. 39 'Quid (*habet*) astrologus cur stella Iovis aut Veneris coniuncta cum Luna ad ortus puerorum salutaris sit, Saturni Martisve contraria?'

b 2 ἤροσεν. Cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1497 τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἤροσεν. On the Moon's supposed influence see Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 367 D.

c 2 ὑπερβλύζων. Cf. Clem. Al. 167 ἡ δὲ ὑπερβλύζουσα τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δίαιτα τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακοῖ.

c 5 κακηπελίῃσι. 'Sic Toupius ex codicum vestigiis' (Wolff). The word means 'evil plight,' 'disease.' L. and Sc. refer only to Nicander, a medical writer.

238 a 1 τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 3. 7 βουλευόμεθα δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν πρακτῶν. Plut. *Mor.* 570 F τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον ὡς ὕλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋποκεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὡς κύριον χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐνδεχομένῳ. Plotin. Enn. vi. 8. 734 καὶ ζητεῖν ἔθος εἴ τι ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὂν τυγχάνει, 735 τί τοίνυν νοοῦντες τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν λέγομεν; κ.τ.λ.

a 3 *προαιρέσεις*. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i. 1 *πρᾶξίς τε καὶ προαίρεσις*. Cf. Sir A. Grant 'Πρᾶξις and *προαίρεσις*, action and purpose, go to make up one conception, that of "moral action."' Aristot. ibid. iii. 2. 9 *ὅλως γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ προαίρεσις περὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι*.

2] **b** 3 *γενεθλήϊον*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1119 E *Δία γενέθλιον*.

b 4 *ταρχύσει*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* vii. 85

> *τὸν δὲ νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους ἀποδώσω,*
> *ὄφρα ἑ ταρχύσωσι καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί.*

c 1 *δυσπέμφελον*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xvi. 748; Hesiod, *Theog.* 440.

3] **239 a** 4 *Εὖτ' ἂν ἄνω*. With this reading of the MSS. Wolff takes *κελάδοντες* as a substantive, without giving any authority. If my conjecture *Εὖτ' ἄνεμοι* be admitted, the subjunctive *τρίβωνται* without *ἂν* is justified by Hom. *Od.* vii. 202 *εὖτ' ἔρδωμεν*.

ὑπηέριοι. Cf. Apoll. Rh. *Argon.* iv. 1575

> *κεῖνο δ' ὑπηέριον θείην Πελοπηΐδα γαῖαν*
> *εἰσανέχει πέλαγος Κρήτης ὕπερ.*

Wolff's conjecture *ὑπαιθέριοι* seems to be needless and without authority.

b 6 *καταιβάσιον Διὸς ἔγχος*. Cf. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 359

> *ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος,*
> *καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα.*

c 6 *δήνεα*. Hom. *Od.* x. 289 *ὀλοφώϊα δήνεα Κίρκης*.

d 2 *δινήσωσι*. Scaliger's conjecture *δὴ νήσωσι*, adopted by Wolff, is needless. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 620 E *τῆς τοῦ ἀτράκτου δίνης*.

4] **240 d** 6 *ἀποτροπιασμούς*. Cf. Diog. L. viii. 32 *τούς τε καθαρμοὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμούς*.

241 a 1 *Ῥιπὴ ⟨δαιμονίης⟩ γὰρ ⟨ἀλεῖσ'⟩ ἐπιδέδρομεν ⟨ἀλκῆς⟩*. On the reading of the MSS.

> *Ῥιπὴ δαιμονίη γὰρ ἅλις ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀλκή.*

Viger writes: 'Omnino sensus exigit ut vel *ῥιπή* vel *ἀλκή* in dandi casu ponatur: malim tamen *ῥιπῇ*.' Gaisford, Heinichen, and Dindorf adopt this suggestion without further change. 'Sed quia Porphyrius enarrat *διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ φύσεως καταδεδέσθαι* ego *ἀλοῦσα* conjeci' (Wolff). I have adopted *δαιμονίης* and *ἀλκῆς* from Wolff, but *ἀλεῖσ'* (or *ἀλεῖσ'*), the participle of *ἐάλην*, seems more appropriate than *ἀλοῦσ'*. In Hom. *Il.* xxii. 308 (*Od.* xxiv.

538) οἴμησεν δὲ ἀλείς, it is well rendered by Lord Derby 'Collected for the spring.' See Buttmann, *Lexilog.* 258.

5] c 1 τῆς φορᾶς, i. e. τῶν ἀστέρων.

c 3 ⟨δαιμόνων⟩, adopted by Wolff from Theodoret 137, 40 instead of δαιμονίων.

d 6 ⟨ἱρήν, ἕδρανα μαντοσύνης⟩. Valckenär's emendation for εἴρειν θ' ἕδραν ἀμαντοσύνης.

6] **242 a** 1–**254 d** 9. This long passage is a favourable specimen of the argumentative style of Eusebius himself; and being for the most part clear and simple it needs little explanatory comment.

b 4 εἰσενηνεγμένος. The perfect describes the man's *permanent* character; 'who has brought with him.'

c 1 ἐλευθεροστομῶν. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 180

ἄγαν δ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖς.

c 2 Ἴτω μὲν πῦρ. The first line is taken from Eur. *Phoen.* 521

πρὸς ταῦτ' ἴτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανα.

But the whole passage is a fragment of a play of Euripides entitled Syleus, and is quoted by Philo Judaeus p. 98 P (*Legis Allegor.* iii. 71) without the first line, and again p. 880 (*Quod omnis prob. liber*, § 15) with the words 'See for instance how Heracles speaks in Euripides.' Cf. Ruhnken, *Tim. Lex. Plat.* in voce Θῶπες. Syleus having bought Hercules as a slave tried in vain to keep him in order.

d 3 ἐκ τῆς αὐτοπροαιρέτου κινήσεως. Evidently borrowed from Aristot. *De Plant.* i. 2. 17 οὔτε κίνησιν αὐτοπροαίρετον. The translation 'arising from' is hardly correct; the meaning rather is 'denied that there is free will in spontaneous motion, but made this also subject to necessity.' Cf. 250 a 1.

d 12 ἀναδεδεγμένης, 'has assumed to itself': cf. 245 c 7.

243 b 2 οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον ἦν. Cf. A. J. Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, p. 25 'The persistent realisation of the doctrine that voluntary decisions are as completely determined by external and (if you go far enough back) by material conditions as involuntary ones, does really conflict with the sense of personal responsibility, and with the sense of personal responsibility is bound up the moral will.' 'It may be a small matter that determinism should render it thoroughly irrational to feel righteous indignation at the conduct of other people. It cannot be wholly

without importance that it should render it equally irrational to feel righteous indignation at our own.' Cf. Plut. ii. 168 c.

245 a 5 *νευροσπαστουμένους*. Cf. Clem. Al. 598 *μὴ νευροσπαστούμενον ἀψύχων δίκην ὀργάνων*.

b 4 *αὐθεκουσίου*. A word occurring frequently in Eusebius himself, but not in other writers, who use the equivalent *αὐθαίρετος*, or *αὐτεξούσιος*.

b 7 *ἐνεργείᾳ*. On the meaning 'actuality' compare Sir A. Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle*, i. 232.

d 4 *φαντασίᾳ*. Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* iv. 12 '*Φαντασία* is an affection produced in the mind (*ψυχῇ*), which makes both itself and that which has produced it known. As for instance when by sight we perceive white, there is an affection which has been produced in the mind by the sight; and in consequence of this affection we are entitled to say that there is a white object which affects us.' This was the definition of Chrysippus, intended to prove a necessary connexion between sensations and objects existing in nature. Cf. R. and Pr. 398; Zeller, *Outlines*, 236.

d 6 *κατὰ προηγούμενον λόγον*, 'according to a primary law,' i. e. a reason or law previously established by the providence of God. On the distinction of primary or 'antecedent causes' from 'proximate causes' see Cic. *De Fato*, xviii.

246 a 5 *κατὰ τὸν προηγούμενον . . . λόγον*. By 'its primary law' is meant the law of 'the proper and distinct constitution of nature' allotted to it by God, as stated above, 245 d 10, and again below, b 7, 'for reasons known to Himself.'

248 c 5 *κρυμῶν τε ἐπιφοραί*. Cf. Polyb. iv. 41. 7 *κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπιφοράς*.

249 a 5 *Φθείρουσι γὰρ ἤθη κ.τ.λ.* Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 33 quoted by Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 6 (Sylb. 73) and by Tertullian, *Ad Uxor.* ii. 8, as poetry 'sanctified by the Apostle,' but without naming the poet. The proverb is ascribed to Menander in marginal scholia of several cursive MSS. quoted by Tischendorf. Jerome on Tit. i. and Gal. iv. ascribes it to Menander, Socrates (*H. E.* iii. 16) to Euripides. Cf. Meineke, *Fr. Comic. Gr.* ii. p. 908, who regards it as a fragment of the *Thais*.

b 3 *ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι*. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 865 *ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι βεβιωκώς*.

b 8 *φοραὶ καὶ ἀφορίαι*. The language is evidently borrowed

from Plato, *Rep.* 546 A φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων γίγνονται, ὅταν περιτροπαὶ ἑκάστοις κύκλων περιφορὰς ξυνάπτωσι, 'Fertility and sterility of soul and body occur when their revolutions complete and re-unite the peripheries of their several orbits.'

b 9 περίπτωσιν. Cf. Clem. Al. 366 κατὰ περίπτωσιν ἐπήβολος τῆς ἀληθείας ἁμηγέπῃ.

c 10 εὐηνίως. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* 'Proprie de *equis* dicitur, qui se habenis facile regi patiantur. . . .' 'Εὐηνίῳ opponitur δυσήνιος, ἐξήνιος et ἀφηνιαστής.'

d 12 οὐσίαις. 'Post οὐσίαις ἴσ. add. πνευματικαῖς. Vigeri margo' G. The same meaning is sufficiently implied in the antithesis of σώμασιν and οὐσίαις without making an unauthorized addition to the text.

250 a 1 αὐτοπροαιρέτῳ κινήσει. Cf. 242 d 3.

a 2 ὁδεύουσα. Hom. *Il.* xi. 569

ἐπὶ νῆας ὁδεύειν.

b 7 ἀποδοχῆς, 'acceptance,' 'approval,' a favourite word with Polybius, e.g. viii. 19. 11 ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης τεύξεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι.

c 7 Θεὸς ἀναίτιος. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 617 E; Clem. Al. 139; Orig. *Philosoph.* xix (Lommatsch, xxv. 323); *Clem. Hom.* xv. 8.

251 b 7 τούτου δυσσεβὴς ἄλλος . . . εἰσάγων. Viger conjectures τούτου δυσσεβέστερος ἄλλος τοῦ . . . εἰσάγοντος. 'Post ἄλλος nescio an exciderit μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ' (Gaisford). But the text needs no alteration. Cf. Plat. *Charm.* 166 A ὃ τυγχάνει ὂν ἄλλο αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπιστήμης. Xen. *Mem. Socr.* iv. 4. 25 τὰ δίκαια νομοθετεῖν ἢ ἄλλα τῶν δικαίων. See also 252 a 1, and Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 503.

252 a 2 ἀσεβέστατος. Gaisford writes 'ἀσεβέστερος videtur reponendum,' and I followed this in my translation. But the construction of τούτου ἕτερος is the same as τούτου ἄλλος in 251 b 7 'What other than this could be the most impious of statements?'

a 7 τὴν εἱμαρμένην εἱρμόν. Cf. the definitions of εἱμαρμένη in Plut. *De Plac. Phil.* 885 B Οἱ Στωικοὶ εἱρμὸν (sic) αἰτιῶν, τουτέστι τάξιν καὶ ἐπισύνδεσιν ἀπαράβατον.

b 7 αὐτοζωή. Cf. Athan. *Ad Serap. Ep.* i. 23 καὶ ὁ μὲν Κύριός ἐστιν ἡ αὐτοζωὴ καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς, *c. Arian.* iv. 32.

d 1 ἀνακύψειε. Opt. without ἄν in conditional sense. So

253 b 4 ἐπιτρέψειε, 266 b θαυμάσειέ τις, Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 418 and 426.

254 a 2 ἔκπαλαι ἠγωνισμένοι, καὶ εἰσέτι δεῦρο διαθλοῦντες. This passage was evidently written when persecution had long raged, and was hardly yet over.

a 8 δι' ἔνστασιν εὐσεβείας 'owing to his determined piety' J. B. M.: cf. Clem. *Strom.* vii. 867 σώζειν ἔνστασιν, 868 παράγειν τῆς ἐνστάσεως οὐκ ἴσχυσεν. Wyttenb. Plut. *Mor.* 62 B (note).

7] **255 c** 3 ἡμίδουλον. Cic. *De Fato*, 17 'Whereas there had been two opinions among ancient philosophers, one held by those who judged that all things were caused by fate, in such wise that this fate brought with it the force of necessity, of which opinion were Democritus, Heracleitus, Empedocles, Aristoteles; the other held by those who thought that without any fate at all the motions of men's minds were voluntary,—it seems to me that Chrysippus wished to hold the middle course, as a friendly umpire (*arbiter honorarius*, cf. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 41); yet he takes the part rather of those who will have the motions of the soul freed from necessity. But while speaking in his own words, he slides into such difficulties, that against his will he confirms the necessity of fate.' Quoted by Viger.

c 8 'Εχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι. The occasion of the oracle recorded by Herodotus, vii. 148, was that the Argives inquired of the god whether they should join the other Greeks in resisting the Persians. Six thousand of them had been slain not long before by the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides; which was the reason why they now sent to Delphi.

d 1 τὸν προβόλαιον, 'the spear.' Cf. Hdt. vii. 76 προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας.

d 5 Carystus son of Cheiron gave his name to the town founded by him in Euboea. Cf. Thuc. vii. 57; Strab. 446.

256 a 4 ⟨κτίσω⟩, Mullach's emendation for κατιῶ I or κτιῶ O.

b 2 εὐδείελον ἄστυ. For the meaning and derivation of εὐδείελον as the common Homeric epithet for islands see Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, 223 f.

b 4 'Hερία. This name is explained by Strab. 185, in speaking of a town near Avignon, as meaning τὸ ἐφ' ὕψους ἱδρῦσθαι μεγάλου. Thasos is described by Thucydides (iv. 104) as 'an island distant from Amphipolis about half-a-day's sail,' and as 'a

colony of the Parians.' Hdt. vii. 47 says that the mines of Thasos, which he had visited, were discovered by the Phoenicians, when they went with Thasos and colonized the island.

c 3 ἐξενάγησεν. The verb means 'to act as a ξεναγός (Thuc. ii. 75) or leader of foreign allies. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 3. 17 ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει. The Parians would be ξένοι in Thasos.

c 7 Τοῦτο δὲ ὁπόθεν ἴσμεν; It has been thought that the relatives may sometimes be used as direct interrogatives, but there is no sufficient ground for such an anomaly. Here the sentence is elliptical, and the question indirect. 'But do you ask whence do we know this?' Cf. 257 d 8 Ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα ταῦτα προσεισήνεγκα τῷ λόγῳ; and see the note there.

d 1 συναίσθησις 'conscious sensation.'

ἀντίληψις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Cf. Tim. Locr. 100 C τὰς δ' ὑπ' ἀντίλαψιν μὴ πιπτοίσας ἀναισθήτως (κινάσιας εἶμεν). Diod. Sic. iii. 15 ἡδονῆς δὲ καὶ πόνου τὴν φυσικὴν μόνον ἀντίληψιν ποιούμενοι τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδεμίαν λαμβάνουσιν ἔννοιαν. Plotin. Enn. vi. 1. 20 τὸ πληγῆναι ἐν ἀντιλήψει ὂν καὶ γνωρίσει.

d 6 Πῶς δ' ὅτι διαλεγόμεθα. 'The thoughts that we have when awake we have also in sleep. What assurance have we that all our thoughts are not equally dreams?' *Dict. des Sciences philos.* Art. 'Descartes.'

d 7 Ἆρ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐκρίναμεν. Cf. 256 d 1, where it is argued that 'nothing is so satisfactory as our apprehension of ourselves.' But still it may be asked how do we judge of the certainty of this apprehension of ourselves, and the answer follows immediately.

d 8 τῷ πάντων ἐγγυτάτῳ πράγματι αὐτῷ. This is like the first principle of Descartes (ibid.): 'Il ne démontre pas, il pose un axiome. . . . Lorsque quelqu'un dit, "Je pense, donc je suis," il ne conclut pas son existence de sa pensée comme par la force de quelque syllogisme, mais comme une chose connue de soi; il la voit par une simple inspection de l'esprit.'

d 11 ἀπεκτονὼς τὴν μητέρα. Alcmaeon slew his mother Eriphyle, because she had been bribed by the necklace and peplos of Harmonia to send first her husband Amphiaraus and then Alcmaeon himself to the expedition against Thebes. Being driven mad by his mother's Erinnyes, Alcmaeon wandered into Arcadia, and finally, by the advice of the oracle to

the delta of the Achelous. The story is told at large by Apollodorus, iii. 6. 1–7. 5.

257 a 4 *ὅ γε Πύθιος οὐ μαίνεται.* If Alcmaeon thinks he knows his own existence or anything else, the delusion may be excused, because he is mad. But you, Apollo, certainly are not mad, and therefore ought not to pretend to know anything.

b 1 *τὴν ἡμιδουλείαν.* Cf. 255 c 3.

b 3 *βλέννους*, a very rare word, the accent varying according as it is regarded as a substantive or adjective.

τὸν Οὖτιν. Cf. Hom. *Od.* ix. 366

Οὖτις ἐμοί γ' ὄνομα· Οὖτιν δέ με κικλήσκουσιν
μήτηρ ἠδὲ πατὴρ ἠδ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι.

b 4 *Ἀρκεσίλαον παρόντα.* Arcesilaus was the founder of the New Academy, and a chief opponent of the Stoics, Zeno and Chrysippus, in the latter part of the third century B. C. He carried his scepticism so far as to say 'that he knew nothing, not even that he did not know.' Cf. Cic. *De Oratore*, iii. 18. 67 'ex variis Platonis libris Socraticisque sermonibus hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit.'

b 5 *οὐ παρόντα.* Epicurus died 341 B.C., and Chrysippus was not born till 280 B.C.

c 1 *οὐ λέγω.* Cf. 256 d 1, d 8.

d 1 *τι λεληθός*, 'something that has escaped notice.'

εἱμαρμένη ⟨ἢ⟩ πεπρωμένη. In quoting the passage Theodoret (86. 37) inserts *καί*. But it is still better to assume with Saarmann and J. B. Mayor that *ἢ* has fallen out after *εἱμαρμένη*.

d 7 *τοῦ βαδίζειν καὶ τοῦ ἄγεσθαι.* Examples of voluntary and enforced movements, of which we have a direct consciousness in the same way as of our own existence.

d 8 *Ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα.* Cf. Viger, *De Idiot.* 29 '*Ὅς* aliquando sumitur, rarius licet, pro *τίς* interrogativo . . . Sic enim Oenomaus apud Eusebium . . . *Ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα κ.τ.λ.* . . . Tu parce imitari.' But cf. Stallbaum's note on Plat. *Rep.* 559 A '*Ὅς* semper finitum est, referturque ad certam aliquam rem vel personam: *τίς* quaerit de eo quod est infinitum atque incertum. Ex quo patet alterum cum altero non potuisse commutari.' The simplest explanation seems to be that in such cases as 256 c 7 and here the question is really indirect, the sentence being elliptical.

258 a 3 *πείσματα ἀνῆπται.* Cf. 221 b.

[illegible]

b [illegible] Chrysippus to reconcile the doctrine of fate with a certain sort of free volition was met by the thorough opponents of fatalism with an argument recorded by Cicero, De Fato [illegible].

b 4 [illegible]

c [illegible] Eur. Phoen. [illegible]

[illegible]

This passage is also quoted and discussed by Origen, c. *Cels.* ii. 20.

d 5 τίς ἂν ⟨αὐ⟩. Dindorf's necessary correction of the reading of the MSS. τίς ἂν ᾖ.

d 6 αὐ. Viger's suggestion αὑτοῦ is followed by most editors, giving the meaning 'master of himself.' With the reading of the MSS. (αὐ) the meaning of κύριος ὢν will be 'when he had the power.'

d 10 Εὐριπίδου. Cf. Eur. *Phoen*. 67

ἀρὰς ἀρᾶται παισὶν ἀνοσιωτάτας.

259 a 6 The Perrhaebi were a tribe in the extreme north of Thessaly.

ἐλθών. For εἰσελθὼν ἐπὶ κ.τ.λ. Heikel reads with cod. I εἰ ἐλθὼν κ.τ.λ., which is certainly preferable.

ταριχοπωλεῖν, mentioned as one of the meanest trades by Plat. *Charm.* 163 B.

a 7 χερνῆτιν, 'a woman who works with her own hands.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 433

γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθής.

d 3 συνίης. On this form and συνιεῖς see Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 316.

260 a 2 ψύλλα. 'Feminina positio inde ab Aristophane (*Nub.* 145) et Xenophonte (*Sympos.* vi. 8 πόσους ψύλλης πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχεις) omnibus viguit aetatibus,' Lobeck, *Phryn.* 532.

παραιρήσει. 'Verbum παραιρήσει quod habeat subjectum e contextu orationis non video; itaque τις addidi' (Heikel). Dr. Heikel seems not to have observed that παραιρήσει is of the middle voice; cf. Demosth. 289 καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας.

a 7 Τρηχῖν'. Some MSS. have Τριχήν, Stephens Τριχῖν'. But the allusion to Hercules shows clearly that the place meant is Trachis in Thessaly, near mount Oeta.

a 8 ἄτας. The oracle seems to refer to the destruction of the colony of Heraclea by the Thessalians and others 'to the detriment of whose territory it was founding.' Among these 'others' there would naturally be the Locrians, from their close neighbourhood. See Thucyd. iii. 93, with Arnold's and Poppo's notes.

ἠδ' ἔτι δώσει. Cf. Hom. *Il.* i. 96

τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν ἑκηβόλος ἠδ' ἔτι δώσει.

b 7 λιμώττομεν. The oracle seems to have attributed a famine from which the Locrians were suffering to their destruction of Heraclea.

c 5 ὃ δὴ ἔσται. 'Just what will be, will be.' The best MSS. have δεῖ, but in D, which was used by both Stephens and Viger, the reading is δή. With δεῖ the sentence should be read, as by Dindorf, ἔσται γὰρ ὃ δεῖ, ἔσται, κἂν σὺ σιωπᾷς.

d 4 Λυκοῦργον. Cf. 222 b 10, where the oracle which praises Lycurgus is quoted.

d 11 ἐξηγκωνισμένοι. In Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 14. 11 οὐδὲν προεξαγκωνίσας seems to be a metaphor from boxing, 'without any previous sparring.' The verb is compounded from ἀγκών, 'elbow.'

261 a 5 *τό γε ἐπὶ σοί.* 'So far as it depends on your judgement.'

b 6 *ἀνάγωγον.* Cf. Xen. *Mem. Socr.* iii. 3. 4 *ἵππους . . . οὕτως ἀναγώγους ὥστε μὴ μένειν.*

καταξανοῦμεν. Cf. Plat. (Com.) *Incert.* 52 (Meineke). 'Idem (Pollux) 7. 30 "*ἔξαινε δὲ τῶν ἐρίων.*"'

d 1 *Διογενιανοῦ.* Cf. 136 c 6, note.

8] **262 a** 1 *τὰ δοκοῦντα Χρυσίππῳ.* Cf. 258 b 3, note. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 5. 15 *Ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις σποράδην πολυτρόπως ἀποφαίνεται λέγων· Εἱμαρμένη ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος, ἢ λόγος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν γεγονότα γέγονε τὰ δὲ γινόμενα γίνεται τὰ δὲ γενησόμενα γενήσεται.*

b 5 *Μοῖραν.* Cf. Hom. *Il.* vi. 488, from the speech of Hector to Andromache. The same passage, with many others from Greek and Latin authors, is quoted by Thomas Jackson (Dean of Peterborough), vol. v, p. 340, in an interesting discussion on Fate and its relation to Necessity and Chance.

c 3 *Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν.* In Hom. *Il.* iv. 409 the beginning of the line is *κεῖνοι δὲ σφετέρῃσιν.*

c 6 *ἐξ ἡμέων.* The speaker is Zeus. Cf. Hom. *Od.* i. 32. Pope's version, though not very literal, brings out forcibly the thought for which the passage is quoted by our author.

d 10 On the form *τεθνήξεσθαι* see Elmsley's note on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 590 'Equidem crediderim veteres Atticos dixisse *τεθνήξω*, recentiores *τεθνήξομαι*: *τεθνήξω* enim nimis Attice dictum videtur Luciano *Soloecist.* p. 570, qui alteram formam Socratis grammatici auctoritate confirmat.'

263 a 4 *Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἅσσα διαστολή.* Cf. 267 a 1, 373 b 3.

ἅσσα (= *ἅτινα*) makes a 'distinction' by limiting the assertion to the class of things decreed by fate. Cf. 265 a 4 *ταῦτα μόνα ὧν ἐστιν εἱμαρμένη.*

b 2 *οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ . . .* Cf. Riddell's Appendix to Plato, *Apolog. Socr.* 152 b.

b 8 *μιμουμένῳ.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 26 A *Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον οἰέσθω μίμησιν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν ἠθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐ τελείων οὐδὲ καθαρῶν οὐδ' ἀνεπιλήπτων παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ μεμιγμένων πάθεσι καὶ δόξαις ψευδέσι καὶ ἀγνοίαις, διὰ δ' εὐφυΐαν αὐτοὺς πολλάκις μετατιθέντων πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον.*

Wyttenbach in his note on the passage quotes the passage from Eusebius and adds 'Vulgatum μεμιγμένῳ certe vitiosum est: rectius est vel μεμιγμένα, quod exhibui, vel μεμιμημένα, vel μιμουμένῳ.'

c 6 πεπρωμένην πεπερασμένην. A false etymology, πεπρωμένην being the participle of πορεῖν and πεπερασμένην of περαίνω. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 24 'Magnam molestiam suscepit et mimine necessariam primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem, vocabulorum, cur quidque ita appellatum sit, causas explicare.' Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, 174, note 2.

d 1 τὰς Μοίρας. Compare the description in Plato, *Rep.* 617 C, of the spheres of the universe revolving on the spindle of Necessity, accompanied by the Sirens singing each a single note. 'The eight together form one harmony; and round about, at equal intervals, there is another band, three in number, each sitting upon her throne: these are the Fates, daughters of Necessity, who are clothed in white raiment, and have crowns of wool upon their heads, Lachesis, and Clotho, and Atropos, who accompany with their voices the harmony of the Sirens—Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future; Clotho now and then assisting with a touch of her right hand the motion of the outer circle or whorl of the spindle, and Atropos with her left hand touching and guiding the inner ones, and Lachesis laying hold of either in turn, first with one hand and then with the other.' This rendering of the passage by Dr. Jowett is not less exact than graceful.

d 3 'χρεών, inquit Suidas, τὸ εἱμαρμένον τέλος ζωῆς. Αἰλιανός· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς γῆρας ἀφίκετο, τὸ κοινὸν τῇ πεπρωμένῃ χρεὼν ἐξέτισε' (Seguier). Cf. 32 d 11.

d 4 τοὺς τρεῖς . . . χρόνους, past, present, future.

d 6 λαγχάνειν ἑκάστῳ τὸ πεπρωμένον. Two modes of construction are possible. Lachesis may be represented as 'casting lots for the destiny of every man'; or (better) λαγχάνειν may mean 'to fall to the lot of,' and the sense will be 'because that which is destined falls to each man's lot.' This intransitive use of λαγχάνω is found in Plat. *Legg.* iv. 704 C πῶς μέρος ἑκάστων ἡμῖν εἴληχε, and in Eur. *Hippol.* 80 ὅσοις . . . τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴληχεν, where see Paley's note. Cf. Hom. *Od.* ix. 160; Strab. 443 τὴν μὲν πρὸς νότον λαχεῖν φασι Δευκαλίωνι.

264 b 2 *μαίνεσθαι.* Cf. Diog. L. *Zeno* vii. 124 *πάντας τε τοὺς ἄφρονας μαίνεσθαι.* Cic. *Paradox.* iv. Ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται, *Tusc.* iii. 5. 10; Zeller, *Stoics*, 272; Hor. 2 *Sat.* iii. 43.

b 3 *Ἀλκμαίωνι.* Cf. 256 d 11, 257 a 3.

ἕνα δὲ ἢ δύο μόνους. Cf. Alex. Aphrod. *De Fato* (Bruns), xxviii. 90 *τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοί, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἷς ἢ δεύτερος ὑπ' αὐτῶν μυθεύεται γεγονέναι.*

b 8 *νόμους.* Plutarch, *De Repugn. Stoic.* iii. (1033 F), says that the Stoics regarded the great lawgivers, Cleisthenes, Lycurgus, and Solon, as feeble and senseless.

d 5 *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐχρῆν φύσει.* 'Mendum hic agnoscere facile est, tollere difficile. . . . Quid si rescribatur *οὐδὲ* vel *οὐκ ἔχειν τοῦτο φύσιν*' (Viger). The phrase *φύσιν ἔχει*, 'it is natural,' is used by Plato, *Rep.* 473 A, 489 B; by Hdt. ii. 41; and by Demosth. *Olynth.* ii. 25. 22. Heinichen proposes *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔχειν φύσει.* If any change is to be made in the text, I should prefer *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔχει φύσιν*, 'not even in this case (i.e. when they agree with you) is it natural.'

καὶ ⟨εἰ⟩ μή. The MSS. have only *καὶ μή*, for which Heinichen substitutes *εἰ μή*: but both *καί* and *εἰ* are required.

265 a 3 *τὰ πάντα ἀπαξαπλῶς.* Cf. Sext. Emp. vii. 428 *πάντων ἀπαξαπλῶς μὴ καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν κριτήριον εἶναι.*

a 4 *τῶν Μοιρῶν ἀριθμός.* Cf. 263 d 4.

b 8 *ἐπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκυῖαν.* Plut. *De Fortuna Rom.* 4 'Not poising herself upon light wings, nor setting down her foot on tip-toe upon a globe, does she come slipping and wavering, and then depart unkindly . . . But when she draws near to the Palatium, and crosses the Tiber, she lays aside, as it seems, her wings, puts off her sandals, and leaving the treacherous and unstable globe, so enters Rome as meaning to abide.' Pausan. iv. 30. 3, says that the first mention of Τύχη (Fortuna) known to him is in the *Hymn to Demeter* (v. 420), and that the first statue of Fortune was made by Bupalus for the people of Smyrna. 'Fortune has a globe on her head, and in one hand the horn of Amalthea, as the Greeks call it.'

d 11 *συγκαθειμάρθαι.* Cf. Plut. *De Fato*, 569 F *οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος τὰ μὲν Καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ Καθ' Ἕκαστα ἑπομένως. Ἔστι τε εἱμαρμένα τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐκείνοις συνειμαρμένα.* Cic. *De Fato* 13 'Haec ratio a Chrysippo

reprehenditur. Quaedam enim sunt, inquit, in rebus simplicia, quaedem copulata. . . . Haec, ut dixi, *confatalia* ille appellat.'

266 a 5 Ἡγήσαρχον. Pausan. 481 says that an Agesarchus son of Haemostratus won the boxing-matches of men at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho, and the Isthmus.

b 7 τῶν ἐναργειῶν, 'sensible evidences.' Cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* vii. 160 ἡ δέ γε αἴσθησις ἀκίνητος μὲν οὖσα καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἄτρεπτος οὔτε αἴσθησίς ἐστιν οὔτε ἀντιληπτική τινος, τραπεῖσα δὲ καί πως παθοῦσα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναργῶν ὑπόπτωσιν τότε ἐνδείκνυται τὰ πράγματα· ἐν ἄρα τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας πάθει τῆς ψυχῆς ζητητέον ἐστὶ τὸ κριτήριον. Cf. 320 c, note on κατάληψις.

267 a 5 ἂν ἔσεσθαι. Cf. 462 a 4, note. Thuc. ii. 80 νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως ἂν σφίσι τἄλλα προσχωρήσειν. Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 424 δ.

a 7 ὑποτιμήσεσι, a legal term, 'pleas in abatement of damages,' and so generally 'extenuations.'

c 2 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βούλεσθαι. Cf. Solly, *On the Will*, p. 32: 'This is evidently the definition of liberty which might be expected from a philosophical turnkey; it refers solely to the absence of external restraint, and corresponds entirely with the opinions of Hobbes, Collins, Priestley, and Edwards. All these philosophers concurred in maintaining the doctrine, that *man's liberty consists in his being able to do what he wills, but that his willing it does not depend on himself, but on the strength of motives, the state of his mind, and the circumstances in which he is placed, all of which again are dependent on the laws of nature, human or physical.*' Cf. J. S. Mill, *System of Logic*, ii. 407, on *Liberty and Necessity.*

d 4 Ἀφροδισιέως. Aphrodisias, a town of Caria, the ruins of which were described by Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 32. The privileges granted to Aphrodisias by Julius Caesar and Augustus were confirmed by the Senate in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Annal.* iii. 62). One of its coins is engraved in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*

d 6 Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. Alexander, called ὁ ἐξηγητής, as being the most famous commentator on Aristotle, dedicated his treatise *On Fate* to the joint Emperors Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla), 199–211 A. D., Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

9] **268 a** 1 Διαιρεῖται. Cf. Aristot. *Phys.* ii. 3 'In one way then the name cause is given to the pre-existing substance out

of which a thing is made, as the bronze of a statue (the *matter*); in another way to the *form* and pattern, which corresponds to the definition of the *formal essence* (τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι).... Again that from which comes the first beginning of change or rest, as for instance he who makes the resolve is a cause, and the father is the cause of the child, and generally the maker is the cause of that which is made, and that which changes is the cause of the thing changed (the *efficient* or *motive cause*). Further the end, for the sake of which a thing is done, as of walking the end is health (*the final cause*).' For the four-fold division of causes see also *Anal. Post.* ii. 11; *Metaph.* i. 3. 1; iv. 2. 6–9.

d 1 δισκεύων. 'The Discobolus of Myron, the best ornament of the Massimo Palace' at Rome was discovered in the Horti Lamiani on the Esquiline. Cf. Lanciani, *Esquiline Magazine*, Nov. 1880.

ἀκοντίζων. The Doryphoros of Polycleitus is described by Quintilian, v. 12 as '*Doryphoron* illum aptum vel militiae vel palaestrae.' The throwing of the quoit and javelin were regular exercises of the palaestra. Aristot. *Phys.* ii. 4. 1–5. 9.

270 b 4 ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν. 'With this and the following discussion compare the disquisition of Eusebius himself on fate in c 6, which differs more in appearance than reality from this of Alexander Aphrodisiensis. For the latter asserts that nature and fate are the same, after having himself proved that no inevitable necessity of fate can be conceived, while the former says that nature and fate are not the same, if any try to attribute to fate such a power that everything is said to be subject to it and fast bound by its rule' (Heinichen).

d 2 συμβουλίαι θεῶν. It was usual in sickness to consult the oracles, especially that of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, and of Amphiaraus at Oropus.

d 10 The story of Zopyrus the physiognomist is related by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 37; *De Fato* 5 'Sed haec ex naturalibus causis vitia nasci possunt; exstirpari autem et funditus tolli, ut is ipse, qui ad ea propensus fuerit, a tantis vitiis avocetur, non est id positum in naturalibus causis, sed in voluntate, studio, disciplina.' There is a remarkable similarity between this passage, especially the last three words, and the language of Alexander (d 5) ἐξ ἀσκήσεως, καὶ ἀπὸ μαθημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ λόγων κρειττόνων.

271 a 10 *εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν*. This supposed case is mentioned by Aristotle, *Phys.* ii. 4. 2 *οἷον τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἀπὸ τύχης εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν ὃν ἐβούλετο μὲν οὐκ ᾤετο δέ, αἴτιον τὸ βούλεσθαι ἀγοράσαι ἐλθόντα*, and again ii. 5. 6. The subject of chance is fully discussed by Aristotle in this treatise ii. 4. 1–6.

b 2 *ὁ ἵππος*. The supposed case of the horse is mentioned by Aristotle, op. cit. vi. 3.

b 7 *ἀντιπαθείας*. Cf. 132 a 5; Plut. *Mor.* 641 B, 952 D *μυρίαι δήπουθέν εἰσιν ἀντιτάξεις καὶ ἀντιπάθειαι πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα τῆς γῆς*, where the word means, as here, natural antipathies or oppositions.

c 7 *ἃ οὐδὲ ταῦτ'*. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 833. obs. 2.

d 10 *τὸ βουλεύεσθαι*. Compare Butler's *Analogy*, i. 6 'It is to be observed that this (supposed) Necessity does not exclude deliberation, choice, preference, and acting from certain principles, and to certain ends: because all this is matter of undoubted experience, acknowledged by all, and what every man may, every moment, be conscious of.'

272 a 3 *φαντασίαις*. Zeller, *Outlines*, 235 'According to the Stoics the soul is at its birth a *tabula rasa*; everything must be given to it by the objects. The presentation (*φαντασία*) is, as Zeno and Cleanthes said, an impression (*τύπωσις*) of things in the soul, or, as Chrysippus thought, a change of the soul caused by them, which instructs us sometimes on external circumstances, and sometimes also (as Chrysippus at least expressly remarks) on our internal conditions and activities.' Cf. R. and Pr. *Hist. Phil.* 398, and the passages there quoted from Cic. *Acad. Post.* i. 11; Plutarch, *De Plac. Philos.* iv. 12. Cicero renders *φαντασία* by *visum*.

a 7 *προλήψεως*, literally 'presumption.' Zeller, ibid. 'By conclusions from what is given in perception we arrive at general presentations (*ἔννοιαι*). So far as these are derived naturally and without artificial assistance from universal experiences, they form those "common concepts" (*κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι, notitiae communes*) which determine the convictions of men before any scientific investigation, and are therefore called *προλήψεις*, a term borrowed from Epicurus, and apparently first used in this sense by Chrysippus.'

273 a 2 *κυνικώτερον*. 1 Reg. (Sam.) xxv. 3 *καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κυνικός*, 'churlish.'

colony of the Parians.' Hdt. vii. 47 says that the mines of Thasos, which he had visited, were discovered by the Phoenicians, when they went with Thasos and colonized the island.

c 3 *ἐξενάγησεν*. The verb means 'to act as a *ξεναγός* (Thuc. ii. 75) or leader of foreign allies. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 3. 17 *ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει*. The Parians would be *ξένοι* in Thasos.

c 7 *Τοῦτο δὲ ὁπόθεν ἴσμεν;* It has been thought that the relatives may sometimes be used as direct interrogatives, but there is no sufficient ground for such an anomaly. Here the sentence is elliptical, and the question indirect. 'But do you ask whence do we know this?' Cf. 257 d 8 *Ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα ταῦτα προσεισήνεγκα τῷ λόγῳ;* and see the note there.

d 1 *συναίσθησις* 'conscious sensation.'

ἀντίληψις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Cf. Tim. Locr. 100 C *τὰς δ' ὑπ' ἀντίλαψιν μὴ πιπτοίσας ἀναισθήτως (κινάσιας εἶμεν)*. Diod. Sic. iii. 15 *ἡδονῆς δὲ καὶ πόνου τὴν φυσικὴν μόνον ἀντίληψιν ποιούμενοι τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδεμίαν λαμβάνουσιν ἔννοιαν*. Plotin. Enn. vi. 1. 20 *τὸ πληγῆναι ἐν ἀντιλήψει ὂν καὶ γνωρίσει*.

d 6 *Πῶς δ' ὅτι διαλεγόμεθα*. 'The thoughts that we have when awake we have also in sleep. What assurance have we that all our thoughts are not equally dreams?' *Dict. des Sciences philos.* Art. 'Descartes.'

d 7 *Ἀρ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐκρίναμεν*. Cf. 256 d 1, where it is argued that 'nothing is so satisfactory as our apprehension of ourselves.' But still it may be asked how do we judge of the certainty of this apprehension of ourselves, and the answer follows immediately.

d 8 *τῷ πάντων ἐγγυτάτῳ πράγματι αὐτῷ*. This is like the first principle of Descartes (ibid.): 'Il ne démontre pas, il pose un axiome. . . . Lorsque quelqu'un dit, "Je pense, donc je suis," il ne conclut pas son existence de sa pensée comme par la force de quelque syllogisme, mais comme une chose connue de soi; il la voit par une simple inspection de l'esprit.'

d 11 *ἀπεκτονὼς τὴν μητέρα*. Alcmaeon slew his mother Eriphyle, because she had been bribed by the necklace and peplos of Harmonia to send first her husband Amphiaraus and then Alcmaeon himself to the expedition against Thebes. Being driven mad by his mother's Erinnyes, Alcmaeon wandered into Arcadia, and finally, by the advice of the oracle to

the delta of the Achelous. The story is told at large by Apollodorus, iii. 6. 1–7. 5.

257 a 4 *ὅ γε Πύθιος οὐ μαίνεται.* If Alcmaeon thinks he knows his own existence or anything else, the delusion may be excused, because he is mad. But you, Apollo, certainly are not mad, and therefore ought not to pretend to know anything.

b 1 *τὴν ἡμιδουλείαν.* Cf. 255 c 3.

b 3 *βλέννους*, a very rare word, the accent varying according as it is regarded as a substantive or adjective.

τὸν Οὖτιν. Cf. Hom. *Od.* ix. 366

> Οὖτις ἐμοί γ' ὄνομα· Οὖτιν δέ με κικλήσκουσιν
> μήτηρ ἠδὲ πατὴρ ἠδ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι.

b 4 *Ἀρκεσίλαον παρόντα.* Arcesilaus was the founder of the New Academy, and a chief opponent of the Stoics, Zeno and Chrysippus, in the latter part of the third century B.C. He carried his scepticism so far as to say 'that he knew nothing, not even that he did not know.' Cf. Cic. *De Oratore*, iii. 18. 67 'ex variis Platonis libris Socraticisque sermonibus hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit.'

b 5 *οὐ παρόντα.* Epicurus died 341 B.C., and Chrysippus was not born till 280 B.C.

c 1 *οὐ λέγω.* Cf. 256 d 1, d 8.

d 1 *τι λεληθός*, 'something that has escaped notice.'

εἱμαρμένη ⟨ἢ⟩ πεπρωμένη. In quoting the passage Theodoret (86. 37) inserts *καί*. But it is still better to assume with Saarmann and J. B. Mayor that *ἢ* has fallen out after *εἱμαρμένη*.

d 7 *τοῦ βαδίζειν καὶ τοῦ ἄγεσθαι.* Examples of voluntary and enforced movements, of which we have a direct consciousness in the same way as of our own existence.

d 8 *Ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα.* Cf. Viger, *De Idiot.* 29 '"Ος aliquando sumitur, rarius licet, pro *τίς* interrogativo . . . Sic enim Oenomaus apud Eusebium . . . Ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα κ.τ.λ. . . . Tu parce imitari.' But cf. Stallbaum's note on Plat. *Rep.* 559 A '"Ος semper finitum est, referturque ad certam aliquam rem vel personam: *τίς* quaerit de eo quod est infinitum atque incertum. Ex quo patet alterum cum altero non potuisse commutari.' The simplest explanation seems to be that in such cases as 256 c 7 and here the question is really indirect, the sentence being elliptical.

258 a 3 *πείσματα ἀνῆπται.* Cf. 221 b.

a 5 ἦπού γε. For the sarcastic sense of the particles see Soph. *Aj.* 1008

ἦπού με Τελαμών, σὸς πατὴρ ἐμός θ' ἅμα,
δέξαιτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος.

a 6 ὁ Λαΐῳ προμαντευόμενος. Cf. Soph. *Oedip. Rex* 711

χρησμὸς γὰρ ἦλθε Λαΐῳ ποτ', οὐκ ἐρῶ
Φοίβου γ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῶν δ' ὑπηρετῶν ἄπο,
ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν.

The oracle itself is quoted by the Scholiast in the Argument of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides

Λάϊε Λαβδακίδη, παίδων γένος ὄλβιον αἰτεῖς.
τέξεις μὲν φίλον υἱόν, ἀτὰρ τόδε σοι μόρος ἔσται,
παιδὸς ἑοῦ χείρεσσι λιπεῖν βίον· ὡς γὰρ ἔνευσε
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, Πέλοπος στυγεραῖς ἀραῖσι πιθήσας,
οὗ φίλον ἥρπασας υἱόν· ὁ δ' ηὔξατό σοι τάδε πάντα.

b 3 τὸ μίγμα. Cf. 255 c 3, 257 b 1. The attempt of Chrysippus to reconcile the doctrine of fate with a certain sort of free volition was met by the thorough opponents of fatalism with an argument recorded by Cicero, *De Fato* 17.

b 4 εἱρμόν. Cf. 252 a 7.

c 7 Eur. *Phoen.* 17

ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ὦ Θήβαισιν εὐίπποις ἄναξ,
μὴ σπεῖρε τέκνων ἄλοκα δαιμόνων βίᾳ.
εἰ γὰρ τεκνώσεις παῖδ', ἀποκτενεῖ σ' ὁ φύς,
καὶ πᾶς σὸς οἶκος βήσεται δι' αἵματος.

This passage is also quoted and discussed by Origen, *c. Cels.* ii. 20.

d 5 πῶς ἂν ⟨εἴη⟩, Dindorf's necessary correction of the reading of the MSS. πῶς ἂν ᾖ.

d 6 αὖ. Viger's suggestion αὑτοῦ is followed by most editors, giving the meaning 'master of himself.' With the reading of the MSS. (αὖ) the meaning of κύριος ὢν will be 'when he had the power.'

d 10 Εὐριπίδου. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 67

ἀρὰς ἀρᾶται παισὶν ἀνοσιωτάτας.

259 a 6 The Perrhaebi were a tribe in the extreme north of Thessaly.

ἐλθών. For εἰσελθὼν ἐπὶ κ.τ.λ. Heikel reads with cod. I εἰ ἐλθὼν κ.τ.λ., which is certainly preferable.

ταριχοπωλεῖν, mentioned as one of the meanest trades by Plat. *Charm.* 163 B.

a 7 χερνῆτιν, 'a woman who works with her own hands.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 433

γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθής.

d 3 συνίης. On this form and συνιεῖς see Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 316.

260 a 2 ψύλλα. 'Feminina positio inde ab Aristophane (*Nub.* 145) et Xenophonte (*Sympos.* vi. 8 πόσους ψύλλης πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχεις) omnibus viguit aetatibus,' Lobeck, *Phryn.* 532.

παραιρήσει. 'Verbum παραιρήσει quod habeat subjectum e contextu orationis non video; itaque τις addidi' (Heikel). Dr. Heikel seems not to have observed that παραιρήσει is of the middle voice; cf. Demosth. 289 καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας.

a 7 Τρηχῖν'. Some MSS. have Τριχήν, Stephens Τριχῖν'. But the allusion to Hercules shows clearly that the place meant is Trachis in Thessaly, near mount Oeta.

a 8 ἄτας. The oracle seems to refer to the destruction of the colony of Heraclea by the Thessalians and others 'to the detriment of whose territory it was founding.' Among these 'others' there would naturally be the Locrians, from their close neighbourhood. See Thucyd. iii. 93, with Arnold's and Poppo's notes.

ἠδ' ἔτι δώσει. Cf. Hom. *Il.* i. 96

τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν ἑκηβόλος ἠδ' ἔτι δώσει.

b 7 λιμώττομεν. The oracle seems to have attributed a famine from which the Locrians were suffering to their destruction of Heraclea.

c 5 ὃ δὴ ἔσται. 'Just what will be, will be.' The best MSS. have δεῖ, but in D, which was used by both Stephens and Viger, the reading is δή. With δεῖ the sentence should be read, as by Dindorf, ἔσται γὰρ ὃ δεῖ, ἔσται, κἂν σὺ σιωπᾷς.

d 4 Λυκοῦργον. Cf. 222 b 10, where the oracle which praises Lycurgus is quoted.

d 11 ἐξηγκωνισμένοι. In Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 14. 11 οὐδὲν προεξαγκωνίσας seems to be a metaphor from boxing, 'without any previous sparring.' The verb is compounded from ἀγκών, 'elbow.'

261 a 5 τό γε ἐπὶ σοί. 'So far as it depends on your judgement.'

b 6 ἀνάγωγον. Cf. Xen. *Mem. Socr.* iii. 3. 4 ἵππους . . . οὕτως ἀναγώγους ὥστε μὴ μένειν.

καταξανοῦμεν. Cf. Plat. (Com.) *Incert.* 52 (Meineke). 'Idem (Pollux) 7. 30 "ἔξαινε δὲ τῶν ἐρίων."'

d 1 Διογενιανοῦ. Cf. 136 c 6, note.

8] **262 a** 1 τὰ δοκοῦντα Χρυσίππῳ. Cf. 258 b 3, note. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 5. 15 Ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις σποράδην πολυτρόπως ἀποφαίνεται λέγων· Εἱμαρμένη ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος, ἢ λόγος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προνοίᾳ διοικουμένων, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν γεγονότα γέγονε τὰ δὲ γινόμενα γίνεται τὰ δὲ γενησόμενα γενήσεται.

b 5 Μοῖραν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* vi. 488, from the speech of Hector to Andromache. The same passage, with many others from Greek and Latin authors, is quoted by Thomas Jackson (Dean of Peterborough), vol. v, p. 340, in an interesting discussion on Fate and its relation to Necessity and Chance.

c 3 Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν. In Hom. *Il.* iv. 409 the beginning of the line is κεῖνοι δὲ σφετέρῃσιν.

c 6 ἐξ ἡμέων. The speaker is Zeus. Cf. Hom. *Od.* i. 32. Pope's version, though not very literal, brings out forcibly the thought for which the passage is quoted by our author.

d 10 On the form τεθνήξεσθαι see Elmsley's note on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 590 'Equidem crediderim veteres Atticos dixisse τεθνήξω, recentiores τεθνήξομαι: τεθνήξω enim nimis Attico dictum videtur Luciano *Soloecist.* p. 570, qui alteram formam Socratis grammatici auctoritate confirmat.'

263 a 4 Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἅσσα διαστολή. Cf. 267 a 1, 373 b 3.

ἅσσα (= ἅτινα) makes a 'distinction' by limiting the assertion to the class of things decreed by fate. Cf. 265 a 4 ταῦτα μόνα ὧν ἐστιν εἱμαρμένη.

b 2 οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . Cf. Riddell's Appendix to Plato, *Apolog. Socr.* 152 b.

b 8 μιμουμένῳ. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 26 A Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον οἰέσθω μίμησιν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν ἠθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐ τελείων οὐδὲ καθαρῶν οὐδ' ἀνεπιλήπτων παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ μεμιγμένων πάθεσι καὶ δόξαις ψευδέσι καὶ ἀγνοίαις, διὰ δ' εὐφυΐαν αὐτοὺς πολλάκις μετατιθέντων πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον.

Wyttenbach in his note on the passage quotes the passage from Eusebius and adds 'Vulgatum μεμιγμένῳ certe vitiosum est: rectius est vel μεμιγμένα, quod exhibui, vel μεμιμημένα, vel μιμουμένῳ.'

c 6 πεπρωμένην πεπερασμένην. A false etymology, πεπρωμένην being the participle of πορεῖν and πεπερασμένην of περαίνω. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 24 'Magnam molestiam suscepit et mimine necessariam primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem, vocabulorum, cur quidque ita appellatum sit, causas explicare.' Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, 174, note 2.

d 1 τὰς Μοίρας. Compare the description in Plato, *Rep.* 617 C, of the spheres of the universe revolving on the spindle of Necessity, accompanied by the Sirens singing each a single note. 'The eight together form one harmony; and round about, at equal intervals, there is another band, three in number, each sitting upon her throne: these are the Fates, daughters of Necessity, who are clothed in white raiment, and have crowns of wool upon their heads, Lachesis, and Clotho, and Atropos, who accompany with their voices the harmony of the Sirens—Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future; Clotho now and then assisting with a touch of her right hand the motion of the outer circle or whorl of the spindle, and Atropos with her left hand touching and guiding the inner ones, and Lachesis laying hold of either in turn, first with one hand and then with the other.' This rendering of the passage by Dr. Jowett is not less exact than graceful.

d 3 'χρεών, inquit Suidas, τὸ εἱμαρμένον τέλος ζωῆς. Αἰλιανός· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς γῆρας ἀφίκετο, τὸ κοινὸν τῇ πεπρωμένῃ χρεὼν ἐξέτισε' (Seguier). Cf. 32 d 11.

d 4 τοὺς τρεῖς . . . χρόνους, past, present, future.

d 6 λαγχάνειν ἑκάστῳ τὸ πεπρωμένον. Two modes of construction are possible. Lachesis may be represented as 'casting lots for the destiny of every man'; or (better) λαγχάνειν may mean 'to fall to the lot of,' and the sense will be 'because that which is destined falls to each man's lot.' This intransitive use of λαγχάνω is found in Plat. *Legg.* iv. 704 C πῶς μέρος ἑκάστων ἡμῖν εἴληχε, and in Eur. *Hippol.* 80 ὅσοις . . . τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴληχεν, where see Paley's note. Cf. Hom. *Od.* ix. 160; Strab. 443 τὴν μὲν πρὸς νότον λαχεῖν φασι Δευκαλίωνι.

264 b 2 *μαίνεσθαι.* Cf. Diog. L. *Zeno* vii. 124 *πάντας τε τοὺς ἄφρονας μαίνεσθαι.* Cic. *Paradox.* iv. *Ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται,* *Tusc.* iii. 5. 10; Zeller, *Stoics*, 272; Hor. 2 *Sat.* iii. 43.

b 3 *Ἀλκμαίωνι.* Cf. 256 d 11, 257 a 3.

ἕνα δὲ ἢ δύο μόνους. Cf. Alex. Aphrod. *De Fato* (Bruns), xxviii. 90 *τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοί, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἷς ἢ δεύτερος ὑπ' αὐτῶν μυθεύεται γεγονέναι.*

b 8 *νόμους.* Plutarch, *De Repugn. Stoic.* iii. (1033 F), says that the Stoics regarded the great lawgivers, Cleisthenes, Lycurgus, and Solon, as feeble and senseless.

d 5 *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐχρῆν φύσει.* 'Mendum hic agnoscere facile est, tollere difficile. . . . Quid si rescribatur *οὐδὲ* vel *οὐκ ἔχειν τοῦτο φύσιν*' (Viger). The phrase *φύσιν ἔχει*, 'it is natural,' is used by Plato, *Rep.* 473 A, 489 B; by Hdt. ii. 41; and by Demosth. *Olynth.* ii. 25. 22. Heinichen proposes *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔχειν φύσει.* If any change is to be made in the text, I should prefer *οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔχει φύσιν*, 'not even in this case (i.e. when they agree with you) is it natural.'

καὶ ⟨εἰ⟩ μή. The MSS. have only *καὶ μή*, for which Heinichen substitutes *εἰ μή*: but both *καί* and *εἰ* are required.

265 a 3 *τὰ πάντα ἀπαξαπλῶς.* Cf. Sext. Emp. vii. 428 *πάντων ἀπαξαπλῶς μὴ καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν κριτήριον εἶναι.*

a 4 *τῶν Μοιρῶν ἀριθμός.* Cf. 263 d 4.

b 8 *ἐπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκυῖαν.* Plut. *De Fortuna Rom.* 4 'Not poising herself upon light wings, nor setting down her foot on tip-toe upon a globe, does she come slipping and wavering, and then depart unkindly . . . But when she draws near to the Palatium, and crosses the Tiber, she lays aside, as it seems, her wings, puts off her sandals, and leaving the treacherous and unstable globe, so enters Rome as meaning to abide.' Pausan. iv. 30. 3, says that the first mention of *Τύχη* (Fortuna) known to him is in the *Hymn to Demeter* (v. 420), and that the first statue of Fortune was made by Bupalus for the people of Smyrna. 'Fortune has a globe on her head, and in one hand the horn of Amalthea, as the Greeks call it.'

d 11 *συγκαθειμάρθαι.* Cf. Plut. *De Fato*, 569 F *οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος τὰ μὲν Καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ Καθ' Ἕκαστα ἑπομένως. Ἔστι τε εἱμαρμένα τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐκείνοις συνειμαρμένα.* Cic. *De Fato* 13 'Haec ratio a Chrysippo

reprehenditur. Quaedam enim sunt, inquit, in rebus simplicia, quaedem copulata. . . . Haec, ut dixi, *confatalia* ille appellat.'

266 a 5 Ἡγήσαρχον. Pausan. 481 says that an Agesarchus son of Haemostratus won the boxing-matches of men at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho, and the Isthmus.

b 7 τῶν ἐναργειῶν, 'sensible evidences.' Cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* vii. 160 ἡ δέ γε αἴσθησις ἀκίνητος μὲν οὖσα καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἄτρεπτος οὔτε αἴσθησίς ἐστιν οὔτε ἀντιληπτική τινος, τραπεῖσα δὲ καί πως παθοῦσα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναργῶν ὑπόπτωσιν τότε ἐνδείκνυται τὰ πράγματα· ἐν ἄρα τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας πάθει τῆς ψυχῆς ζητητέον ἐστὶ τὸ κριτήριον. Cf. 320 c, note on κατάληψις.

267 a 5 ἂν ἔσεσθαι. Cf. 462 a 4, note. Thuc. ii. 80 νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως ἂν σφίσι τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν. Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 424 δ.

a 7 ὑποτιμήσεσι, a legal term, 'pleas in abatement of damages,' and so generally 'extenuations.'

c 2 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βούλεσθαι. Cf. Solly, *On the Will*, p. 32: 'This is evidently the definition of liberty which might be expected from a philosophical turnkey; it refers solely to the absence of external restraint, and corresponds entirely with the opinions of Hobbes, Collins, Priestley, and Edwards. All these philosophers concurred in maintaining the doctrine, that *man's liberty consists in his being able to do what he wills, but that his willing it does not depend on himself, but on the strength of motives, the state of his mind, and the circumstances in which he is placed, all of which again are dependent on the laws of nature, human or physical.*' Cf. J. S. Mill, *System of Logic*, ii. 407, on *Liberty and Necessity*.

d 4 Ἀφροδισιέως. Aphrodisias, a town of Caria, the ruins of which were described by Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 32. The privileges granted to Aphrodisias by Julius Caesar and Augustus were confirmed by the Senate in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Annal.* iii. 62). One of its coins is engraved in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*

d 6 Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. Alexander, called ὁ ἐξηγητής, as being the most famous commentator on Aristotle, dedicated his treatise *On Fate* to the joint Emperors Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla), 199–211 A. D., Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

9] **268 a** 1 Διαιρεῖται. Cf. Aristot. *Phys.* ii. 3 'In one way then the name cause is given to the pre-existing substance out

of which a thing is made, as the bronze of a statue (the *matter*); in another way to the *form* and pattern, which corresponds to the definition of the *formal essence* (τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι).... Again that from which comes the first beginning of change or rest, as for instance he who makes the resolve is a cause, and the father is the cause of the child, and generally the maker is the cause of that which is made, and that which changes is the cause of the thing changed (the *efficient* or *motive cause*). Further the end, for the sake of which a thing is done, as of walking the end is health (*the final cause*).' For the four-fold division of causes see also *Anal. Post.* ii. 11; *Metaph.* i. 3. 1; iv. 2. 6–9.

d 1 δισκεύων. 'The Discobolus of Myron, the best ornament of the Massimo Palace' at Rome was discovered in the Horti Lamiani on the Esquiline. Cf. Lanciani, *Esquiline Magazine*, Nov. 1880.

ἀκοντίζων. The Doryphoros of Polycleitus is described by Quintilian, v. 12 as '*Doryphoron* illum aptum vel militiae vel palaestrae.' The throwing of the quoit and javelin were regular exercises of the palaestra. Aristot. *Phys.* ii. 4. 1–5. 9.

270 b 4 ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν. 'With this and the following discussion compare the disquisition of Eusebius himself on fate in c 6, which differs more in appearance than reality from this of Alexander Aphrodisiensis. For the latter asserts that nature and fate are the same, after having himself proved that no inevitable necessity of fate can be conceived, while the former says that nature and fate are not the same, if any try to attribute to fate such a power that everything is said to be subject to it and fast bound by its rule' (Heinichen).

d 2 συμβουλίαι θεῶν. It was usual in sickness to consult the oracles, especially that of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, and of Amphiaraus at Oropus.

d 10 The story of Zopyrus the physiognomist is related by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 37; *De Fato* 5 'Sed haec ex naturalibus causis vitia nasci possunt; exstirpari autem et funditus tolli, ut is ipse, qui ad ea propensus fuerit, a tantis vitiis avocetur, non est id positum in naturalibus causis, sed in voluntate, studio, disciplina.' There is a remarkable similarity between this passage, especially the last three words, and the language of Alexander (d 5) ἐξ ἀσκήσεως, καὶ ἀπὸ μαθημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ λόγων κρειττόνων.

271 a 10 *εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν*. This supposed case is mentioned by Aristotle, *Phys.* ii. 4. 2 *οἷον τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἀπὸ τύχης εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν ὃν ἐβούλετο μὲν οὐκ ᾤετο δέ, αἴτιον τὸ βούλεσθαι ἀγοράσαι ἐλθόντα*, and again ii. 5. 6. The subject of chance is fully discussed by Aristotle in this treatise ii. 4. 1–6.

b 2 *ὁ ἵππος*. The supposed case of the horse is mentioned by Aristotle, op. cit. vi. 3.

b 7 *ἀντιπαθείας*. Cf. 132 a 5; Plut. *Mor.* 641 B, 952 D *μυρίαι δήπουθέν εἰσιν ἀντιτάξεις καὶ ἀντιπάθειαι πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα τῆς γῆς*, where the word means, as here, natural antipathies or oppositions.

c 7 *ἃ οὐδὲ ταῦτ'*. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 833. obs. 2.

d 10 *τὸ βουλεύεσθαι*. Compare Butler's *Analogy*, i. 6 'It is to be observed that this (supposed) Necessity does not exclude deliberation, choice, preference, and acting from certain principles, and to certain ends: because all this is matter of undoubted experience, acknowledged by all, and what every man may, every moment, be conscious of.'

272 a 3 *φαντασίαις*. Zeller, *Outlines*, 235 'According to the Stoics the soul is at its birth a *tabula rasa*; everything must be given to it by the objects. The presentation (*φαντασία*) is, as Zeno and Cleanthes said, an impression (*τύπωσις*) of things in the soul, or, as Chrysippus thought, a change of the soul caused by them, which instructs us sometimes on external circumstances, and sometimes also (as Chrysippus at least expressly remarks) on our internal conditions and activities.' Cf. R. and Pr. *Hist. Phil.* 398, and the passages there quoted from Cic. *Acad. Post.* i. 11; Plutarch, *De Plac. Philos.* iv. 12. Cicero renders *φαντασία* by *visum*.

a 7 *προλήψεως*, literally 'presumption.' Zeller, ibid. 'By conclusions from what is given in perception we arrive at general presentations (*ἔννοιαι*). So far as these are derived naturally and without artificial assistance from universal experiences, they form those "common concepts" (*κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι, notitiae communes*) which determine the convictions of men before any scientific investigation, and are therefore called *προλήψεις*, a term borrowed from Epicurus, and apparently first used in this sense by Chrysippus.'

273 a 2 *κυνικώτερον*. 1 Reg. (Sam.) xxv. 3 *καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κυνικός*, 'churlish.'

b 1 Βαρδησάνης. Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 30 'In the same reign (of Marcus Aurelius), as heresies were abounding in Mesopotamia, Bardesanes, a most able man and most skilful disputant in the Syriac tongue, having composed dialogues against the Marcionites and certain others, authors of various doctrines, committed them to writing in his own language, together with many other works. His pupils, of whom he had very many as a powerful defender of the word, translated these works from the Syriac language into Greek. Among them is his very able dialogue "On Fate" addressed to Antoninus, and the other works which he is said to have written on occasion of the persecution at that time. He belonged at first to the school of Valentinus, but after rejecting this, and refuting many of his fictions, he somehow fancied to himself that he had come over to the more correct opinion, though he did not entirely wash off the filth of the old heresy.' Cf. Epiphan. *Haer.* lvi *πολλὰ ⟨πρὸς⟩ Ἀβειδᾶν τὸν ἀστρονόμον κατὰ εἱμαρμένης λέγων συνελογίσατο.*

According to the Chronicle of Edessa, Bardesanes was born July 11, 155 A.D., and was therefore twenty-five years old at the death of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to whom his work *On Fate* may therefore have been addressed, as Eusebius states. The fragment of *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, here preserved by Eusebius and in *Clem. Recogn.* ix. 19, was all that was known of his works until the publication of the Syriac original with an English translation by Cureton in the *Spicilegium Syriacum*. Jerome, *De Vir. Illustr.* xxxiii says of the work as known to him in Greek 'If so much force and brilliancy appears in the translation, how great must it have been in the original.' Also on Hosea ii. 10, in a passage quoted by Archdeacon Cheetham, *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 133, Jerome writes: 'Nullus potest haeresim struere nisi qui ardens ingenii est et habet dona naturae quae a Deo artifice sunt creata; talis fuit Valentinus, talis Marcion, quos doctissimos legimus; talis Bardesanes, cuius etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium.' See Dr. Hort's most interesting article *Bardaisan* in Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*

10] **274 b** 6 Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vii. 7. 4 'The nation of the Alans, as I think I have before mentioned, are Scythians dwelling near the Tanais and the Palus Maeotis.' Lucian, *Toxaris*, c. 51, mentions that the Alans spoke the same language and used the

same weapons as the Scythians, but differed from them in not wearing long hair.

c 3 σίκερα. Heb. שֵׁכָר, 'strong drink.'

d 13 Σήραις. Cf. *Clem. Recogn.* viii. 48, ix. 19, and Merx, *Bard.* 43. The Seres were probably the inhabitants of the western part of China. Pausanias, 519, gives an account of their manufacture of silk, and of the silk-worm (σήρ), but speaks of the country as an island. Strabo, 702, reports marvellous tales of their living more than 200 years (extended by Lucian to 300), and being governed by an aristocratic council of 5,000 members each of whom provides an elephant for the public service. For a fuller and more trustworthy description of the people, as given by Pliny and Ptolemy, see Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* 'Serica.'

275 b 1–c 4 Βραχμάνων . . . κακουργεῖν. Merx, *Bard.* 44; *Clem. Recogn.* ix. 20.

Βραχμάνων. Full accounts of the Brahmans are given by Strab. 712 ff. from Aristobulus, Megasthenes, and Onesicritus; also by Porph. *Abst.* iv. 17. Cf. Steph. Byz. Βραχμᾶνες.

b 8 κλίματι. By *climates* 'the ancients understood belts of the earth's surface, divided by lines parallel to the Equator, those lines being determined according to the different lengths of the day (the longest day was the standard) at different places . . . This system of climates was in fact an imperfect development (anticipation ?) of the more complete system of parallels of latitude.' E. H. Bunbury, in Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Ptolemaeus,' 577 b.

c 1 θύοντες ἐσθίουσι. On the strange customs of some Indian tribes see Hdt. iii. 38, 99–102 'According to some modern writers (Elphinstone's *Cabul*, i. 45, 2nd ed.) cannibalism continues in the countries bordering on the Indus to the present day.' Rawlinson, Hdt. iii. 99, note.

c 4 Παρὰ Πέρσαις. See notes on 11 b 8: Merx, *Bard.* 45.

d 6–**276 a** 8. Παρὰ Γήλοις . . . λέγουσι = Merx, *Bard.* 45 f.; *Clem. Recogn.* ix. 22.

Γήλοις. The Geli or Gelae were a tribe on the south shore of the Caspian Sea, the name being probably preserved in the modern *Gilan*: Strab. 508, 510. The description of their customs is transferred by Epiphanius to the Seres.

276 a 6 Αἰγοκέρωτι, 'Capricornus.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 908 C

(ἀσύνδετοι) Δίδυμοι πρὸς Αἰγόκερων, Καρκίνος πρὸς Ὑδροχόον (*al.* Ὑδρηχόον).

Ὑδρηχόῳ. 'Aquarius.'

b 3 μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, a quotation by Bardesanes from Acts xxv. 23, not noticed in Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* For this sense of φαντασία see *Anthol. Palat.* v. 26

Ποῦ σοι κεῖνα, Μέλισσα, τὰ χρύσεα καὶ περίοπτα
τῆς πολυθρυλήτου κάλλεα φαντασίης.

c 4 Osrhoëne (not mentioned in Strabo) was in the north-west part of Mesopotamia; the chief town was Edessa, which Strab. 748 calls also Bambyce. See Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.*

c 8 φονεύσῃ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. 'Of this cruel and impious custom I find no mention elsewhere. Strabo had given a long description of the customs of the Parthians, as he intimates in his Geography, L. xi' (Viger).

d 3 Ἐν Ἄτροις. The Atri, or Atrians, were the inhabitants of Atrae or Hatrae, now *Al-Hather*, a city on the river *Taarthar* in Mesopotamia, visited and described by Layard in 1841, *Nineveh*, i. 108; 'A dark thunder-cloud rose behind the time-worn ruins of Al-Hather as we approached them.... The lightning played through the vast buildings, the thunder re-echoed through its deserted halls.... It was a fit moment to enter such ruins as these. They rise in solitary grandeur in the midst of a desert, "in media solitudine positae," as they stood fifteen centuries before, when described by the Roman historian (Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25, cap. 8).'

d 6 Ὠκεανοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνατολάς. The Ocean here seems to be the boundary on the east, meaning apparently the Indian Ocean. Did Bardesanes suppose, with some who are mentioned by Herodotus, that the Ocean ran round the world like a river? Hdt. ii. 21, 23; iv. 8.

d 9 καὶ οἱ σοφοί. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hypot.* iii. 200.

d 12 γαμοῦνται, properly said only of women.

277 a 3 Φωσφόρον, 'the morning star,' i.e. Venus: cf. 276 a 7 σὺν Ἄρει τὴν Παφίην.

a 5 Βρεττανίᾳ. Cf. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* v. 14.

a 8 Ἀμαζόνες. Cf. Strab. 504, who rejects the statements as fabulous. Gibbon, *D. and F.* ii. 11. 27 says that in Aurelian's triumph 'the title of Amazons was bestowed on ten

martial heroines of the Gothic nation who had been taken in arms'; ibid. n. 78 'Among barbarous nations women have often combated by the side of their husbands. But it is *almost* (sic) impossible that a society of Amazons should ever have existed either in the old or new world.'

c 1 ἐν οἴκοις. Each planet had a particular house, that is a sign of the zodiac during its sojourn in which it possessed superior power. Cf. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Astrol.* 34 Οἶκος δέ ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡλίου μὲν λέων, σελήνης δὲ καρκίνος, Κρόνου δὲ αἰγόκερως καὶ ὑδροχόος, Διὸς τοξότης καὶ ἰχθύες, Ἄρεως κριὸς καὶ σκορπίος, Ἀφροδίτης ταῦρος καὶ ζυγός, Ἑρμοῦ δίδυμοι καὶ παρθένος. Hippolytus gives a compilation of this chapter of Sext. Emp. in the *Refut. Haeres.* iv. 1–27. Cf. Masp. i. 545 on the Chaldaean tradition of the origin of Astrology.

c 3 φωνασκούς, 'singing masters,' literally 'trainers of the voice.' Cf. Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xi. 3 'Sed cura non eadem oratoribus quae phonascis convenit.'

c 4 Ταϊνοῖς. The spelling varies much in the MSS., and as the other nations mentioned are taken from various parts of the world, the conjecture that the Taini were neighbours of the Saracens is precarious.

Σαρακηνοῖς. 'Their situation is most clearly described by the author of the Periplus. "They who are called Saraceni inhabit the parts about the neck of Arabia Felix next to Petraea and Arabia Deserta."' Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.*

c 6 Νομάσι. The Nomads or Numidians occupied what is now Algeria.

Σαρματίᾳ. This corresponds to the Steppes (τὰ πεδία) of European and part of Asiatic Russia. Strab. 497.

c 8 Ἀλανίᾳ. Alania, or Alaunia, the country of the Alans, spreading from the Caspian along the south part of Russia in Europe.

Ἀλβανίᾳ. Albania lies on the west coast of the Caspian, sometimes called Albanum mare. Cf. Strab. 501.

d 1 Ὠτηνῇ. Otene, a district of Armenia, between the Araxes and Corus, *Kara-bâgh.*

Χρυσῇ, 'in all probability *Malacca*, in the Aurea Chersonesus' (*Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.*).

d 6 See the notes on 11 d 8, 12 a 1.

d 7 ἐφ' ἡμερινῆς. Viger's correction of ἐφημερινῆς is placed beyond doubt by d 11 ἐπὶ νυκτερινῆς.

d 9 συγκαίουσιν ἑκούσας. Cf. Hdt. v. 5. Strab. 700 'History records the following peculiar custom of the people of Cathay, that bridegroom and bride choose each other, and when the husbands die the wives are burnt with them, for a reason of this kind, that formerly falling in love with young men they used to separate from their husbands or to poison them. This law then they established, thinking that the poisoning would cease. But neither the law nor the cause of it is probable.' Cic. *Tusc.* v. 27; Plut. *Mor.* 499 C; Propert. iii. 11. 19

'Et certamen habent leti, quae viva sequatur
Coniugium: pudor est non licuisse mori.'

d 12 ἀγχονιμαίῳ μόρῳ. Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 200

Λήδα δ' ἐν ἀγχόναις
θάνατον ἔλαβεν.

But Tacitus, *Germ.* xxvii, states that the bodies of illustrious Germans were burned.

278 a 2 τὴν ὥραν, sc. τῆς γενέσεως.

μεσολαβουμένας. Diod. Sic. i. 3 μεσολαβηθέντες τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης. The meaning is that the supposed influence of the moon and hour of birth might be counteracted by the conjunction of Saturn and Mars.

c 7 ἑπτὰ κλίματα. The number of zones or *climes* varied in the systems of ancient geographers. Eratosthenes (B.C. 220) divided the northern hemisphere from the Equator to Thule (60° N.) by eight parallels. Polybius made six zones, three north of the Equator and three south. Strabo made only five, as in modern geography. Cf. Nicolay, *Manual of Geographical Science*, ii. 16, 17.

c 8 ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων. Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

d 4 Ἀπεκρίνατο. 'Aliena, credo, vox' (Viger). But the word is found in all MSS., and there is no reason to reject it, if we remember that the writer is not Bardesanes but one of his pupils.

d 8 δεκανούς. Cf. 92 b 5.

279 a 3 πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη. Cf. 277 c 4–d 1.

a 6 Ἑρμαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμης. Hermes was the presiding deity of many arts, such as are mentioned above, 277 c 2, d 2.

b 3 τὸ ἴδιον κλίμα. The stars under whose influence the laws

were established retained the same position. Why then were the laws not retained?

Χθές. The Roman province of Arabia, as first established by Trajan, A. D. 106, was limited to the northern part of the peninsula: it was enlarged and divided into two provinces by Septimius Severus, A. D. 195; and Bardesanes writing at the end of the second or beginning of the third century naturally refers to that recent extension of the Roman power in the expression χθὲς κρατήσαντες.

b 5 τὸ αὐτεξούσιον. The free-will and power of the Romans altered the laws that had been made by the free-will of the Arabs.

c 2 ἐντρεπόμενοι. Viger found in his MSS. ἐκτρεπόμενοι, and in default of a better reading tried to explain it, as meaning that the Jews did not try to avoid unfavourable influences of the stars in various zones. But ἐντρεπόμενοι is now found to be the true reading of our best MSS., IO. For the accusative see Alexis, *Hel. Harp. Fr.* i (Meineke) τὴν δὲ πολιὰν οὐκ ἐντρέπεται. Priscianus, xviii. 204 ed. Kr. 'Attici ἐντρέπομαι τοῦτο καὶ τούτον.'

d 7 Ἄβγαρος. Abgar was the title of the kings who reigned at Edessa, the capital of Osrhoëne. The king meant here was probably Abgar VIII, who reigned from A. D. 176 to 213. He is described by Epiphanius, *Haer.* lvi. 477, as a man of the greatest piety and learning, and an intimate friend of Bardesanes, who was educated with him.

d 9 αἱρέσεως. S. Basil. *Ep.* xxxiii. 800 τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν αἱρέσεως.

ἧς ἡμεῖς οἱ δοξασταί κ.τ.λ. Bardesanes here distinctly calls himself a Christian.

280 a 4 οὐ . . . φθείρουσι τοὺς γάμους. Cf. Aristides, *Apol.* xv οὐ μοιχεύουσιν κ.τ.λ.

d 1 τὴν τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Ἀποδείξεως Προπαρασκευήν. We have here the full title of this preparatory treatise.

d 7 εἰ μὴ τοῖς κρείττοσι βασκαίνεις. An allusion to the jealousy and suspicion of which Origen was the object. Eusebius had been associated with Pamphilus in a defence of Origen.

281 a 2 τὸν περὶ εἱμαρμένης λόγον. The following extract will be found in the edition of Origen by Lommatzsch, viii. 7. Of the *Commentaries on Genesis* Eusebius writes (*H. E.* vi. 24)

'In the ninth of the volumes on Genesis, of which there are twelve in all, he states that the preceding eight had been composed at Alexandria.' Origen withdrew from Alexandria 215 A. D., but returned in 219 A. D. and left it finally in 231 A. D. The *Commentaries on Genesis* were written in the latter period, and the date assigned to them by Bishop Westcott (Smith, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*) is 228–231. Origen himself mentions them in his treatise *Against Celsus*, vi. 49. 'One of the fragments of the Commentary on Genesis contains a remarkable discussion of the theory of fate in common with Gen. i. 16 (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* vi. 11, and given in *Philocal.* 23 [22]; comp. Euseb. l. c. vii. 20).' Westcott, l. c. The subject of Free Will is formally discussed by Origen, *De Principiis*, iii. 1 (Lommatzsch, tom. xxi).

11] **282 d** 9 *τοῖς εἰδόσι τοὺς τοιούτους* is the text of Origen. If *τοῖς εἰδόσι* be omitted, as in the MSS. of Eusebius, we are driven to the questionable construction—'it is evident with regard to such men that, &c.'—which properly requires a transitive verb preceding, as in the text of Origen.

283 a 1 *ἐπιπλοκήν*. Cf. 281 b 5 'the combination of planets with stars of the zodiac.'

a 4 *καθημαξευμένου* (*κατημ.* edd. et codd.). Cf. Dion. Hal. x. 41 *ἑώλους καὶ καθημαξευμένας ἀντιλογίας*.

c 7 *ἐντυχών* might be rendered 'having read': cf. 16 c, 69 c.

284 c 1 *τὸ ἐν Βαιθήλ, ὃ ἐποίησεν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν*. The MSS. of Eusebius have *ἐν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν*, where *ἐν* is evidently a repetition of the preceding syllable.

d 4 *πιότης*, 'ashes.' The Hebrew word דֶּשֶׁן has both meanings, '*fat*' and '*fat ashes*,' from the victims burned upon the altar.

d 7 *γενομένῳ πρὸ πολλοῦ*. Cf. Driver, *Introd. to Lit. of O. T.*, p. 230, who concludes that the prophecy concerning Cyrus 'is the work of an author writing towards the close of the exile, and predicting the approaching conquest of Babylon by Cyrus.'

285 a 5 *τῷ ὀνόματί μου*. Origen and א* of the Septuagint read, with the Hebrew, 'thy name.'

c 5 The clause *οὐκ ἦν ἀπτόμενος τῆς γῆς* is omitted in Origen, and in the quotation from him by Eusebius.

ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Before this clause Origen omits *θεωρητόν*, i. e. a *notable horn*, R. V.

d 1 *Οὐβάλ*. The Hebrew word אֻבָל, or אוּבָל, found only in

Dan. viii. 2, 3, 6, and 'river' (A.V., R.V.), 'portam' (Vulg.) was left untranslated by Theodotion.

ἐνώπιον τῆς ἰσχύος. ἐν ὁρμῇ the reading in Daniel viii. 6 (Theodotion) is corrupted in the text of Origen, and here, into the unintelligible ἐνώπιον, repeated from the preceding clause.

286 b 1 ἐναντιοφορούντων. The fixed stars being outside the solar system, and at an enormous distance, have no *apparent* motion except that from east to west, which is due to the diurnal rotation of the earth from west to east. But the planets, besides this *apparent* diurnal revolution, have a *real* orbital motion, like the earth, from west to east, that is, in the opposite direction to the *apparent* motion of the fixed stars and of the sun.

287 b 8 ἐπιβάλλων . . . τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς κοσμοποιίας. Compare for this use of ἐπιβάλλω Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii. 439 φέρε δὴ καὶ Πλάτωνα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοντα παραστησώμεθα δόγμασιν. *Strom.* vii. 834 ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβεβληκότος τῇ θεωρίᾳ. Mark xiv. 72 ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε.

289 c 1 ἀκούσουσιν, a form used instead of ἀκούσονται once, or twice at most, in the LXX. (Isa. vi. 9; Jer. li. 16), twice or thrice in N. T., and more frequently in later authors.

d 6 ἀνῆκε. On the omission of ἄν see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 858. 1.

290 b 2 Exod. iv. 11. The Hebrew אִלֵּם, 'dumb,' is rendered by the LXX. δύσκωφον, 'stone deaf,' and therefore necessarily 'dumb.' Also κωφός itself means 'dumb,' as well as 'deaf,' but the Hebrew חֵרֵשׁ is always rendered 'deaf.'

291 a 3 τόνδε τινὰ τρόπον, 'in some such way as follows.' But with τόπον, the reading of IO, we should have a different construction: 'by taking this or that position at the hour of this particular man's birth.'

a 5 κατὰ κάθετον. Cf. 847 d 3. The ecliptic (ὁ ζῳδιακὸς κύκλος) was divided into twelve signs (ζῴδια), each sign into thirty degrees (μοῖραι), and these into sixty minutes (τὸ ἑξηκοστόν), and these again into sixty seconds (τὸ ἑξηκοστὸν τοῦ ἑξηκοστοῦ). See below 294 a 7.

Thus the horoscope was drawn by observing the zodiacal sign, and the degree and subdivision of a degree above which each planet was vertically situated at the moment of birth.

a 6 κατὰ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ. The primitive methods of determining the position of a planet, described in a 5 and here, belong rather to astrology than astronomy. They would now

be replaced by observations of the *latitude* and *longitude* of the planet or star.

a 7 τίς κατὰ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος. The observation of a known star on the meridian, determining, in modern language, the *declination* and *right ascension* of the planet, would give a second and independent means of determining its position.

a 8 If τὸ μεσουράνημα is the star's place on the meridian, τὸ ἀντιμεσουράνημα would naturally mean the position diametrically opposite. And this interpretation is confirmed by Plutarch, ii. 284 F 'As it is difficult to ascertain the exact beginning of the day or night at the rising or setting of the sun, the only remaining course is to take as the beginning his being on the meridian or on the anti-meridian (τὸ μεσουρανοῦν ἢ τὸ ἀντιμεσουρανοῦν αὐτοῦ).' Μεσουράνημα occurs thrice in the Apocalypse (viii. 13; xiv. 6; xix. 17) in the general sense 'mid-heaven.'

d 2 †καθ' ὃ δὴ ὅτι.† This is the common reading in Eusebius, Origen, and the *Philocalia*, but it is evidently corrupt. The simplest mode of correction is to omit ὅτι, which seems to be a variant for ὃ δή that has afterwards crept into the text.

d 3 ·ἀληθές. 'Philocalia optime restituit μή' (De la Rue). The addition seems rather to obscure the argument: 'If in proportion as the true time of past events is discovered it is found impossible that the present configuration can have caused them, it is evident that the previous motions of the stars, before they reached this position, could not have been the cause of the past events.'

d 6 ἐπιστήσας. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 6. 2 ἐπιστήσαντος τὴν διάνοιαν, 'having fixed his attention.'

292 b 5 προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, an apocryphal book mentioned in the *Synopsis S. Scripturae* ascribed to Athanasius. Cf. Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 761–71. 'For the information we possess regarding this production we are indebted above all to frequent quotations from it found in Origen' (Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. ii. vol. iii. p. 127). Cf. Orig. *In Joann.* ii. 25 (Lommatzsch, i. 147).

b 6 πλαξί. Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 3 οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίναις κ.τ.λ.

c 6 ἐπιστρέφων ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἑαυτούς. Cf. Plot. *Enn.* v. 3. 1 οὐ δυναμένου εἰς ἑαυτὸ ἐπιστρέφειν.

d 2 ἐπιχείρημα. Cf. Aristot. *Top.* viii. 11. 12 ἔστι δὲ φιλοσόφημα μὲν συλλογισμὸς ἀποδεικτικός, ἐπιχείρημα δὲ συλλογισμὸς δια-

λεκτικός. Ibid. i. 1. 2 διαλεκτικὸς δὲ συλλογισμὸς ὁ ἐξ ἐνδόξων συλλογιζόμενος.

d 6 φέρε γὰρ εἰπεῖν. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom*. iv. 630 πάντα ὅσα εἰς χρῆσιν ἡμῶν ἐκτίσθη ὡς γάμον, φέρε εἰπεῖν.

293 b 4 ἀκρωτηριαζομένους. It is observable how earnestly Origen, who had experienced the effects of a more severe self-mutilation, insists on the sufferings and risks of circumcision.

c 3 τοὺς ἑτέρους. Strabo, 504, says that the Amazons had the right breast burnt off in infancy, that they might use the right arm easily for any purpose, but especially for throwing darts.

d 7 τῶν διαττόντων, 'that shoot across the sky.' Cf. Aristot. *Meteor*. i. 1. 7 οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀστέρες διάττειν. Diog. L. ii. 3. 9 τοὺς δὲ διάττοντας οἷον σπινθῆρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποπάλλεσθαι. The verb ᾄττω or ἀίσσω is formed from ἄιξ = ἀική. Cf. Hom. *Il*. xv. 709 τόξων ἀϊκὰς ἀμφὶς μένον.

294 a 3 τὰ κατὰ τὴν γενεθλιαλογίαν. Cf. Joseph. *A. J*. xviii. 6. 9 Ἦν δὲ καὶ γενεθλιαλογίᾳ Τιβέριος τὰ μάλιστα προσκείμενος.

a 4 δωδεκατημορίου. On this and the following technical terms see 291 a 5.

a 5 For ὁ καλούμενος ἀστήρ, 'the given star,' an unusual meaning, we should probably read ὁ πλανώμενος ἀστήρ, corresponding to ἑκάστου τῶν πλανωμένων, three lines below. It is evident from 291 a that the horoscope was determined by the position of a *planet* or *planets* in relation to the fixed stars of the zodiac.

b 3 τὸ ἑξηκοστὸν τῆς μοίρας, τὸ πρῶτον ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἑξηκοστόν, i.e. the minute or the second. This is the origin of our term 'second' (″). Cf. 291 a 5, note.

c 1 ἡμίσει ὥρας. The clepsydra in use in Origen's time, though improved by Ctesibius about 130 B.C., was a very imperfect instrument for marking small intervals of time; and the divisions of the hour, even if correctly shown, were not, as in our clocks, proportionate to the divisions of the ecliptic, but formed the series $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{32}$. The same series survives in the divisions of the compass to this day, the thirty-two divisions containing each $11\frac{8}{32}$ degrees instead of thirty containing each 12°.

c 3 οὐ τῆς ὅλης ὥρας, 'not, perhaps, of the whole hour, but even of the exact subdivision of it.'

ποστημορίου, 'what fraction of an hour.'

c 5 ἀκαριαῖον, literally, 'of a hair's breadth,' from ἀ and κείρω. Cf. Demosth. 1292. 2 ἀκαριαῖος ὁ πλοῦς.

d 2 τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου. Each sign of the zodiac was a twelfth part of the whole ecliptic. Compare the Chaldean system in Masp. i. 544 'Merodach regulated the course of the whole universe on the movements of the sun. He instituted the year, and divided it into twelve months. To each month he assigned three decans, each of whom exercised his influence successively for a period of ten days: he then placed the procession of the days under the authority of Nibiru (the planet Jupiter) that none of them should wander from his track and be lost.'

d 5 ὥρας τριακοστόν. The thirtieth part of an hour was not marked by the clepsydra, the nearest division being $\frac{1}{32}$. See 294 c 1, note.

d 6 θεώρημα. The Precession of the Equinox was first discovered by Hipparchus, B.C. 125, and the theory was revised but not improved by Ptolemy, A.D. 130. It is described as follows by Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, § 312 'The equinox does *not* preserve a constant place among the stars, but shifts its position, travelling continually and regularly, although with extreme slowness, *backwards*, along the ecliptic in the direction from east to west, or the contrary to that in which the sun appears to move in that circle. As the ecliptic and equinoctial are not very much inclined, this motion of the equinox from east to west along the former conspires (speaking generally) with the diurnal motion, and carries it, with reference to that motion, continually in advance upon the stars: hence it has acquired the name of the *Precession of the Equinoxes*, because the place of the equinox among the stars, at every subsequent moment, *precedes* (with reference to the diurnal motion) that which it held the moment before.'

d 10 τοῦ νοητοῦ δωδεκατημορίου. Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, § 381 'These *Signs* are purely technical subdivisions of the ecliptic [νοητὰ δωδεκατημόρια] commencing from the actual equinox, and are not to be confounded with the *constellations* so called [τὰ ὡσανεὶ μορφώματα].' The Greek words I have inserted to show more clearly the modern technical terms to which they correspond.

τοῦ ὡσανεὶ μορφώματος, 'the figure, as it were,' of an

animal, supposed to be formed by the stars in each sign of the zodiac.

295 c 6 Isa. xlvii. 13. Eusebius omits the clause *οἱ ὁρῶντες τοὺς ἀστέρας* from the text of the Septuagint. According to Delitzsch and Cheyne the Hebrew may be literally rendered: 'the dividers of the heavens, the star-gazers, who make known at every new moon things that shall come upon thee.'

BOOK VII

1] **298 d** 7 *τὴν δευτέραν* (i. e. *κατηγορίαν*). After showing cause for forsaking the polytheism of the Greeks, the next question is, Why adopt the scriptures of the Hebrews? Cf. 5 b 7; 16 a 7 *ἀνίωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην κατηγορίαν*. The former half of book vii. contains the chief contribution made by Eusebius himself to the argument of the *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

d 8 *μεταποιήσεως*, an unusual word, which like *μεταποιεῖσθαι* has the meaning of 'claiming a share.'

299 a 3 *ἐσκευωρῆσθαι*, 'borrowed,' or 'plagiarized.' Cf. Diog. L. ii. 61 *καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἐσκευώρηται*. Demosth. 115. 5; 217. 16. On the plagiarism of Greek authors see Book X. 2, 3.

2] **b** 3 *προσανασχόντες*, a favourite word with Polybius, e.g. v. 72. 2 *προσανέχοντες ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῆς βοηθείας*.

c 9 *εὐξάμενοι παισίν*. On prayers of this kind compare Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 289–91, 346–66; Hor. *Epist.* i. 4. 6–11; Lucian, *Icaromenipp.* xxv; Persius, ii. 36

'Nunc Licini in campos, nunc Crassi mittit in aedes.
Hunc optent generum rex et regina! Puellae
Hunc rapiant! Quicquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiat!'

d 10 *πολὺ πρότερον*. 'Omnino legendum videtur *πολὺ αἰσχρότερον*, haec enim turpium numinum colluvies siderum frugumque *θεοποιΐᾳ* posterior fuit, uti non semel Eusebius ipse tradidit' (Viger). Seguier would read *πολὺ ὕστερον*. No change is necessary as Eusebius is speaking of the gods of different nations.

γυμνῇ . . . κεφαλῇ. Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 B *γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τότε ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἐγκεκαλυμμένος*. '*Γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ* proverbii instar usurparunt Euseb. contra Hieroclem 544 D (ed. Colon.) . . . et Gregor. Nazianz. *Orat.* i. 10 C' (Ast). Eus. *H. E.* iii. 32 *γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι 'τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν' ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν*.

300 d 7 *πορνείας*. Wisdom, xiv. 12. Cf. 30 c 7, note.

d 13 *προβεβλημένοι*, a military term of frequent occurrence, as Polyb. ii. 65. 9 *τάφρον καὶ χάρακα προβαλόμενοι τοῦ λόφου*.

3] **301 c** 3 *ἐπιστήσαντες*. Cf. 10 d 8, and 291 d 6, note.

c 9 *ῥοώδης*. Cf. Holland, *Plutarch*, 666 'matter is variable, mutable, alterable, *fluxible*.'

d 4 *ἐπιγράφεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν*. 'In Passivo dicitur *ἐπιγράφομαι αἰτίαν*, "mihi assignatur causa"' (Heinichen). The middle is much more used than the passive, as in 2 b 4, 2 d 3: but see the similar use of the passive in 106 b 8 *εἰκόνα καταγέγραπται*.

4] **302 c** 5 *τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἁπάντων κρατεῖν*. Cf. Plat. *Phil.* 28 C *ὡς νοῦς ἐστι βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς*. Justin. M. *Ap.* i. 10 implies that this was part of the regular Christian teaching, *Epist. ad Diogn.* x *Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον*.

d 3 *τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν δουλοῦσθαι*. Cf. 817 d. Rendel Harris, *Apology of Aristides*, 20 'One of the leading beliefs in Aristides is that God made all things *for the sake of man*. . . . Now Celsus seems to have been particularly opposed to this doctrine, and to have discussed it at length: it was one of the points of contact between the Stoic philosophy and the Jewish and Christian faiths. . . . He draws ridiculous pictures of the philosophy of the frogs in the swamp, of the ants in their ant-hill, and of bevies of bats discussing the to them obvious proposition that the world has been made solely for their benefit. Accordingly Origen remarks (*c. Cels.* iv. 23): "He compares us to worms asserting that there is a God, and that next after Him we who have been made by Him are everyway like God; and all things have been subjected to us, earth, and water, and air, and stars, and that all things are for our sake, and are ordained to serve us."' Ibid. 77 'His words are as follows: "But if you are going to quote the saying of Euripides (*Phoen.* 546) 'Both sun and night are slaves to mortal men,' why more to us than to the ants and flies?"'

303 a 6 *αὐτὸς ἀνῆπται τὴν αἰτίαν*. Cf. Eur. *Herc. F.* 549

θανάτου τάδ' ἤδη περιβόλαι' ἀνήμμεθα.

The same construction is seen in Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 74

'Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.'

b 5 *βασιλικόν.* Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9 *γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα.*

5] **d** 5 *θεοφανειῶν.* Cf. Athan. *c. Arian.* i. 467 *τὰ τῆς θεοφανείας.*

6] **304 c** 4 *βασίλειον,* 'kingdom.' The more usual meaning of the substantive is 'palace,' or 'royal city,' as in Polyb. iii. 15. 3 *βασίλειον ἦν Καρχηδονίων.*

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἔβερ. As a national name the term 'Hebrew' first appears in a very ancient historical fragment... Gen. xiv. 13 'Abram the Hebrew,' which is rendered by the LXX *τῷ περάτῃ,* but rather refers to his descent from 'Eber.' See 309 b 5.

d 1 *εἰς ὑπόμνησιν σχολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων.* This is rendered by the French translator, 'en mémoire du repos mentionné dans les livres sacrés.' But the word for that *rest* is *κατάπαυσις,* never *σχολή,* which means either *leisure* or *study* in which *leisure* is employed.

d 3 *ἄλλης τε μακρᾶς περιόδου κατά τινα σύμβολα θειότερον ἐπιτελουμένης.* Viger boldly proposes to change the genitives into accusatives. The meaning evidently is that, besides the weekly sabbath and the yearly feast, there was the long period of the sabbatical year to be kept holy, in accordance with the covenants in regard to servants and to the sale of land.

On the use of *τε* as a simple copulative conjunction, see Arnold, Thuc. ii. 100. 2, note, and iii. 52. 3, note.

d 7 *ἀνεπήκοοι.* The more usual form *ἀνήκοοι* has the same meaning, 'not having heard.'

7] **305 b** 7 *ὁμοιοτροπίας.* Cf. 312 c 6, Strab. 21 *τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοιοτροπίας συγγενείας τε.* The form *ὁμότροπος* is used by Hdt. ii. 49, viii. 144.

προτροπήν. Cf. 220 d 2.

8] **306 d** 2 *Ἤλπισεν.* Gen. iv. 26, Sept. *οὗτος ἤλπισεν.* Aq. correctly *τότε ἤρχθη.* The interpretation of the Seventy, caused by their reading הוֹחִיל instead of הוּחַל, is based by S. Augustine (*De Civ. D.* xv. 17) on the meaning of the name Enosh: 'Enos autem sic interpretatur *Homo,* ut hoc non posse foeminam nuncupari periti linguae illius asseverent.' Others take אֱנוֹשׁ to represent man in his weakness and mortality. So Ewald, *Hist. of Israel,* vol. i. p. 264, note 2: Delitzsch, in loc. 'Whatever the derivation of Enosh, it designates, according to the usage of the language, man on the

side of his impotence, frailty, and mortality; see Ps. viii. 5; ciii. 15; Job vii. 1, 17; especially Ps. xc. 3.' Cf. Philo Jud. 218 M.

ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Cf. Jul. Africanus, *Chron. Fr.* iii. (Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* ii. 238) τοῦτ' ἔστι προσαγορεύεσθαι ὀνόματι Θεοῦ. See Routh, ibid. 361.

307 a 6 ἀληθὴς ἄνθρωπος. Cf. 306 d 2, note.

a 8 ἐπήβολον. Plat. *Euthyd.* 289 B τοιαύτης τινὸς ἐπιστήμης ἐπηβόλους. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ἐπήβολοι. οἱ ἐπιτυχῶς βάλλοντες.

b 4 κυριολεκτεῖν. Cf. Clem. Al. 657 ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, i.e. the one kind (of hieroglyphics) is expressed literally by way of imitation.

c 7 Ἐνώς. On the distinction of the names 'Adam' and 'Enosh' see 516 c.

The name *Adam*, meaning *red*, has reference to the ground (Adamah) out of which the first man was formed (Gen. ii. 7). 'Supposing the Hebrew language to represent accurately the primary ideas connected with the formation of man, it would seem that the appellation bestowed by God was given to keep alive in Adam the memory of his earthly and mortal nature; whereas the name by which he preferred to designate himself was *Ish, a man of substance or worth*, Gen. ii. 23.' Smith's *Dict. Bib.* 'Adam'; see also Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* 'Adam.'

308 c 1 χάριν δὲ Θεοῦ. This signification is given to the name of Cain's son, חֲנוֹךְ, by Philo J. *De Post. Cain.* 11 'Enoch is by interpretation, "Thy grace."' Here Enoch '*the seventh from Adam*' is meant, and the name signifies according to Philo, *De Abr.* 3, κεχαρισμένος 'i. e. חֲנוֹךְ is connected with חָנַן' (Hastings' *Dict. Bib.*). Hence 'he was represented as the inventor of letters, arithmetic, and astronomy, and as the first author' (Hastings, ibid.). 'In Gen. v. 24 it is said of Enoch that he walked with God. This expression was taken in later times to mean not only that he led a godly life, but also that he was the recipient of superhuman knowledge' (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 1. 1.).

d 11 κατακλυσμῷ. Compare the reference to the Flood in Plato, *Legg.* 677 D, quoted by Eusebius, 587 d.

The Chaldaean account of the Deluge is given at length in Masp. i. 566, with a facsimile of one of the tablets published by

G. Smith, *Chaldaean Account of the Deluge from terra-cotta tablets found at Nineveh.*

310 b 7 εἰς τοῦτο περιγράψασθαι. 'Hanc opinionem singularem sine dubio Eusebius hausit e Rom. ix. 10 ἐξ ἑνὸς κοίτην ἔχουσα' (Seguier).

c 8 θεοπτίας. Cf. *Demonstr. Ev.* 309 d τὴν ἔνδοξον αὐτοῦ θεοπτίαν προθεωρεῖ.

d 2 Ἰσραήλ. Gen. xxxii. 28. Israel means '*He who striveth with God*,' or, '*God striveth*,' margin, R. V. Eusebius adopts some derivation of the name which it is not easy to recognize, perhaps a combination of אִישׁ, רָאָה, and אֵל.

d 11 ἐν οἷς ἐπραγματευσάμεθα. Cf. S. Basil *De Spiritu S.* 72 εἰ δέ τῳ καὶ ὁ Παλαιστῖνος Εὐσέβιος ἀξιόπιστος διὰ πολυπειρίαν, κἀκείνου τὰς αὐτὰς φωνὰς ἐπιδείκνυμεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαπορήμασι περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων πολυγαμίας.

311 c 1 ηὐτύχητο. Cf. Thuc. vii. 77 ἱκανὰ γὰρ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις εὐτύχηται.

d 7 ἀναπεμπασάμενος, 'having called to mind'; literally, πεμπάζω means 'to count by fives.' Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 748

πεμπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένοι.

312 a 3 αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν. In Gen. xxxix. 8, this remonstrance is addressed to Potiphar's wife in the course of her allurements.

a 4 δι' ἐμέ. Hebrew אִתִּי. 'There is a singular use of it in Gen. xxx. 29, "thou knowest what thy flock has become אִתִּי with me," i. e. having me as the shepherd and caring for it' (Gesenius). Comp. xxxix. 6, 'he knew not aught *that was* with him (אִתּוֹ)' (R. V.).

10] **314 b** 2 οὐσίωσιν. Cf. 554 c, 541 a 7 τῆς τοῦ δευτέρου αἰτίου συστάσεώς τε καὶ οὐσιώσεως. It is literally, 'the act which gives τὸ εἶναί τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν' (542 d 1). Cf. Phil. Jud. 332 M εἰκόνα δόκιμον εἶναι νομίσας οὐσιωθεῖσαν καὶ τυπωθεῖσαν σφραγῖδι Θεοῦ.

c 5 χορείαν. Ps.-Plat. *Epinom.* 982 E τοῦτο δ' εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἄστρων φύσιν, ἰδεῖν μὲν καλλίστην, πορείαν δὲ καὶ χορείαν πάντων χορῶν καλλίστην καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην χορεύοντα. Lucian, *De Saltat.* vii. ἡ γοῦν χορεία τῶν ἀστέρων.

d 11 διάκοσμον. Ps.-Aristot. *Mund.* vi. 37 διάκοσμον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.

d 12 ἀναιτίου φύσεως. Aristot. *Anal. Pr.* ii. 17. 3 τὸ ἀναίτιον ὡς αἴτιον τιθέναι. Cf. *Rhet.* ii. 24. 8.

316 a 8 *παραδείσῳ*. The word, it is said, first occurs in Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 7 *ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης*. On the Babylonian Paradise, see *Auth. and Arch.* p. 19 f. and Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. 'Eden.'

c 1 *αὐτοσοφίαν*, a word frequently used by Athanasius in the Arian controversy: cf. *c. Arian.* ii. 78 *ἡ μὲν οὖν μονογενὴς καὶ αὐτοσοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ κτίζουσα καὶ δημιουργός ἐστι τῶν πάντων*.

c 2 *αὐτοζωήν*. Athan. *c. Arian.* iv. 32 *τὴν ἀνέκφραστον ἕνωσιν ὁ Ἰωάννης κηρύσσει, καταποθέντος τοῦ θνητοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ αὐτοζωῆς ὄντος*. *Epist. ad Serap.* 23 *ὁ μὲν Κύριός ἐστιν ἡ αὐτοζωὴ καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ζωῆς*.

d 5 *καὶ σπεύδειν . . . τυχεῖν*, omitted in O, perhaps as a seeming repetition: but this is not a conclusive proof of spuriousness in a style such as that of Eusebius.

317 a 2 *συνεκτικώτατον*. See below 385 a, 460 d, 482 d. Clem. Al. *Strom.* viii. 933 'A Synectic cause is that, which being present the effect remains, and being removed, the effect is removed. The Synectic is also called by the synonymous expression "perfect in itself" (*αὐτοτελές*); since it is of itself sufficient to produce the effect.'

a 8 *ὑποσκελίζειν*. 'Pollux, libro tertio, in fine, colligit verba ad gymnasticam pertinentia: *Ἀγκυρίζειν, ἀνατρέπειν, δράσσειν, ὑποσκελίζειν*' (Seguier).

11] **318 c** 3 *τοῖς πᾶσιν . . . ἐπιπαρόντα*, a distinct statement of the doctrine of 'the Divine Immanence,' on which see Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, i. 242, 243, &c., and Illingworth, *Lux Mundi* passim.

c 8 *Θεὸς ἐγγίζων*. The clause in its original context, Jer. xxiii. 23, is interrogative, but not so in the Septuagint. With the interrogation, '*a God near at hand* is one whose domain and whose knowledge do not extend far; *a God afar off* one who sees and works into the far distance' (Keil).

319 d 16 *μύδρους*. Cf. 836 c 'Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Metrodorus said that the sun was a red-hot mass of metal or stone': Plat. *Apol. Socr.* 26 D; Xen. *Mem. Socr.* iv. 7. 7. What Anaxagoras said of the sun, others applied to God. Plutarch (*Pericles*, 32) says that Diopeithes procured a decree that those who did not believe in the gods, or taught doctrines about the heavenly bodies, should be impeached, directing the suspicion

against Pericles through Anaxagoras. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 98; Aristot. *Met.* A. 3.

320 a 1 Plut. *De Plac. Phil.* i. 7 οἱ Στωϊκοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῷ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμου. Cf. 755 a 7, Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 57 'Zeno igitur naturam ita definit ut eam dicat ignem esse artificiosum ad gignendum progredientem via.'

a 2 *μὴ προνοίᾳ.* Cf. Lucret. i. 159

'Et quo quaeque modo fiant opera sine Divum.'

Ibid. ii. 646–51.

a 3 *τὰ μὲν οὐράνια μόνα.* Cf. 798 c 4 ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μέχρι σελήνης στήσας τὸ θεῖον κ.τ.λ. Ps.-Arist. *De Mundo*, vi. 13 σεμνότερον δὲ καὶ πρεπωδέστερον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω χώρας ἱδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου διήκουσαν ἥλιόν τε κινεῖν καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὸν πάντα οὐρανὸν περιάγειν, αἴτιόν τε γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σωτηρίας.

12] c 6 *ἀγένητον.* On the usage of this word, and its distinction from ἀγέννητος, see Bishop Lightfoot's admirable Excursus in his *Epistles of S. Ignatius*, Div. II. vol. i. p. 90. It was not until after the council of Nicaea that the term ἀγένητος became a recognized symbol of Arianism. 'In fact it was because their phrases had been shown at that time to be unsound, and they could at any time be charged with impiety, that they thenceforth borrowed from the Greeks the term Unoriginate (ἀγένητος), in order that under shelter of this name they might again reckon among the things originated and the creatures that Word of God by whom these very things have come to be.' Cf. Athan. *De Decretis N. S.*, vii. 28; *De Synodis*, 46, with A. Robertson's note.

c 7 *καταλήψεως.* The word was much used in the Stoic philosophy: by Cicero, *Acad. post.* i. 11, it is rendered 'comprehensio,' but Zeller, *Outlines of Gk. Philos.* 68, prefers the name 'conception.' He writes, 'As all our presentations arise out of perceptions, the value of the knowledge they afford must depend on the question whether there are perceptions of which it is certain that they agree with the objects perceived. But this the Stoics maintain. In their view a part of our presentations is of such a nature that they compel us to give assent to them (συγκατατίθεσθαι); they are connected with the consciousness that they can only arise from something real, and have direct evidence (ἐνάργεια).

Hence when we assent to these presentations we apprehend the subject (object ?) itself. It is in assenting to such a presentation that, according to Zeno, conception consists (*κατάληψις*, a term invented by Zeno).'

c 8 *δευτέραν οὐσίαν*. Cod. I has here a Scholion in the margin *τοῦτον ἐνταῦθα παραγυμνοῦντα τὸ οἰκεῖον δόγμα καὶ φανερῶς Ἀρειανίζοντα.* 'Eusebius hic *ἄντικρυς ἀρειανίζει*' (Viger). The remark, applicable to several passages in the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, is here out of place, since Eusebius is dealing with the doctrine of the Logos only so far as it is found in the Old Testament, that is, in Jewish as distinct from Christian Theology. The Christology of the New Testament, as viewed by him before the Council of Nicaea, is fully discussed in the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Books IV and V. In 321 d 15 ff. he expressly states that the doctrine was only made clear by the Gospel.

οὐσίαν. On the various senses ('being,' 'essence,' 'nature,' 'substance') in which the word *οὐσία* was used both in Philosophy and in Theology, see my Introduction to the *Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, x. 2 (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, New Series, vol. vii).

τῶν γενητῶν . . . γεγενημένην. Dionysius of Alexandria in Athan. *De Decretis*, 26 'In many passages of the divine oracles one may find the Son said to have been begotten (*γεγεννῆσθαι*), but nowhere to have come into being (*γεγονέναι*).' Thus to call the Being of the Logos *γεγενημένην* is admissible only in Jewish not in Christian Theology. Cf. Huet. *Origenian.* ii. 23.

d 11 *ἀνευφημήσας*. Cf. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 2. 5 (*Τίτον*) *ἀνευφήμουν ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐλευθερώσαντα τὴν πόλιν.* The earlier sense of the word 'to cry out in alarm or grief' is found in Soph. *Trach.* 783 *ἅπας δ' ἀνευφήμησεν οἰμωγῇ λεώς.* Eur. *Or.* 1335; Plat. *Phaed.* 60 A; Porph. *De Abst.* ii. 31.

321 c 1 *μονογενές*, 'alone of its kind, in opposition to *πολυμερές* (Heb. i. 1), which means "manifold" in its attributes and operations.' Deane, *The Book of Wisdom.*

c 7 *Ἀπαύγασμα.* Heb. i. 3 'effulgence' (R. V.).

d 11 *πρὸς τοῦ μείζονος*. 'Locus hic caute legendus,' a note in the margin of the Latin Translation. See the notes on 320 c 8.

d 17 *διασαφεῖ.* Cf. John i. 1. This statement, that the doctrine of the Logos was only made clear in the Gospel, must be considered

in estimating such expressions as occur in 320 c 8, and 321 d 12.

322 b 4 *ἐγενήθησαν*. Ps. cxlviii. 5, LXX. But both Gaisford and Dindorf in the text of Eusebius here print *ἐγεννήθησαν* without remark, though in 247 a 4 they have the true reading *ἐγενήθησαν*.

c 4 Gen. xix. 24. In this passage Κύριος represents יְהוָה both times, but in the quotation from Ps. cx. 1 the words τῷ κυρίῳ μου represent a common title of a superior, not a name of God.

c 9 *γενεσιουργίαν*. Cf. Iamblich. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* 186 Heeren ζωή τε οὖν σωματοειδής, καὶ λόγος γενεσιουργός.

d 1 Ps. cx. 3. The meaning of the passage is entirely misunderstood by the Seventy, whom Eusebius follows. In R. V. it is rightly given: 'from the womb of the morning Thou hast the dew of Thy birth.'

13] **d** 7 Διὰ τί... The following fragment of Philo, *Quaestiones et Solutiones*, preserved in the Greek only by this quotation in Eusebius, is printed in Mangey's edition of Philo, ii. 625 (Richter, vi. 175). The work is described in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18, and Aucher gives a Latin translation of it from an Armenian version of the fifth century, entitled by him *Philonis Iudaei Paralipomena Armen.*, where the passage is found in ii. 62.

323 a 3 *τὸν δεύτερον Θεόν*. In CFG, the MSS. derived from O, θεόν is omitted, but 'it is not clear whether O has omitted it. There is a little hole in the paper probably covering only the ο in δεύτερον, but capable of representing 'θ̄ (the abbreviations for -ον θεόν)' (H. N. Bate). 'Hic vere Philo πλατωνίζει, ut ex ipsis philosophi verbis inferius patebit' (Viger).

a 4 *λογικὸν . . . τύπον ὑπὸ θείου Λόγου*. The Divine Reason (Λόγος) is represented as the source of human reason.

a 7 *ἐξαιρέτῳ*. Philo's meaning seems to be that the mind or intellect of pure Deity is of another and higher nature, not communicable to created beings like the reason imparted by the Logos to man. Compare Zeller, *Outlines of Gk. Philos.* 94.

b 3 Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα. Philo J. *De Agricultura Noë*, 12. 308. The passage is quoted by Bp. Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* i. 1. 16, in discussing Philo's doctrine of the Logos. The words ταῦτα δὴ πάντα are inserted by Eusebius as the summary of a long list of natural objects, and ὃ is substituted for ὡς.

b 4 *τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ Λόγον.* Both meanings, 'Reason' and 'Word,' are required to express the sense of λόγος here.

b 7 *ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ.* Philo J. *De Plantatione Noë,* ii. 2. 330. The *Plantatio* is the second part of the *Agricultura,* referring specially to Noah's planting a vine (Gen. ix. 20).

b 9 *δυσωπίας.* Cf. Plut. ii. 95 B *τὴν περὶ τὰς ὑπουργίας ἀνωμαλίαν τε καὶ δυσωπίαν,* 'inequality and embarrassment in doing kind officcs.'

c 1 *ἀχθοφορεῖν.* Cf. *Anthol. Gr. Pal.* vii. 468. 4

ἅλικες οἰμωγᾷ σὸν νέκυν ἠχθοφόρευν.

Λόγος. Here, and in d 2 *Νόμος* and *νόμου* stand in place of *Λόγος* and *Λόγου* in Mangey's text of Philo.

c 4 *δολιχεύει . . . δρόμον.* Cf. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 8. 27 *δολιχὸν δὲ Κρῆτες πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα ἔθεον.*

d 3 *στοιχείων ἀφώνων.* Cf. Plat. *Soph.* 253 A 'The vowels especially extend through all the rest like a bond, so that without one of them it is impossible to join one consonant to another.'

d 4 *ἐγγραμμάτου μουσικῆς.* Cf. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 16 A *καὶ τὰς ἀνάρθρους φωνὰς τοῖς ἐγγραμμάτοις ἐξετύπωσαν*; i.e. 'expressed inarticulate sounds in written words.' Porph. *Abst.* iii. 3.

d 5 *πειθοῖ τῇ συνῳδῷ,* 'by harmonious persuasion.' *συνῳδῷ,* the reading of cod. I is much to be preferred to *συνόδῳ* BO, for which compare *Anth. Pal.* vii. 635

τὴν αὐτὴν ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου σύνοδον.

Cohn's conjecture *συναγωγῷ* is unnecessary.

d 6 'The first certain proof of the occupation of the Alexandrine Jews with Greek philosophy is seen in the fragments of a treatise of Aristobulus (about 150 B.C. We have received them through Eusebius, *Pr. Evang.* vii. 14, viii. 10, xiii. 12. They were without reason suspected by Lobeck and Hody, but were defended by Valckenaer). This Jewish Peripatetic assured King Ptolemy Philometor that the oldest Greek poets and philosophers, and especially Pythagoras and Plato, had used our Old Testament, and in order to secure evidence for this assertion, he appeals to a series of verses supposed to be the work of Orpheus and Linus, Homer and Hesiod, which are, however, shameless forgeries, though neither Clemens nor Eusebius detected them.' Zeller, *Outlines of Gk. Philos.* 319. 2 Macc. i. 10 'Aristobulus, king

Ptolemy's teacher, who is also of the stock of the anointed priests.' See below, 375 d, &c., and Valckenaer, *Diatr. de Aristobulo*, vi. 18.

14] **324 a** 1 Μεταφέροιτο. The same passage is quoted more fully 667 a.

c 2 Ἀλλὰ γάρ. 'Be that as it may.' On this meaning of ἀλλὰ γάρ see the *Digest of Idioms* appended to Riddell's *Apology of Plato*, 147.

15] **c** 6 ἀγένητον. Cf. 320 c 6, note.

d 3 ἀπεικονισμένην. Cf. 323 a 2.

d 6 ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμεως Κυρίου, Josh. v. 14.

d 7 Μεγάλης . . . βουλῆς Ἄγγελον. Isa. ix. 6. This is the reading of the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint, to which cod. A adds θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρός, ἐξουσιαστής, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

325 a 1 εἶδος, 'essential form,' not 'visible shape,' which is excluded by the following context.

ἐπιβάλλειν. Cf. 287 b 8, note.

a 9 ἀνεκφράστου. Cf. Athan. *De Decretis* 6 ἀνεκφράστου καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστου.

b 2 φῶς ἀληθινόν. Cf. Philo. J. *De Mundi Opif.* 8 'For the light which is perceptible only by intellect is as far more brilliant and splendid than that which is seen as, I conceive, the sun is than darkness, or day than night, or the intellect than any of the outward senses by which men judge (inasmuch as it is the guide of the whole soul), or the eyes than any other part of the body. And the invisible divine Reason (Λόγον), perceptible only by intellect, he calls *the image of God*: and the image of this image is that Light, perceptible only by intellect, which is the image of the divine Reason, which has explained its generation.' On the view of the Rabbis see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 71.

b 4 δευτέραν οὐσίαν. Eusebius is here using his own words, and can only be defended on the ground that the need had not yet been felt of the more precise phraseology introduced by the Arian controversy.

c 3 ἐπιχορηγεῖ. Cf. Gal. iii. 5 ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα. Phil. i. 19 ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος.

c 4 παρ' ἑτέρου. The addition in IO of the words τοῦ ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου is rightly regarded by Viger, Gaisford, Heinichen, and Dindorf as a marginal gloss, 'From whom else than God the Word?'

d 14 ἐφικτήν. Emped. 389 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτόν.

326 a 3 ἐμπαρέχειν, 'to give into another's hands'; see Thuc. vi. 12; vii. 56 with Arnold's note.

c 4 Μύριαι μυριάδες, Dan. vii. 10. Both in the Sept. and in Theodotion the numbers are in an ascending scale χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν (ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, Theod.) καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ.

c 7 παρ' ὃ καὶ εἰώθαμεν, 'in accordance with our custom.' But in Plut. *Mor.* 83 F παρ' ὃ δεῖ, 1103 F παρ' ὃ καλόν ἐστιν, the meaning of παρά is 'beyond' or 'contrary to.'

d 2 ἐξομολόγησιν in the Sept. often means 'praise' or 'honour.' 1 Chron. xxv. 3 ἀνακρουόμενος ἐξομολόγησιν.

d 3 δέρριν. *Etym. M.* 257. 14 Δέρρις: ἱμάτιον παχύ, ἢ δέρμα, ἢ τρίχινον παραπέτασμα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς αὐλείαις βαλλόμενον. The word is very common in the Sept.

327 a 2 αὐτόνουν, thus accentuated by Viger and all subsequent editors, followed by L. and Sc. *Lex.* But cf. Plot. ii. 2. 267 D οὐκ ἄκρατος νοῦς οὐδ' αὐτονοῦς. 'Extremi vocabuli haec scriptura et hic et infra v. 9. 5 in omnibus nostris libris comparet' (Creuzer).

c 2 τὴν προσήκουσαν θεολογίαν, 'the proper title of Deity.' Cf. 532 b 1 ἡ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνεκφώνητος παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολογία.

d 2 καὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται, 'which shall not pass away' (R. V.). Marg. *Or*, 'which none shall transgress.'

d 13 Πατέρα μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι Θεὸν ἀληθῆ. This clause must be regarded as representing the imperfect theology of the Hebrews, not as the mature belief of Eusebius himself. 'Cum quae incerta erant quoad generationem Filii a concilio Nicaeno primum determinata sint, error involuntarius et proinde irreprehensibilis super hoc, donec symbolum redactum fuisset, crimini non erat. . . . Hoc bene intelligendum, nempe non hic exponi ab eo Catholicorum doctrinas sed Hebraeorum, et non eas solum quae in libris sanctis continentur, sed insuper quas profitebantur doctores Legis. . . . Utut sit, non hic agitur de stabiliendis doctrinis orthodoxis, sed de ostendendo quantum praestet fidei Graecorum fides Hebraica in iis quae ad Deum substantiasque intellectuales pertinent' (Seguier).

16] **328** d 4 βασιλίσκον has the meaning 'petty king' in

Polyb. iii. 44. 5; but the Septuagint use it only in the sense 'basilisk,' i. e. 'adder'; cf. Ps. xci. 13, Isa. lix. 5.

ὑπόθεσιν, 'basis,' 'foundation,' equivalent here to 'cause.'

d 8 ὁ ἑωσφόρος. 'The reference to Satan is designated by Luther as *insignis error totius papatus*, but it is found already in Jerome and other Fathers. The designation is exceedingly appropriate to the king of Babylon . . . on account of its astrological character' (Delitzsch).

329 a 4 ἀποσφράγισμα ὁμοιώσεως, Ez. xxviii. 12 'the sealing up of the likeness,' i. e. 'the perfect likeness.'

a 5 ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου. In Ezek. xxviii. 12 the Hebrew עֵדֶן, *Eden*, means 'delight,' and is here rendered by the LXX τρυφή.

πάντα λίθον χρηστὸν ἐνδέδεσαι, 'thou art engirt with every precious stone.' On the construction cf. 303 a 6.

d 9 βασιλίσκον. Cf. 328 d 4, note.

330 a 2 προβολίοις. Cf. *Dem. Evang.* iv. 9. 5 θατέρᾳ ληπτοὺς τοῖς προβολίοις, where it is afterwards explained by τοῖς τῆς ἡδονῆς δελέασιν. In Xen. *Cyneg.* 10. 1 it describes a 'boar-spear' thrust forward in defence; here it means anything put forward as a pretext or bait.

a 3 ἀνανεύσεως. Cf. 2 b 6, note.

a 5 προτροπάδην φεύγειν. Cf. Plat. *Symp.* 221 C τοὺς προτροπάδην φεύγοντας.

17] **b** 5 Φοινίκων. This refers to the spontaneous generation described by Philo Byblius 33 c 8.

Αἰγυπτίων ζωογονία. Cf. 95 b 1 μία λογικῶν καὶ ἀλόγων οὐ μόνον σωμάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς οὐσία.

d 6 ἀμοιρεῖν. Cf. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 292 πάντα φυτὰ ὑγρῷ τρέφεται καὶ καρποφορεῖ, ἀμοιροῦντα δὲ ξηραίνεται.

d 8 ἀντιληπτικῶν. Cf. Tim. Locr. 100 C τὰν δ' ἀκουὰν λόγων καὶ μελῶν ἀντιλαπτικὰν ἔφυσεν.

18] **331 b** 2 συγγένειαν. Philo seems to be alluding here to Plat. *Tim.* 90 A πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ξυγγένειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἴρειν ὡς ὄντας φυτὸν οὐκ ἔγγειον ἀλλ' οὐράνιον, 'raises us from earth to our kindred in heaven, as being a plant not of earthly but of heavenly growth.'

b 4 εἶδος, 'essential form.' Cf. 325 a 1.

ἀλλ' εἶπεν κ.τ.λ. In this passage Eusebius has altered the

language of Philo, inserting Πνεύματος ἐκείνου, and changing other words. Cf. Philo, 332 M 'but called it an image of the divine and invisible, and considered it genuine as having been substantiated (οὐσιωθεῖσαν) and moulded (stamped, τυπωθεῖσαν) with God's seal, the gravure (χαρακτήρ) of which is the eternal Word.'

c 7 τὰς ὄψεις ἀνατεῖναι. A few lines before this passage Philo had written: 'Of all the other animals God bent the eyes down, and therefore they incline towards the ground: but on the contrary He raised man's eyes upright, that he may contemplate the heaven, *being a plant not of earth but of heaven*, as the old saying is.' The saying is from Plato, *Tim.* 90 A, quoted above on b 2. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 84

> 'Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
> Os homini sublime dedit, caelumque tueri
> Iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.'

d 9 καταληπτικόν, 'able to comprehend.' Κατάληψις, or φαντασία καταληπτική, 'irresistible perception,' in Cicero 'comprehensio,' is the criterion and standard of truth in the Stoic theory of knowledge. Cf. Sext. Emp. *c. Math.* vii. 428, quoted on 265 a 3, Zeller, *Stoics*, 89.

332 a 6 Θεοῦ ἐννοίας εἰς φαντασίαν ἰέναι, language seemingly borrowed from the Stoics. See above 245 d 4.

a 7 ἀντιλήψεις. See note on 256 d 1.

b 4 ἑτερογενές. Cf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* viii. 18. 1 ὑγίειαι καὶ νόσοι κατὰ τὰς ὥρας τοῖς ἑτερογενέσιν ἕτεραι.

b 8 ἠχθισμένου, literally, 'laden,' 'burdened'; cf. Babr. *Fab.* viii. 1 Ἄραψ κάμηλον ἀχθίσας.

b 9 προσηνωμένον. The compound verb is rare, but occurs in Joseph. *A. J.* 836 τοῖς πλευροῖς τῶν βάσεων προσηνωμέναι (αἱ ἀψῖδες).

c 5 παμβασιλεύς, applied by Eusebius to the Father only, but to the Son also by Athanasius, *c. Arian.* ii. 18 ἦν γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστιν ὥσπερ υἱὸς οὕτως καὶ Κύριος παμβασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων.

d 3 ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι. Cf. Isocr. 138 ἀντὶ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι.

d 5 δευτέροις αἰσίοις. On the use of δεύτερα as a substantive see L. and Sc. *Lex.* Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 538.

d 7 ἀναδρομήν. Cf. Theophrast. *Caus. Plant.* iv. 5. 1 εἰς τὴν βλάστησιν ἡ ἀναδρομή.

ἀποκατάστασιν. Cf. Acts iii. 21 ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων.

d 10 θεοείκελον. Cf. Hom. *Il.* i. 131

θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ.

333 a 4 χθιζοί. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 745

δείδω μὴ τὸ χθιζὸν ἀποστήσωνται Ἀχαιοὶ
χρεῖος.

a 8 τὸ ἕνα τῶν ἁπάντων ποιητὴν νομίζεσθαι. Cf. Tim. Locr. 94 B Πρὶν ὦν ὠρανὸν γενέσθαι λόγῳ ἤστην ἰδέα τε καὶ ὕλα καὶ ὁ θεὸς δαμιουργὸς τῶ βελτίονος. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 369 A οὔτε ἀποίου δημιουργὸν ὕλης ἕνα λόγον καὶ μίαν πρόνοιαν ὡς οἱ Στωϊκοί.

a 9 τῆς ὑποκειμένης τοῖς σώμασιν οὐσίας. Cf. *Dict. des Sciences Phil.* vol. vi. 'Substance': 'In every object that we perceive or merely conceive as possible, we are compelled by an invariable law of our nature to distinguish two parts, phaenomena which are transient and a substance which abides; qualities variable or manifold, and a being which is identical: and these two parts are so bound together in our understanding, that it is impossible for us to admit the one without the other; we no more understand a being without qualities, than qualities without a being. It is this law of our mind that is called the principle or law of substance.'

b 1 ὕλην. Ibid. vol. iv. 'Matière,' p. 171 'The objective and real existence of matter is an immediate and common *datum* of all our senses. All the qualities of bodies are at the same time objective and relative: objective, because they imply extension; relative, because they are inseparably connected with a sensation. The essence of bodies is unknown to us: for the senses, bodies are relative and variable phaenomena perceived under the general condition of space; for the reason, they are the causes of our sensations, real causes, but in themselves absolutely inaccessible to our knowledge' (Em. Saisset).

Compare with this the more recent theory of matter, as stated by Lotze, *Microcosmus*, i. 355 'In opposition to the current doctrine that matter is extended, impenetrable, imperishable, and offers resistance, we must make the counter assertion

that these properties and modes of action have no subject: we are not told *what* it is that is extended, impenetrable, and imperishable, and what constrains these various properties, which in themselves have no necessary connexion with one another, to appear in combination.' Ibid. p. 357 'Extension can no more be the predicate of a being than an eddy or vortex is the mode of motion of a single element; both alike can be conceived only as forms of relation between many elements. We are accordingly constrained . . . to conceive extended matter as a system of unextended beings that, by their forces, fix one another's position in space, and by the resistance which they offer—as if to the intrusion of a stranger—to any attempt to make them change place, produce the phaenomena of impenetrability and the continuous occupation of space.' Compare with this the theory of *The Atomic Structure of Matter*, in *Encycl. Brit.* (1902 A. D.) xxv. 105 b.

b 5 *τῇ μὲν οἰκείᾳ φύσει ἄποιον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον.* Cf. Tim. Locr. 94 A *ταύταν δὲ τὰν ὕλαν ἀΐδιον μὲν ἔφα, οὐ μὰν ἀκίνατον, ἄμορφον δὲ καθ' αὑτὰν καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον, δεχομέναν δὲ πᾶσαν μορφάν.* Cf. 845 d 10.

c 4 *τῶν Πρὸς Σαβέλλιον.* Dionysius, 'the great Bishop of Alexandria' (Eus. *H. E.* vii. *Praef.*), a pupil of Origen, successor of Heraclas as head of the Catechetical School, A. D. 232–3, and Bishop of Alexandria (A. D. 247), died in advanced age (A. D. 265). His *Epistles* are the chief authority employed by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, vi. 40–vii. 11. In the work *Against Sabellius*, here quoted, Dionysius was thought to have shown a tendency towards the opposite error of Arianism, but his orthodoxy was defended by Athanasius in his treatise *De Dionysii Sententia.* For further particulars see 772 c, below, and the interesting account of Dionysius by Bishop Westcott in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography.* This passage and another in xiv. 23 from the work on *Nature*, are preserved by Eusebius alone.

19] **d** 1 *παθητήν.* Ps.-Aristot. *Mund.* ii. 10 (*φύσις*) *ἡ δι' ὅλων παθητή τε καὶ τρεπτή.*

d 2 *ταῖς θεοποιήτοις ἀλλοιώσεσι.* Cf. Tim. Locr. 94 C *ἀγαθὸς ὢν ὁ θεὸς ὁρῶν τε τὰν ὕλαν δεχομέναν τὰν ἰδέαν καὶ ἀλλοιουμέναν παντοίως.*

d 5 *κρείττονα*, which here means primarily 'higher' in the process of abstraction. If God and matter have some common property, neither can be the 'Summum Genus.' See below 334 a.

d 7 *αὐτοαγένητον*, d 8 *ἀγενησία*. I have not found either word elsewhere.

334 b 7 *ἐποίωσε*, codd. BDFI. Cf. Theophr. *De Causis Pl.* ii. 1. 5 *τὸ ποιοῦν αὐτῶν*, where the participle of *ποιέω* could not be substituted; Sext. Emp. *c. Mathem.* i. 108 *οὔτε δὲ μακρά ἐστιν οὔτε βραχέα οὐθ' ἑκάτερον πρὶν ἀπὸ προσῳδίας ποιωθῆναι.*

c 3 *ὑπόστασιν*. The word here means 'substance' in its metaphysical and not, of course, in its material sense. In another passage of the same work Dionysius of Alexandria used *ὑπόστασις* in the sense of a *personal subsistence*, and maintained that in the Trinity there are three *ὑποστάσεις*. Dionysius of Rome, using *οὐσία* in the sense of *person*, and *ὑπόστασις* of *substance*, charged Dionysius of Alexandria with 'dividing the substance.' See Athan. *De Sent. Dionys.* 17, and *De Decretis Syn. Nic.* 26: in 27 Athanasius himself uses *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* as equivalents in the sense of *substance*. So in the Nicene Creed *ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας*.

c 8 *τῶν Ὠριγένους*. The following fragment of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis* is preserved in Greek only by Eusebius in this quotation. Cf. Orig. Lommatzsch, viii. 5, note.

20] **335 a** 4 *Ὧι γὰρ λόγῳ*. The argument is briefly this: The same power can give existence to non-existent matter as easily as to non-existent properties.

a 9 *ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτοῖς*, 'follows from their argument.' Cf. Aristot. *Categ.* xii. 2 *δυοῖν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων ἀκολουθεῖ εὐθὺς τὸ ἓν εἶναι.*

b 6 *ὑποστάσει*, may mean here either 'substance,' as equivalent to *τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ οὐσίᾳ*, or in an active sense 'support,' 'establishment,' corresponding to *ὑποστῆσαι*, a 3.

c 1 *κενοπαθῆσαι*. Cf. 718 d 5 *τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφάνην καὶ Παρμενίδην . . . τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀνελόντας*. Sext. Emp. *Hypot.* ii. 49 *οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ τινὲς μὲν κενοπαθεῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις φασίν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑποκεῖσθαι ὧν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν), οἱ δὲ πάντα ὑποκεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὧν οἴονται κινεῖσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ὑποκεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑποκεῖσθαι, τίνι συγκαταθησόμεθα οὐχ ἕξομεν· οὔτε γὰρ τῇ αἰσθήσει τὴν διαφωνίαν ἐπικρινοῦμεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ζητοῦμεν πότερον κενοπαθεῖ ἢ*

ἀληθῶς καταλαμβάνει, κ.τ.λ. See also 327. 13; 333. 13. As Sextus Empiricus flourished 180–210 A.D., Dionysius, who became head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, c. A.D. 232, must have found his sceptical doctrines still in vogue.

c 2 οὐκ οὔσης οὐσίας. The doctrine that sensible phenomena had no underlying substance was held by Parmenides and Heracleitus. Cf. Archer Butler, *Ancient Philos.* i. 348, note 20 by the editor, Dr. W. H. Thompson 'It was Parmenides who, in order to complete the reasonings of his master (Xenophanes) first perceived or imagined the necessity of identifying Plurality with the Non Ens: in other words, of denying reality to the outward phenomenal world.'

336 a 6 ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. Gen. i. 2, Sept., R. V. *waste and void.* Compare Ovid's description of Chaos, *Metam.* i. 7 'rudis indigestaque moles.'

b 3 Περὶ τῆς Προνοίας. The work of Philo Judaeus *On Providence* is not extant in Greek, with the exception of the passages quoted by Eusebius here and 385 d. But the whole treatise in two books is contained in an Armenian version of the fifth century, which was translated into Latin by Aucher, and published at Venice in 1822. 'Vide de h. l. disputantem Beausobrium *Hist. Manich.* ii. 185' (Gaisford).

21] **d** 5 ὡς ⟨ἐλάττονι⟩ προστιθέναι is required instead of ἔλαττον as an antithesis to the following clause ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν (Viger).

337 a 1 ἅπασιν ἐπαινετοῖς. 'Expungenda vult Vigerus. Forte inserendum καί ante ἅπασιν' (Gaisf.).

ὑθλεῖν. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 783

ὑθλεῖς· ἄπερρ', οὐκ ἂν διδαξαίμην σ' ἔτι.

a 2 ⟨ἀντία⟩ τιθέμενος. This is Viger's conjecture in place of αἴτια τιθέμενος the reading of the MSS. Cf. Plat. *Phil.* 58 B οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε δὴ ἐκείνῳ βουλοίμην ἂν ἐναντία τίθεσθαι.

a 4 σοφιστείας. Plut. *Mor.* 78 F οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐνδύντες εὐθὺς ἐπισιτίζονται πρὸς σοφιστείαν. Cf. 1043 E.

a 8 Περὶ τῆς Ὕλης. Cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 27 (There are still preserved) 'the writings of Maximus on the question so much discussed among heretics, *The Origin of Evil*, and on *The Creation of Matter*.' The two questions were probably discussed together in the same treatise, as we may infer from the language of Jerome,

De Viris Illustr. xvii 'Under the same emperors (Commodus and Severus) Maximus ventilated in a remarkable volume the famous questions, What is the origin of Evil? and, Whether matter is made by God?' The long passage here quoted by Eusebius is also found in the *Philocalia*, xxiv, followed by a note ascribed to the editors of that collection, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen: 'This passage has been extracted from the seventh book of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius. It is the work of Maximus, as the same Eusebius affirms.' Dr. Routh revised the text, and added a commentary in his *Rell. Sacr.* ii. 80 seqq. It is also included in the treatise of Methodius *On Free Will*, and parts of it in the Ps.-Origen. Dial. *De recta in Deum fide*. Routh thinks that Methodius borrowed it from Maximus. 'But so far from Methodius, that subtle and ingenious imitator of Plato, copying Maximus (pingui Minerva), we must rather suppose that Ps.-Origenes plagiarized from Methodius, and Eusebius erroneously ascribed the portion of Methodius *On Free Will* which treats Περὶ τῆς Ὕλης to Maximus' (Jahn, *Meth. Opp.* ii. 125). Dr. Armitage Robinson (*Philocalia*, xlvi), and the late Dr. Hort independently suggested that Maximus is the name not of an author otherwise unknown, but of the interlocutor described in Methodius as Orthodoxus.

22] **b** 2 *οὐδὲ σὲ ἀγνοεῖν.* The emphatic pronoun points back to the contrary *conclusion* adopted by the opponent in Methodius (101 Meurs.) *διόπερ ἔδοξέ μοι συνυπάρχειν τι αὐτῷ, ᾧ τοὔνομα ὕλη.*

b 4 *τὸ πάντως . . . τυγχάνει.* The opponent in Methodius (97 M.) had limited himself to the inquiry, *πότερον ἔκ τινος συνόντος ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνου, συνυπάρχοντος αὐτῷ οὐδενός*, and the alternative that things were made out of nothing he immediately rejects. It is to this assumption that Maximus alludes in the reply *τὸ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἕτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ Θεός, ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει*, and as this dilemma is the postulate prefixed to the argument (*τῷ λόγῳ*), not the argument itself, it is evident that *τὸ πάντως* κ.τ.λ. (Eus., Jahn, Lommatzsch) is to be preferred to *τῷ πάντως* (Robinson), which turns the preceding postulate into the argument based upon it.

c 3 *ἀλλ' ἓν ἐκ διαφόρων συνεστός*, omitted in the text of

Eusebius, which in this and the next sentence is abridged and apparently corrupted. I have adopted the clause as it stands in Methodius, *Philocal.*, *Adamant. Dial.*

c 4 οὐδὲ γὰρ . . . φαμέν. I have again adopted the text of Methodius, which is abridged in the MSS. of Eusebius, as follows: ὡς οὐδὲ διάφορα μέρη κατακερματιζόμενα εἰς πολλὰ γενητά. The sense is more clearly and fully expressed in Methodius οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα διάφορα μέλη κατακερματίζομεν.

Instead of ἀλλ' εἰ (BO) I have adopted ἀλλ' ἤ from Methodius (Robinson's note) and *Philocalia* (Lommatzsch): cf. Riddell, *Plat. Apol.* Append. B, p. 183: "Ἀλλ' ἤ. "The joint meaning is "except." By the ἀλλά the exception to the negative which has preceded is stated flatly: the ἤ allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception."' Translate therefore: 'Except that, as reason requires, we say that man has been made by God one created thing of many parts.'

c 5 κατακερματίζομεν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* iii. 395 B φαίνεταί μοι εἰς σμικρότερα κατακεκερματίσθαι ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις.

d 5 ἵσταται. Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 171 D καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν μάλιστα ἵστασθαι τὸν λόγον.

d 7 προχωρεῖν depends on some word understood, such as δεῖ or λέγομεν.

338 a 4 τὸ συνέχον is not identical in meaning with τὸ συνεχές, 'the consequence,' but is constantly used by Polybius and others for 'that which contains and concludes the whole subject,' *quod rem ipsam vel caput causae continet'* (Schweighäuser, *Lexic. Polyb.*). Cf. Polyb. x. 47. 11 ἐν τούτοις κεῖται τὸ συνέχον τῆς σωτηρίας.

a 5 τύπον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕλην. Contrast with this Sir Isaac Newton's *dictum* at the end of the *Principia*, that God by existing constitutes time and space: 'Non est duratio vel spatium, sed durat et adest; et existendo semper et ubique spatium et durationem constituit.'

c 3 τῇ ὕλῃ. Routh here inserts from Methodius and the *Dialogue* καὶ δι' ὅλης κεχωρηκέναι τῆς ὕλης, which is not found in the MSS. of Eusebius, nor in *Philocalia* (Lommatzsch).

c 4 συστολήν. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 564 B διεσήμαινον, ὡς ἔοικεν, συστολῇ μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὰς τὸ δυσχεραῖνον.

c 5 οὐκ ἔχοντα ὑποχωρήσεως τόπον. 'Viger says that these

arguments could have no weight except against those who imagined God to be corporeal. But we are reminded by Stillingfleet, *Orig. Sacr.* iii. 2, that they are perfectly valid against all who maintain, in accordance with the opinion of the Stoics, that God is contained in the world as in His own proper dwelling-place' (Routh).

The Stoic doctrine is thus stated by Zeller, *Outlines*, § 69 'As in the soul of man, though it is present in the whole body, the governing part is separate from the rest, and a special seat is assigned to it, so also in the soul of the universe. The Deity or Zeus has his seat in the uttermost circle of the world (according to Archedemus in the centre, and to Cleanthes in the sun), from whence he spreads himself through the world. But yet his distinction from the world is relative – the distinction between what is directly and what is indirectly divine. In themselves both are the same; there is but one and the same being, of which a part takes the form of the world, while another part retains its original shape, and in that shape confronts the first as the operative cause or the Deity.'

d 8 For *εἶναι*, the reading in Eusebius, *συνεῖναι* is found in the *Dialogue*, and introduced by Routh: it makes the meaning more clear—'You would have matter to co-exist eternally with God.' Viger obtains the same sense by supplying *ἀγένητον*, which he considers to be required by the argument and by the following context.

340 c 5 *πρὸς τὸν πλησίον*. The treatise of Methodius is a dialogue between an Orthodox believer and a Valentinian, the former of whom says—'I wish this companion of mine here to listen to our conversation. For indeed he seems to have much the same opinions about these things as you have.'

d 6 *Σαφῶς παραστῆναί μοι δοκεῖς*. 'Usitatius fuerit *παραστῆσαι*' (Viger). But *παραστῆναι* is supported by all the authorities, and the only change necessary is to read *δοκεῖ* with IG: 'It seems to me to be clearly established.'

341 b 3 *Εἰ δὲ οὐσίαι τὰ κακά*. 'Mendosa haec sunt: quae facile sic emendes, *Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὐσίαι . . .*' Viger, who would thus entirely destroy the argument.

342 a 5 *ἔσονται καὶ ἑαυτῶν . . . ποιηταί*. 'I have restored the passage thus from the *Dialogue against the Marcionites*. For

instead of the words καὶ ἑαυτῶν the *Praep. Evang.* gives τούτων' (Routh). Though unsupported apparently by the MSS. of Eusebius, the emendation seems necessary to the sense, for τούτων would give us only the futile statement, 'If these things are done by men, men must be the doers of them.'

b 2 Εἰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐνεργεῖ ἕκαστος ὑπάρχει κακός, ἃ δὲ ἐνεργεῖ κ.τ.λ. I have again followed Dr. Routh, who has supplied from *Methodius* the words which had fallen out of the text of Eusebius through the repetition of ἐνεργεῖ.

b 5 ἀγένητα, has its usual sense, 'existing without beginning.'

b 7 πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον. Routh rightly attributes this speech to the third interlocutor mentioned by Methodius (340 c 5, note), who now becomes one of the chief speakers.

b 8 ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ⟨προλαβὼν ἔδωκε⟩, 'for from the premises which he gave to the argument,' gives a better sense than 'from the premises which you assumed.'

d 6 Τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν τὴν σήν. The first speaker here addresses the third.

343 a 4 πρὸς ὃ κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἀκούσας. Routh would insert καί before πρός, and ἐκείνου after it, and translate: 'aut enim et ab illo audiens, quod videtur agitare, fructum plane percipiet.' But without any alteration of the text we get a meaning equally if not more suitable, 'by hearing an answer to the question which seems to be stirred.' 'Ad verbum κινεῖσθαι quod attinet, posuit nimirum Olympiodorus *Praefatione* Scholiorum in *Gorgiam* Platonis . . . ἐντεύξεις καὶ θεωρημάτων κινήσεις . . . et Eunapius de Chrysantho philosopho ait (p. 51) οὕτως ἀλλοιότερός τις ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς κινήσεσιν ἐφαίνετο' (Routh).

344 d 8 Πρὶν γὰρ εἰκονισθῇ . . . εἶχεν. The combination of the conjunctive with the imperfect indicative is very unusual, but may be explained on the principle that the narrator so throws himself into the past events which he is narrating, that they become to him as if they were present, and the conditional or adverbial clause is expressed in the conjunctive, as if the event stated in the principal clause were still future: 'before he be fashioned as man, he will have no sense of evil.'

d 9 μηδ' ἑνός. μηδενός O *Philocal.* Dind. On the forms οὐδείς, μηδείς, and οὐθείς, μηθείς, see Ammonius (Valckenaer) p. 105 Οὐδ' ἂν οὔτε δύο· τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ δ ἀπαρτίζει. Lobeck, *Phryn.* Οὐθείς,

διὰ τοῦ θ, εἰ καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγουσι, σὺ δὲ ἀποτρέπου λέγειν· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τοῦ δ λέγουσιν οὐδείς. Cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 'The corruption had its beginning long before the time of Chrysippus.'

345 b 6 φέρων λέγε. 'So tell me now.' 'Celeritatis notio, quae in pass. φέρεσθαι eminet, etiam in imperativo φέρε con spicitur, qui, ut Lat. *age* exhortandi vim habet. . . . Similiter participium φέρων ponitur ita ut verti possit *protinus*, *statim*.' Ast, *Lex. Plat.* Φέρω. Cf. Viger, *De Idiotismis Gr.* 352.

c 3 ⟨ἀδύνατον . . . ἔχειν⟩. The clauses in brackets, which contain the apodosis, and are essential to the sense, have been restored by Routh from Methodius, having fallen out of the text through the *homoeoteleuton* τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν.

c 7 ἦν ποτὲ καθ' ἑαυτά. 'Negari facile posset quod hic assumitur' (Viger, Routh). The assumption seems to be undeniable: the constituents must exist, in thought at least, before their compound, though possibly they may only be found in combination in the phaenomenal world.

d 3 οὐκ ἦν δέ ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε τὸ ἀγένητον οὐκ ἦν. This passage shows the great importance of the word ἀγένητος in the Arian controversy and its close connexion with the famous formula ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, asserted of the Son. Cf. 320 d, Orig. *c. Cels.* iii, and especially the good note of Dr. Archibald Robertson, Athan. *De Decretis*, 149 (*Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers*, iv. 149).

d 5 ⟨ἦν δὲ ἀγένητα⟩, supplied by Routh and Robinson from Methodius.

d 14 ⟨ἀλλήλοις δὲ ταῦτα ἀντίκειται⟩. Supplied from Methodius, by Routh and Robinson, to complete the sense.

346 a 8 ἀνατρεπτικόν. Routh, *Rell. S.* ii. 120 'ἀναιρετικόν. Ita *Philocal.* et *Methodii Excerptor* pro ἀνατρεπτικόν. Saepenumero in superioribus ἀναιρετικόν adhibetur.' But in Methodius Jahn (p. 61) has ἀνατρεπτικόν, and in the MSS. of Eusebius there is no trace of any other reading.

a 11 ⟨τὰ δὲ . . . τυγχάνει⟩. 'Hoc membrum orationis *Philocalia* supplevit' (Routh).

b 9 τὸ μὴ εἶναι. 'After these words we must understand αὐτά, that is τὰ ἀντικείμενα, as inferred above' (Routh). This would only give the meaning that 'the contraries are not the matter':

but the conclusion required is that the one universal kind of matter (ὕλη μία τις) has no existence.

BOOK VIII

1] **348 c** 9 αὐτῶν . . . δεδοκιμασμένοις. Either the text is corrupt, or the construction broken. We should probably read δεδοκιμασμένων. For τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, 'their countrymen,' i. e. the Jews, compare 355 b 3 ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφανῶν.

349 a 5 βιωφελοῦς. Cf. Sext. Emp. *c. Math.* ii. 20 τέχνας . . . βιωφελεῖς. Here the meaning is not limited to the interests of this life.

a 6 λόγος τε οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ᾕρει. Cf. Schweigh. *Index Polyb.* 'Αἱρεῖν. ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ, ratio colligit, evincit, rationi consentaneum est . . . usitata philosophis formula.'

b 3 θεογνωσίας. Cf. 3 d 5, 349 b 4; Ps.-Just. M. *Confut. Dogm. Arist.* 111 B ἐπέτρεψαν θεογνωσίας τὴν εὕρεσιν.

c 1 Cf. Swete, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, p. 1. The story of the Septuagint Translation is told at much length by Josephus (*A. J.* xii. 2. 1), by Philo Judaeus (*Vita Moys.* ii. 5. 138 M), by Justin. M. (*Apol.* i. 31), and by most of the early Christian Fathers. The meaning of the text of Eusebius is sometimes made clearer by the fuller statements of Josephus.

c 5 ἀποκρυψάντων ἄν. The same thought had been already expressed more strongly by Irenaeus, iii. 21. 1 'had they known that we should make use of these testimonies from the Scriptures, they would never have hesitated themselves to burn their own Scriptures, which declare that all other nations have a share in (eternal) life.'

c 10 Γράφει δὲ ταῦτα 'Αρισταῖος. The letter from which the following extracts were taken was published in a separate volume at Oxford in 1692: the first part of it was edited, with a commentary, by L. Mendelssohn, 1897, and the complete text with preface, notes, and index by P. Wendland (Teubner, 1900). The text of the letter, with an introduction by Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray, is included in Dr. Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek.* The letter purports to have been written by Aristeas, or Aristaeus,

a confidential minister of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 283–247) to his brother Philocrates. Though not regarded as genuine it is unquestionably ancient, a large part of it being quoted by Josephus. Its statements are in part admitted to be true, being confirmed by the fragment, preserved by Eusebius (*P. E.* 410 d), of a work of Aristobulus, a Jewish philosopher who wrote in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, B. C. 181–146.

'Obscure as is the origin of the translation, it may safely be admitted on internal grounds, that its *locality was Alexandria*, and its date the third century before Christ; for the Hellenist Demetrius, who wrote in the time of Ptolemy IV (222–205), certainly made use of it (see below, No. III). The preceding remarks apply only to the translation of the Pentateuch, to which alone the Aristeas legend refers' (Schürer, *The Jewish People*, Div. II., vol. iii. p. 161). For a full account of the history of the Version, and the very voluminous literature referring to it see the article 'Septuagint' in the *Dictionaries of the Bible*, edited by W. Smith and Hastings.

2] **350 a** 1 *Κατασταθεὶς . . . βιβλιοθήκης*, an incorrect statement. Cf. Busch, *De bibliothecariis Alexandrinis* 1, cited by Dr. Swete 18.

a 2 *ὁ Φαληρεύς*. 'The legend that it was Demetrius Phalereus who suggested the whole undertaking to Ptolemy Philadelphus is unhistorical, not only in its details but in the main point; for Demetrius Phalereus in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus was no longer living at court in Alexandria' (Schürer, l. c. 309). Cf. Swete, ibid. 19.

διάφορα, 'profits' or 'money.' Demosth. 1148. 14 *δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ πλεονεξία τοῦ τρόπου περὶ τὰ διάφορα*; Polybius, iv. 18. 8 *ἔχειν κεκρυμμένον διάφορον*; 2 Macc. i. 35 *πολλὰ διάφορα ἐλάμβανε*.

b 2 *Παρόντων οὖν ἡμῶν*. Thus the Ps.-Aristeas professes to write as an eye-witness.

πόσαι τινὲς μυριάδες. Instead of 200,000 volumes, Epiphanius, in repeating the legend of Aristeas, gives the number as '54,800 more or less' (*De Mens. et Pond.* ix.). Josephus says 'about 200,000.'

c 2 *προσδεῖται* is impersonal, as in Ps.-Plato, *Demodocus* 384 B *προσδεῖται τοῦ ἀντεροῦντος*.

c 3 *καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι*. Hdt. ii. 36 'In writing letters or numbers the Greeks move the hand from left to right, but the

Egyptians from right to left: and though they do so, they say that it is themselves who go to the right, and the Greeks to the left.' See Gardner Wilkinson's notes on the passage in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, and in Birch, ii. 489.

c 4 Συριακῇ. Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 26 with Keil's note: 'From these verses it appears that the Assyrian commanders understood Jewish or Hebrew, and the Jewish nobles on the other hand Aramaic (Συριστί, Sept.).'

c 8 καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα. The passage omitted here by Eusebius contains the narrative of Aristeas' intercession with Ptolemy on behalf of the Jewish slaves, which follows in Josephus in the same position.

c 9 ἐκδοῦναι. This use of the verb without any object expressed is found in Polybius ii. 37. 6; xvi. 26. 3 γράψαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ἐκδοῦναι περὶ ὧν ὑπολαμβάνει συμφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας καιρούς. Josephus, l. c. 3 has ἐκδοῦναι τὸ . . . δόγμα. Mendelssohn proposes to read εἰσδοῦναι in Eusebius against the better MSS. and without proof of such an usage.

d 5 τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων. Josephus adds ἀναθημάτων.

d 6 μεγαλομερείᾳ. For this word Josephus (*Antt.* xii. 2. 3) uses in the same sense μεγαλουργίαν; cf. Polyb. xxxi. 3 τῇ μεγαλοεργίᾳ ὑπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον. The meaning of the word is explained by what is stated by Josephus (l. c. 7) about the table, that the king wished it to be made of an immense size, ὑπερμεγεθέστατον τοῖς μέτροις, exceeding that of the table then at Jerusalem.

3] **351 a** 2 ἀπολειφθέντων. Mendelssohn changes ἀπολιπόντων in Aristeas into ἀπολειπόντων, and condemns ἀπολειφθέντων. But the aorist may be rightly understood as accommodated to προστάξαντος.

a 3 τὰ διαπεπτωκότα . . . ἐπισκευῆς. The words will bear either the meaning that 'the lost might be restored,' or that 'those which had fallen into decay might be repaired.'

b 2 προσαναφέρω. Polyb. xvii. 9. 10 προσανενεγκεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, 'referre ad senatum.'

b 5 οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει. Josephus has ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει. The Latin, 'perperam expressa significatio,' seems to assume an earlier translation. But σεσήμανται may be understood of the writing as in Plutarch, *Moral.* 204 E τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐρέβινθον ἐτόρευσε. Thus the meaning would be that the Hebrew text had been carelessly copied,

and needed careful correction (διηκριβωμένα). Mendelssohn on the contrary suggests that the true text of the Hebrew should be correctly represented in the Greek translation which alone was to remain in the library.

c 1 Philo Jud. *Vita Moysis*, i. 1 (603 M) διὰ φθόνον ἴσως . . . οὐκ ἐθελησάντων αὐτὸν μνήμης ἀξιῶσαι τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι λογίων.

c 4 θεωρίαν. Polyb. i. 5. 3 ἡ τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ θεωρία.

c 5 Hecataeus of Abdera (not to be confounded with Hecataeus of Miletus, the famous early historian) is again mentioned 408 c. Josephus, *c. Apion*. i. 22, describes him as 'a man who was not only a philosopher, but also most capable in affairs, who flourished in the time of Alexander, and was afterwards a companion of Ptolemy Lagos, and wrote a special history of the Jews.' See more in Schürer, l. c. 303.

φαίνηται, for which Josephus has δοκῇ σοι, is used in this sense only by later writers, e. g. Dion. Hal. ii. 14 ὁπότε γὰρ αὐτῷ φανείη στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.* **283.** 17 ἀξιῶι (*sic*), ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔχειν: **285.** 20 διὸ ἀξιῶ διαλαβεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐάν σοι φαίνηται. εὐτύχει.

d 2 ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων. The latter part of the sentence is rather different in Josephus: 'from whom we may learn the clear and consentient meaning of the books, and having ascertained the exact truth of the matters, may make a collection of these books in a manner worthy of thy purpose.'

d 4 Εὐτύχει, a form often used at the end of a letter instead of χαῖρε. In the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, 1891, 80 Mahaffy gives a letter from a son to his father ending with εὐτύχει. Philip of Macedon in a letter to the Athenian government, Demosth. *De Corona* 251, ends with εὐτυχεῖτε. Mendelssohn thinks that ἔρρωσο, not εὐτύχει, was used between equals.

d 6 γραφῆναι . . . σημάναντας. There is the same change of construction in the reading of Josephus δηλοῦντας. Aristeas has σημάναντα agreeing with γράμματα understood.

d 8 σπονδείων. Cf. Ex. xxv. 28 τὰ σπονδεῖα καὶ τοὺς κυάθους ἐν οἷς σπείσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς, i. e. the flagons which held the large quantity of wine, and the cups out of which the separate libations were poured.

d 11 χρηματοφύλακας. Eusebius has substituted this for the

less common word ῥισκοφύλακας. Ῥίσκος κιβωτὸς μεγάλη (Pollux). Cf. Terent. *Eun.* iv. 6. 16 '*Py.* Ubi sita est [cistella]? *Th.* In risco.' Josephus, l. c. has substituted τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι.

4] **352 b** 1 This letter is given by Josephus (l. c. 4) with many variations in the language.

b 3 ἀναρπαστούς. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 206

εἰσόψει χειρὸς ἀναρπαστὰν
σᾶς ἄπο.

On ἀνασπαστούς, the better reading in I Aristeas, compare Hdt. iv. 204 τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπαστοὺς ἐποίησαν; iii. 93 ἐν νήσοισι τοὺς ἀνασπαστοὺς καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς. The accentuation of these words is disputed. See L. and Sc. *Lex.* ἀνασπαστός, and on the other hand Lobeck in Chandler *Greek Accentuation*, p. 150.

This deportation of Jews into Egypt probably took place in 350 B. C., when Artaxerxes Ochus overran Phoenicia and Coele-Syria on his way to the conquest of Egypt. See Clinton, *F. H. Epit.* 239.

b 5 τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν. Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagos. See the decree of Philadelphus preserved by Josephus, *A. J.* xii. 2. 3.

c 2 ἔχῃ. Aristeas has μὴ ἔχῃ, meaning 'that the Egyptians might be freed from fear by the protection of the soldiers. By omitting μή Josephus and Eusebius imply that these foreign troops were meant to overawe the Egyptians, which is more probable.

c 4 ὧν ὑπέρ, κ.τ.λ. ὧν is found in Josephus and in the earliest edition of Aristeas (Schard, 1561), but is probably due to conjecture, and is not found in Eus. codd. Without it the construction is broken off abruptly.

c 8 χαριστικὸν ἀνατιθέντες, literally 'making a bounteous offering.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 632 C τὸν εὐδάπανον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ χαριστικόν. The proposal to substitute χαριστήριον (162 b 3) is unnecessary.

d 3 ἐπικρίνων, substituted by Eusebius for ἐπὶ χειρῶν or ἐπιχειρῶν, the various readings in Aristeas. A better emendation is ἐπὶ χρειῶν ('Schmidt et Anon. Oxon.'), supported by the title οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν in Arist. *Ep.* 110. 174, and by 1 Macc. x. 37 κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς πίστιν.

Βουλομένων δὲ ἡμῶν . . . προῃρήμεθα. 'Constructio papyris plane digna, cf. pap. Mus. Brit. p. 7. 4 ἡμῶν θεραπευουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιοῦμεν; pap. Paris. p. 209. 7 θυσιάσαντός μου κατέλυσα al.' (Mendelssohn).

d 4 σοί. 'In τούτοις, i. e. Iudaeis Aegyptiis a rege modo liberatis, cur offenderit Schmidt prorsus non intellego. σοί male Eusebius' (Mendelssohn).

353 a 3 τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων. The plural occurs in Arist. *Ep.* 7 and in Esther ii. 21. For the construction of the genitive cf. d 1 τῶν τετιμημένων.

a 8 περὶ ὧν ἂν αἱρῇ. A courteous phrase like ὡς ἂν βούλῃ in the line above; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 15 πάντα ὅσα αἱρεῖται ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεύς.

b 1 ἐνδεχομένως. Cf. Polyb. i. 20. 4 ἐδόκουν ἐνδεχομένως χειρίζειν τὰ πράγματα, 'commode quoad fieri potuit.' In Josephus the phrase used is ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως.

5] b 2 φίλῳ γνησίῳ. Cf. 448 a 5 Βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου φίλῳ πατρικῷ χαίρειν. The High Priest writes to the King as an equal, as is also shown by the use of ἔρρωσο instead of εὐτύχει at the end of the letter. Cf. 351 d 4, note.

b 3 Εἰ αὐτός τε ἔρρωσαι . . . ὑγιαίνομεν. A similar epistolary formula is found in the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, quoted on 351 d 4 Πολυκράτης τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. Καλῶς ποιεῖς εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰ λοιπά σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν. Ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς.

ἡ ἀδελφή. Ptolemy II married first Arsinoë, daughter of Lysimachus, and having divorced her (B.C. 274) married secondly his full sister Arsinoë, the widow of Lysimachus. The incestuous union, which was in accordance with the custom of the Persians but shocking to the Greeks, seems to have been condoned by Eleazar. Ptolemy was surnamed Philadelphus from his marriage with his sister, or, as his enemies said sarcastically, because he had put two of his brothers to death. Theocritus, *Id.* xvii. 130, describes Arsinoë as

ἐκ θυμῶ στέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν τε.

Ptolemy gave the name Arsinoë to several cities in which he established colonies of his veterans, especially to Crocodilopolis in the nome which he re-named Arsenoites (*the Fayûm*); he also united Arsinoe with himself in divine honours. In the *Flinders Petrie Papyri* (1891) there is a series of wills in which Ptolemy

Eusebius, which in this and the next sentence is abridged and apparently corrupted. I have adopted the clause as it stands in Methodius, *Philocal.*, *Adamant. Dial.*

c 4 *οὐδὲ γὰρ . . . φαμέν.* I have again adopted the text of Methodius, which is abridged in the MSS. of Eusebius, as follows: *ὡς οὐδὲ διάφορα μέρη κατακερματιζόμενα εἰς πολλὰ γενητά.* The sense is more clearly and fully expressed in Methodius *οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα διάφορα μέλη κατακερματίζομεν.*

Instead of ἀλλ' εἰ (BO) I have adopted ἀλλ' ἤ from Methodius (Robinson's note) and *Philocalia* (Lommatzsch): cf. Riddell, *Plat. Apol.* Append. B, p. 183: "Ἀλλ' ἤ. "The joint meaning is "except." By the ἀλλά the exception to the negative which has preceded is stated flatly: the ἤ allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception."' Translate therefore: 'Except that, as reason requires, we say that man has been made by God one created thing of many parts.'

c 5 *κατακερματίζομεν.* Cf. Plat. *Rep.* iii. 395 B *φαίνεταί μοι εἰς σμικρότερα κατακεκερματίσθαι ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις.*

d 5 *ἵσταται.* Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 171 D *καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν μάλιστα ἵστασθαι τὸν λόγον.*

d 7 *προχωρεῖν* depends on some word understood, such as *δεῖ* or *λέγομεν.*

338 a 4 *τὸ συνέχον* is not identical in meaning with *τὸ συνεχές*, 'the consequence,' but is constantly used by Polybius and others for 'that which contains and concludes the whole subject,' *quod rem ipsam vel caput causae continet'* (Schweighäuser, *Lexic. Polyb.*). Cf. Polyb. x. 47. 11 *ἐν τούτοις κεῖται τὸ συνέχον τῆς σωτηρίας.*

a 5 *τόπον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕλην.* Contrast with this Sir Isaac Newton's *dictum* at the end of the *Principia*, that God by existing constitutes time and space: 'Non est duratio vel spatium, sed durat et adest; et existendo semper et ubique spatium et durationem constituit.'

c 3 *τῇ ὕλῃ.* Routh here inserts from Methodius and the *Dialogue* *καὶ δι' ὅλης κεχωρηκέναι τῆς ὕλης*, which is not found in the MSS. of Eusebius, nor in *Philocalia* (Lommatzsch).

c 4 *συστολήν.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 564 B *διεσήμαινον, ὡς ἔοικεν, συστολῇ μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὰς τὸ δυσχεραῖνον.*

c 5 *οὐκ ἔχοντα ὑποχωρήσεως τόπον.* 'Viger says that these

arguments could have no weight except against those who imagined God to be corporeal. But we are reminded by Stillingfleet, *Orig. Sacr.* iii. 2, that they are perfectly valid against all who maintain, in accordance with the opinion of the Stoics, that God is contained in the world as in His own proper dwelling-place' (Routh).

The Stoic doctrine is thus stated by Zeller, *Outlines*, § 69 'As in the soul of man, though it is present in the whole body, the governing part is separate from the rest, and a special seat is assigned to it, so also in the soul of the universe. The Deity or Zeus has his seat in the uttermost circle of the world (according to Archedemus in the centre, and to Cleanthes in the sun), from whence he spreads himself through the world. But yet his distinction from the world is relative – the distinction between what is directly and what is indirectly divine. In themselves both are the same; there is but one and the same being, of which a part takes the form of the world, while another part retains its original shape, and in that shape confronts the first as the operative cause or the Deity.'

d 8 For *εἶναι*, the reading in Eusebius, *συνεῖναι* is found in the *Dialogue*, and introduced by Routh: it makes the meaning more clear—'You would have matter to co-exist eternally with God.' Viger obtains the same sense by supplying *ἀγέννητον*, which he considers to be required by the argument and by the following context.

340 c 5 *πρὸς τὸν πλησίον.* The treatise of Methodius is a dialogue between an Orthodox believer and a Valentinian, the former of whom says—'I wish this companion of mine here to listen to our conversation. For indeed he seems to have much the same opinions about these things as you have.'

d 6 *Σαφῶς παραστῆναί μοι δοκεῖς.* 'Usitatius fuerit *παραστῆσαι*' (Viger). But *παραστῆναι* is supported by all the authorities, and the only change necessary is to read *δοκεῖ* with IG: 'It seems to me to be clearly established.'

341 b 3 *Εἰ δὲ οὐσίαι τὰ κακά.* 'Mendosa haec sunt: quae facile sic emendes, *Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὐσίαι* . . .' Viger, who would thus entirely destroy the argument.

342 a 5 *ἔσονται καὶ ἑαυτῶν . . . ποιηταί.* 'I have restored the passage thus from the *Dialogue against the Marcionites*. For

instead of the words καὶ ἑαυτῶν the *Praep. Evang.* gives τούτων' (Routh). Though unsupported apparently by the MSS. of Eusebius, the emendation seems necessary to the sense, for τούτων would give us only the futile statement, 'If these things are done by men, men must be the doers of them.'

b 2 Εἰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐνεργεῖ ἕκαστος ὑπάρχει κακός, ἃ δὲ ἐνεργεῖ κ.τ.λ. I have again followed Dr. Routh, who has supplied from *Methodius* the words which had fallen out of the text of Eusebius through the repetition of ἐνεργεῖ.

b 5 ἀγένητα, has its usual sense, 'existing without beginning.'

b 7 πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον. Routh rightly attributes this speech to the third interlocutor mentioned by Methodius (340 c 5, note), who now becomes one of the chief speakers.

b 8 ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ⟨προλαβὼν ἔδωκε⟩, 'for from the premises which he gave to the argument,' gives a better sense than 'from the premises which you assumed.'

d 6 Τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν τὴν σήν. The first speaker here addresses the third.

343 a 4 πρὸς ὃ κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἀκούσας. Routh would insert καί before πρός, and ἐκείνου after it, and translate: 'aut enim et ab illo audiens, quod videtur agitare, fructum plane percipiet.' But without any alteration of the text we get a meaning equally if not more suitable, 'by hearing an answer to the question which seems to be stirred.' 'Ad verbum κινεῖσθαι quod attinet, posuit nimirum Olympiodorus *Praefatione* Scholiorum in *Gorgiam* Platonis . . . ἐντεύξεις καὶ θεωρημάτων κινήσεις . . . et Eunapius de Chrysantho philosopho ait (p. 51) οὕτως ἀλλοιότερός τις ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς κινήσεσιν ἐφαίνετο' (Routh).

344 d 8 Πρὶν γὰρ εἰκονισθῇ . . . εἶχεν. The combination of the conjunctive with the imperfect indicative is very unusual, but may be explained on the principle that the narrator so throws himself into the past events which he is narrating, that they become to him as if they were present, and the conditional or adverbial clause is expressed in the conjunctive, as if the event stated in the principal clause were still future: 'before he be fashioned as man, he will have no sense of evil.'

d 9 μήθ' ἑνός. μηδενός O *Philocal.* Dind. On the forms οὐδείς, μηδείς, and οὐθείς, μηθείς, see Ammonius (Valckenaer) p. 105 Οὐθ' ἓν οὔτε δύο· τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ δ ἀπαρτίζει. Lobeck, *Phryn.* Οὐθείς,

διὰ τοῦ θ, εἰ καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγουσι, σὺ δὲ ἀποτρέπου λέγειν· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τοῦ δ λέγουσιν οὐδείς. Cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 'The corruption had its beginning long before the time of Chrysippus.'

345 b 6 φέρων λέγε. 'So tell me now.' 'Celeritatis notio, quae in pass. φέρεσθαι eminet, etiam in imperativo φέρε con spicitur, qui, ut Lat. *age* exhortandi vim habet. . . . Similiter participium φέρων ponitur ita ut verti possit *protinus*, *statim*.' Ast, *Lex. Plat.* Φέρω. Cf. Viger, *De Idiotismis Gr.* 352.

c 3 ⟨ἀδύνατον . . . ἔχειν⟩. The clauses in brackets, which contain the apodosis, and are essential to the sense, have been restored by Routh from Methodius, having fallen out of the text through the *homoeoteleuton* τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν.

c 7 ἦν ποτὲ καθ' ἑαυτά. 'Negari facile posset quod hic assumitur' (Viger, Routh). The assumption seems to be undeniable: the constituents must exist, in thought at least, before their compound, though possibly they may only be found in combination in the phaenomenal world.

d 3 οὐκ ἦν δέ ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε τὸ ἀγένητον οὐκ ἦν. This passage shows the great importance of the word ἀγένητος in the Arian controversy and its close connexion with the famous formula ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, asserted of the Son. Cf. 320 d, Orig. *c. Cels.* iii, and especially the good note of Dr. Archibald Robertson, Athan. *De Decretis*, 149 (*Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers*, iv. 149).

d 5 ⟨ἦν δὲ ἀγένητα⟩, supplied by Routh and Robinson from Methodius.

d 14 ⟨ἀλλήλοις δὲ ταῦτα ἀντίκειται⟩. Supplied from Methodius, by Routh and Robinson, to complete the sense.

346 a 8 ἀνατρεπτικόν. Routh, *Rell. S.* ii. 120 'ἀναιρετικόν. Ita *Philocal.* et *Methodii Excerptor* pro ἀνατρεπτικόν. Saepenumero in superioribus ἀναιρετικόν adhibetur.' But in Methodius Jahn (p. 61) has ἀνατρεπτικόν, and in the MSS. of Eusebius there is no trace of any other reading.

a 11 ⟨τὰ δὲ . . . τυγχάνει⟩. 'Hoc membrum orationis *Philocalia* supplevit' (Routh).

b 9 τὸ μὴ εἶναι. 'After these words we must understand αὐτά, that is τὰ ἀντικείμενα, as inferred above' (Routh). This would only give the meaning that 'the contraries are not the matter':

but the conclusion required is that the one universal kind of matter (ὕλη μία τις) has no existence.

BOOK VIII

1] **348 c** 9 αὐτῶν . . . δεδοκιμασμένοις. Either the text is corrupt, or the construction broken. We should probably read δεδοκιμασμένων. For τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, 'their countrymen,' i. e. the Jews, compare 355 b 3 ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφανῶν.

349 a 5 βιωφελοῦς. Cf. Sext. Emp. *c. Math.* ii. 20 τέχνας . . . βιωφελεῖς. Here the meaning is not limited to the interests of this life.

a 6 λόγος τε οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ᾕρει. Cf. Schweigh. *Index Polyb.* 'Αἱρεῖν. ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ, ratio colligit, evincit, rationi consentaneum est . . . usitata philosophis formula.'

b 3 θεογνωσίας. Cf. 3 d 5, 349 b 4; Ps.-Just. M. *Confut. Dogm. Arist.* 111 B ἐπέτρεψαν θεογνωσίας τὴν εὕρεσιν.

c 1 Cf. Swete, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, p. 1. The story of the Septuagint Translation is told at much length by Josephus (*A. J.* xii. 2. 1), by Philo Judaeus (*Vita Moys.* ii. 5. 138 M), by Justin. M. (*Apol.* i. 31), and by most of the early Christian Fathers. The meaning of the text of Eusebius is sometimes made clearer by the fuller statements of Josephus.

c 5 ἀποκρυψάντων ἄν. The same thought had been already expressed more strongly by Irenaeus, iii. 21. 1 'had they known that we should make use of these testimonies from the Scriptures, they would never have hesitated themselves to burn their own Scriptures, which declare that all other nations have a share in (eternal) life.'

c 10 Γράφει δὲ ταῦτα 'Αριστaῖος. The letter from which the following extracts were taken was published in a separate volume at Oxford in 1692: the first part of it was edited, with a commentary, by L. Mendelssohn, 1897, and the complete text with preface, notes, and index by P. Wendland (Teubner, 1900). The text of the letter, with an introduction by Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray, is included in Dr. Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*. The letter purports to have been written by Aristeas, or Aristaeus,

a confidential minister of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 283–247) to his brother Philocrates. Though not regarded as genuine it is unquestionably ancient, a large part of it being quoted by Josephus. Its statements are in part admitted to be true, being confirmed by the fragment, preserved by Eusebius (*P. E.* 410 d), of a work of Aristobulus, a Jewish philosopher who wrote in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, B.C. 181–146.

'Obscure as is the origin of the translation, it may safely be admitted on internal grounds, that its *locality was Alexandria*, and its date the third century before Christ; for the Hellenist Demetrius, who wrote in the time of Ptolemy IV (222–205), certainly made use of it (see below, No. III). The preceding remarks apply only to the translation of the Pentateuch, to which alone the Aristeas legend refers' (Schürer, *The Jewish People*, Div. II., vol. iii. p. 161). For a full account of the history of the Version, and the very voluminous literature referring to it see the article 'Septuagint' in the *Dictionaries of the Bible*, edited by W. Smith and Hastings.

2] **350 a** 1 Καταστα θεὶς . . . βιβλιοθήκης, an incorrect statement. Cf. Busch, *De bibliothecariis Alexandrinis* 1, cited by Dr. Swete 18.

a 2 ὁ Φαληρεύς. 'The legend that it was Demetrius Phalereus who suggested the whole undertaking to Ptolemy Philadelphus is unhistorical, not only in its details but in the main point; for Demetrius Phalereus in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus was no longer living at court in Alexandria' (Schürer, l. c. 309). Cf. Swete, ibid. 19.

διάφορα, 'profits' or 'money.' Demosth. 1148. 14 δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ πλεονεξία τοῦ τρόπου περὶ τὰ διάφορα; Polybius, iv. 18. 8 ἔχειν κεκρυμμένον διάφορον; 2 Macc. i. 35 πολλὰ διάφορα ἐλάμβανε.

b 2 Παρόντων οὖν ἡμῶν. Thus the Ps.-Aristeas professes to write as an eye-witness.

πόσαι τινὲς μυριάδες. Instead of 200,000 volumes, Epiphanius, in repeating the legend of Aristeas, gives the number as '54,800 more or less' (*De Mens. et Pond.* ix.). Josephus says 'about 200,000.'

c 2 προσδεῖται is impersonal, as in Ps.-Plato, *Demodocus* 384 B προσδεῖται τοῦ ἀντεροῦντος.

c 3 καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι. Hdt. ii. 36 'In writing letters or numbers the Greeks move the hand from left to right, but the

Egyptians from right to left: and though they do so, they say that it is themselves who go to the right, and the Greeks to the left.' See Gardner Wilkinson's notes on the passage in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, and in Birch, ii. 489.

c 4 Συριακῇ. Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 26 with Keil's note: 'From these verses it appears that the Assyrian commanders understood Jewish or Hebrew, and the Jewish nobles on the other hand Aramaic (Συριστί, Sept.).'

c 8 *καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα.* The passage omitted here by Eusebius contains the narrative of Aristeas' intercession with Ptolemy on behalf of the Jewish slaves, which follows in Josephus in the same position.

c 9 *ἐκδοῦναι.* This use of the verb without any object expressed is found in Polybius ii. 37. 6; xvi. 26. 3 *γράψαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ἐκδοῦναι περὶ ὧν ὑπολαμβάνει συμφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας καιρούς.* Josephus, l. c. 3 has *ἐκδοῦναι τὸ . . . δόγμα.* Mendelssohn proposes to read *εἰσδοῦναι* in Eusebius against the better MSS. and without proof of such an usage.

d 5 *τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων.* Josephus adds *ἀναθημάτων.*

d 6 *μεγαλομερείᾳ.* For this word Josephus (*Antt.* xii. 2. 3) uses in the same sense *μεγαλουργίαν*; cf. Polyb. xxxi. 3 *τῇ μεγαλοεργίᾳ ὑπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον.* The meaning of the word is explained by what is stated by Josephus (l. c. 7) about the table, that the king wished it to be made of an immense size, *ὑπερμεγεθέστατον τοῖς μέτροις*, exceeding that of the table then at Jerusalem.

3] **351 a** 2 *ἀπολειφθέντων.* Mendelssohn changes *ἀπολιπόντων* in Aristeas into *ἀπολειπόντων*, and condemns *ἀπολειφθέντων.* But the aorist may be rightly understood as accommodated to *προστάξαντος.*

a 3 *τὰ διαπεπτωκότα . . . ἐπισκευῆς.* The words will bear either the meaning that 'the lost might be restored,' or that 'those which had fallen into decay might be repaired.'

b 2 *προσαναφέρω.* Polyb. xvii. 9. 10 *προσανενεγκεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ*, 'referre ad senatum.'

b 5 *οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει.* Josephus has *ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει.* The Latin, 'perperam expressa significatio,' seems to assume an earlier translation. But *σεσήμανται* may be understood of the writing as in Plutarch, *Moral.* 204 E *τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐρέβινθον ἐτόρευσε.* Thus the meaning would be that the Hebrew text had been carelessly copied,

and needed careful correction (διηκριβωμένα). Mendelssohn on the contrary suggests that the true text of the Hebrew should be correctly represented in the Greek translation which alone was to remain in the library.

c 1 Philo Jud. *Vita Moysis*, i. 1 (603 M) διὰ φθόνον ἴσως . . . οὐκ ἐθελησάντων αὐτὸν μνήμης ἀξιῶσαι τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι λογίων.

c 4 θεωρίαν. Polyb. i. 5. 3 ἡ τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ θεωρία.

c 5 Hecataeus of Abdera (not to be confounded with Hecataeus of Miletus, the famous early historian) is again mentioned 408 c. Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 22, describes him as 'a man who was not only a philosopher, but also most capable in affairs, who flourished in the time of Alexander, and was afterwards a companion of Ptolemy Lagos, and wrote a special history of the Jews.' See more in Schürer, l. c. 303.

φαίνηται, for which Josephus has δοκῇ σοι, is used in this sense only by later writers, e. g. Dion. Hal. ii. 14 ὁπότε γὰρ αὐτῷ φανείη στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.* **283.** 17 ἀξιῶι (*sic*), ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔχειν: **285.** 20 διὸ ἀξιῶ διαλαβεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐάν σοι φαίνηται. εὐτύχει.

d 2 ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων. The latter part of the sentence is rather different in Josephus: 'from whom we may learn the clear and consentient meaning of the books, and having ascertained the exact truth of the matters, may make a collection of these books in a manner worthy of thy purpose.'

d 4 Εὐτύχει, a form often used at the end of a letter instead of χαῖρε. In the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, 1891, 80 Mahaffy gives a letter from a son to his father ending with εὐτύχει. Philip of Macedon in a letter to the Athenian government, Demosth. *De Corona* 251, ends with εὐτυχεῖτε. Mendelssohn thinks that ἔρρωσο, not εὐτύχει, was used between equals.

d 6 γραφῆναι . . . σημάναντας. There is the same change of construction in the reading of Josephus δηλοῦντας. Aristeas has σημάναντα agreeing with γράμματα understood.

d 8 σπονδείων. Cf. Ex. xxv. 28 τὰ σπονδεῖα καὶ τοὺς κυάθους ἐν οἷς σπείσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς, i. e. the flagons which held the large quantity of wine, and the cups out of which the separate libations were poured.

d 11 χρηματοφύλακας. Eusebius has substituted this for the

less common word ῥισκοφύλακας. Ῥίσκος κιβωτὸς μεγάλη (Pollux). Cf. Terent. *Eun.* iv. 6. 16 '*Py.* Ubi sita est [cistella]? *Th.* In risco.' Josephus, l. c. has substituted τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι.

4] **352 b** 1 This letter is given by Josephus (l. c. 4) with many variations in the language.

b 3 ἀναρπαστούς. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 206

> εἰσόψει χειρὸς ἀναρπαστὰν
> σᾶς ἄπο.

On ἀνασπαστούς, the better reading in I Aristeas, compare Hdt. iv. 204 τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπαστοὺς ἐποίησαν; iii. 93 ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπαστοὺς καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς. The accentuation of these words is disputed. See L. and Sc. *Lex.* ἀνασπαστός, and on the other hand Lobeck in Chandler *Greek Accentuation*, p. 150.

This deportation of Jews into Egypt probably took place in 350 B. C., when Artaxerxes Ochus overran Phoenicia and Coele-Syria on his way to the conquest of Egypt. See Clinton, *F. H. Epit.* 239.

b 5 τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν. Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagos. See the decree of Philadelphus preserved by Josephus, *A. J.* xii. 2. 3.

c 2 ἔχῃ. Aristeas has μὴ ἔχῃ, meaning 'that the Egyptians might be freed from fear by the protection of the soldiers. By omitting μή Josephus and Eusebius imply that these foreign troops were meant to overawe the Egyptians, which is more probable.

c 4 ὧν ὑπέρ, κ.τ.λ. ὧν is found in Josephus and in the earliest edition of Aristeas (Schard, 1561), but is probably due to conjecture, and is not found in Eus. codd. Without it the construction is broken off abruptly.

c 8 χαριστικὸν ἀνατιθέντες, literally 'making a bounteous offering.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 632 C τὸν εὐδάπανον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ χαριστικόν. The proposal to substitute χαριστήριον (162 b 3) is unnecessary.

d 3 ἐπικρίνων, substituted by Eusebius for ἐπὶ χειρῶν or ἐπιχειρῶν, the various readings in Aristeas. A better emendation is ἐπὶ χρειῶν ('Schmidt et Anon. Oxon.'), supported by the title οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν in Arist. *Ep.* 110. 174, and by 1 Macc. x. 37 κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς πίστιν.

Βουλομένων δὲ ἡμῶν . . . προῃρήμεθα. 'Constructio papyris plane digna, cf. pap. Mus. Brit. p. 7. 4 ἡμῶν θεραπευουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιοῦμεν; pap. Paris. p. 209. 7 θυσιάσαντός μου κατέλυσα al.' (Mendelssohn).

d 4 σοί. 'In τούτοις, i. e. Iudaeis Aegyptiis a rege modo liberatis, cur offenderit Schmidt prorsus non intellego. σοί male Eusebius' (Mendelssohn).

353 a 3 τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων. The plural occurs in Arist. *Ep.* 7 and in Esther ii. 21. For the construction of the genitive cf. d 1 τῶν τετιμημένων.

a 8 περὶ ὧν ἂν αἱρῇ. A courteous phrase like ὡς ἂν βούλῃ in the line above; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 15 πάντα ὅσα αἱρεῖται ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεύς.

b 1 ἐνδεχομένως. Cf. Polyb. i. 20. 4 ἐδόκουν ἐνδεχομένως χειρίζειν τὰ πράγματα, 'commode quoad fieri potuit.' In Josephus the phrase used is ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως.

5] b 2 φίλῳ γνησίῳ. Cf. 448 a 5 Βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου φίλῳ πατρικῷ χαίρειν. The High Priest writes to the King as an equal, as is also shown by the use of ἔρρωσο instead of εὐτύχει at the end of the letter. Cf. 351 d 4, note.

b 3 Εἰ αὐτός τε ἔρρωσαι . . . ὑγιαίνομεν. A similar epistolary formula is found in the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, quoted on 351 d 4 Πολυκράτης τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. Καλῶς ποιεῖς εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰ λοιπά σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν. Ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς.

ἡ ἀδελφή. Ptolemy II married first Arsinoë, daughter of Lysimachus, and having divorced her (B.C. 274) married secondly his full sister Arsinoë, the widow of Lysimachus. The incestuous union, which was in accordance with the custom of the Persians but shocking to the Greeks, seems to have been condoned by Eleazar. Ptolemy was surnamed Philadelphus from his marriage with his sister, or, as his enemies said sarcastically, because he had put two of his brothers to death. Theocritus, *Id.* xvii. 130, describes Arsinoë as

ἐκ θυμῶ στέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν τε.

Ptolemy gave the name Arsinoë to several cities in which he established colonies of his veterans, especially to Crocodilopolis in the nome which he re-named Arsenoites (*the Fayûm*); he also united Arsinoe with himself in divine honours. In the *Flinders Petrie Papyri* (1891) there is a series of wills in which Ptolemy

Philadelphus and Arsinoe are described as θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι, and the dates are calculated from the years of the Priest of Alexander and the Canephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphos.

c 1 τὰ τέκνα, the children of his former marriage: he had no child by his second wife.

c 7 τράπεζαν εἰς ἀνάθεσιν. Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr.* n. 170. 11 ποτήρια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ εἰς ἀνάθεσιν τοῖς θεοῖς. There is no reference to the τράπεζα τῆς προθέσεως, Exod. 39. 36. There is an elaborate description of the table in Arist. *Ep.* 52 seqq.

d 6 παρὰ φύσιν. The publication of their sacred books in a foreign language was contrary to the natural inclination of the Jews: see below 354 d.

d 9 προσηγάγομεν ὑπὲρ σοῦ θυσίας. On the sacrifices offered by and for Gentiles see Schürer, l. c. Div. II. Vol. i. p. 299, and his reference to the present case p. 304 'Although this story may belong to the realm of the legendary, still it may be regarded as faithfully reflecting the practice of the time.' Cf. 2 Macc. iii. 2, v. 16.

354 a 8 ἵνα πάλιν ἀποκατασταθῶσι. Compare the request of Vaphres to Solomon, 448 d 4 ἵνα ἀποκατασταθῶσιν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας γενόμενοι.

b 4 Καθὼς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη. Eusebius passes from Arist. *Ep.* 46 to 310. καθὼς seems here to indicate time, but this is a very unusual sense. In Acts vii. 17, the only apparent instance in the New Testament, the Revisers rightly changed *when* into *as*: on 2 Macc. i. 31 καθὼς δὲ ἀνηλώθη τὰ τῆς θυσίας, Grimm remarks that, 'The use of καθὼς in place of the temporal ὡς is here quite decided, but supported hitherto by no other passage.' The word itself is irregularly compounded, and, though common in biblical and late Greek, is not found in classical authors. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 426; Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 495; 448 d 4, note.

τεύχη. 'Volumes,' as in πεντάτευχος. Symmachus uses τεῦχος as equivalent to κεφαλίς in Ps. xxxix. (xl.) 8 and Isa. viii. 1.

b 8 διασκευή. Athenaeus, iii. 75 (110 B) τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα διασκευή ἐστι τοῦ προκειμένου.

c 1 μεταφέρων τι. This part of the narrative differs strangely from Josephus (xii. 2. 12), who writes: 'They commanded that if any one saw anything superfluous added to the law, or anything omitted, he should examine this again and make it clear and correct it.'

c 3 ἀέννaa. The more correct form is ἀέναα. Eur. *Ion* 118 τὰν ἀέναον παγάν.

d 1 τῶν ἱστορικῶν. Compare 351 c 1.

d 5 Θεοπόμπου. See note on 462 c.

d 6 τῶν προηρμηνευμένων. Cf. 351 b, 410 d, 664 a.

d 8 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ⟨ἄνεσιν⟩. The medical term for the abatement of a fever or other disease. The MSS. of Eusebius have αἴτησιν, which is superfluous with ἐξιλάσκεσθαι in the middle voice, like ἐξιλασάμενος 355 a 5.

d 9 σημανθέντος. I have adopted this from Aristeas, instead of μαθόντος the word used, in Eusebius, which is shown to be wrong by the following ἀποσχόμενον.

355 a 1 παρὰ Θεοδέκτου. Speaking of these stories of Theopompus and Theodectes, Valckenaer (*Diatr. de Aristobulo*, iv) says that, though to us they seem to be a Jew's absurd falsehoods, yet they perhaps appeared probable to the Christian Fathers who repeated them. On Theodectes see 466 d.

a 4 ἀπεγλαυκώθη. The tense seems to indicate a sudden attack of blindness, such as occurs in what is called 'lightning-glaucoma.' The Greek name 'Glaucoma' is derived from the circumstance that the crystalline lens assumes a bluish or greenish hue and loses transparency. Hence the joke of Palaestrio in the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus (ii. 1. 70):

> 'Et nos facetis fabricis et doctis dolis
> Glaucumam ob oculos obiiciemus, eumque ita
> Faciemus ut quod viderit non viderit.' (Viger.)

Cf. Aristot. *De Gener. Animal.* v. 28 'Glaucoma is rather a kind of dryness in the eyes, and therefore occurs more frequently in old age: for like the rest of the body these parts also grow dry as old age comes on.'

a 7 ⟨παρὰ⟩ τοῦ Δημητρίου. There is some corruption in the text, περὶ τούτων τὰ περὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου. The simplest emendation is παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, as in Josephus l. c. παραλαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, καθὼς προείρηται, προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς, where both ταῦτα and αὐτοῖς refer to the books.

προσκυνήσας. Cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* ii. 7 'If any one reads those scriptures in both languages, namely the Chaldaic and the translation, they admire and reverence (προσκυνοῦσιν) them

as sisters, or rather as one and the same, both in their facts and in their language.'

b 7 Ὑποθετικῶν. The work, from which this extract is taken, is unknown, except from Eusebius. Ewald (*Hist. Israel.* vii. 229, Eng. Trs.) identifies it with the work Περὶ Ἰουδαίων (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 18. 6), but this seems rather to be the Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων Ἀπολογία quoted below 379 **a** 1.

Viger, followed by Ewald, supposes the title *Hypothetica* to mean *Conjectures*, but Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, i. 262 ff., shows that this does not correspond to the general character of the passages quoted, and proves that the true meaning is *Suggestions*, namely as to moral conduct. Thus Isocrates, *Nicocles*, 3 'Certain of the poets of former times have left behind them *Suggestions* (ὑποθήκας) how we ought to live.' Philo of Larissa, Cicero's friend and teacher in philosophy, in comparing the moralist to a physician, says: 'We must bring in the *Hypothetic discourse*, by means of which they will have in brief the suggestions (ὑποθήκας) for safety and correctness in the use of everything' (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* ii. 38). 782 **a** 4 'At the beginning of his *Suggestions* (Ὑποθηκῶν) Democritus speaks thus.' Solon is said by Diogenes Laertius (i. 2) to have written εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑποθήκας. Cf. Schürer, l. c. p. 355.

6] **d** 10 κέρκωπα λόγων. Aeschines (33. 24) uses κέρκωψ as a term of reproach against Demosthenes, implying that he was a subtle and treacherous flatterer: ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ἦν ποθ' ὁ κέρκωψ ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παιπάλημα . . . οὐκ ᾔδειν πρότερον. 'I never knew before what in the world the Cercops was.'

Plutarch, *Mor.* 60 C, makes Agis say to Alexander, who had given great largess to some buffoon, 'I confess I was annoyed and indignant at seeing how all you sons of Zeus alike are pleased with flatterers and buffoons: for so Hercules was delighted with certain Cercopes, and Dionysus with Sileni.' See the amusing story in C. O. Müller, *Hist. and Ant. of the Doric Race*, xii. 10.

Καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας. The genitive denotes an exclamation, expressing admiration or other emotion, as in Xenophon, *Cyrop.* ii. 2. 3 τῆς τύχης, τὸ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεῦρο τυχεῖν. Theocritus, xv. 75 χρηστῶ κ' οἰκτίρμονος ἀνδρός.

356 a 3 παραπομπῇ. Cf. Demosth. 249. 16; 1211. 15 τὴν παραπομπὴν τοῦ σίτου, referring to the convoy of the corn-ships.

357 a 1 ἁγιστείαν. Ps.-Plato, *Axiochus*, 371 D τὰς ὁσίους ἁγιστείας κἀκεῖσε συντελοῦσι.

a 7 εὐνομίας καὶ εὐπειθείας. Cf. Aristot. *Polit.* iv. 8. 5 'Εὐνομία does not consist in good legislation without obedience. Wherefore one kind of εὐνομία must be supposed to consist in obedience to the laws established, and another to the right establishment of the laws by which they abide.'

7] **d** 1 τούτοις προσόμοιον. Philo is here contrasting the strict justice and severity of the Jewish laws with the laxity of the heathen. This whole fragment, 357 d–361 b, is preserved only by Eusebius.

d 2 ἐπαγωγάς. The more usual meaning, as in Plato and Plotinus (*Enn.* iv. 4. 40), is 'incantations,' for drawing down gods or daemons.

d 3 τιμήσεις καὶ πάλιν ὑποτιμήσεις. Cf. Plat. *Apol. Socr.* 36 B τιμᾶται δ' οὖν μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ θανάτου. Εἶεν· ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τίνος ὑμῖν ἀντιτιμήσομαι; Demosth. 1252. 15 ἐν τῇ τιμήσει βουλομένων τῶν δικαστῶν θανάτου τιμῆσαι αὐτῷ.

358 a 1 ἵλεως ἡμῖν . . . τῆς . . . ἐννοίας. The genitive is to be understood as *causal*: 'be not angry with us because of . . .'

a 6 πρὸς ὕβρεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, πρὸς εὐπείθειαν δέ. The distinction between the genitive and accusative with πρός is very clearly shown in these clauses.

b 1 ἐπιφημίσαντα. Cf. 69 a 4, note.

ἀνίησιν. An abrupt change of construction from the participle ἐπιφημίσαντα. 'ἀνίησιν sequitur, quasi praecessisset εἰ μὴ θεόν γε ἐπιφημίζει αὐτοῖς' (Heinichen). Cf. Lev. i. 2 'an offering (Korban) to the Lord.' Cf. Mark vii. 11, 12.

b 2 Εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μόνον. 'It was not necessary to use the express words of vowing. Not only the word "Korban," *given to God*, but any similar expression would suffice; the mention of anything laid upon the altar (though not of the altar itself), such as the wood or the fire, would constitute a vow.' Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 18.

b 4 τῶν Θεῶν. 'Quid si τοῦ θεοῦ? Nam quorsum hic profanorum deorum meminisse?' (Viger). No change is admissible: Eusebius follows the Sept. Exod. xxii. 28 θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις. Cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 26; Joseph. *A. I.* iv. 8. 10; *Contra Apion.* ii. 33 καὶ περί γε τοῦ μήτε χλευάζειν μήτε βλασφημεῖν τοὺς

νομιζομένους θεοὺς παρ' ἑτέροις ἄντικρυς ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπείρηκεν, αὐτῆς ἕνεκα προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ. In Exod. xxii. 28 'the gods' (A. V.) is changed into 'God' in R. V.

c 3 *ἔκλυσις.* 'If a vow was regarded as rash or wrong, attempts were made to open a door for repentance. Absolutions from a vow might be obtained before a "sage," or in his absence before three laymen' (Edersheim, ibid. ii. 20). Cf. Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* 'Corban.'

d 2 *νόμοις.* The reading *νομίμοις* is apparently an error occasioned by *νομίμων* immediately preceding: a distinction is evidently drawn between *νομίμων* and the emphatic *τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῖς.*

ἅ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει. Cf. Tobit iv. 15 *ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς.* In Matt. vii. 12 and Luke vi. 31 the negative precept is converted into the positive and stronger. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, 95, 135, 272; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 37, note; Isocrates, *Nicocl.* 39 C *Ἃ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε*, quoted by Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* liv. note 36, as occurring 400 years before the publication of the Gospel.

d 3 *ἃ μὴ κατέθηκεν.* Diog. L. i. 57 quotes as a law of Solon *ἃ μὴ ἔθου μὴ ἀνέλῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατος ἡ ζημία.* Plat. *Legg.* viii. 844 E *ἑπόμενος τῷ νόμῳ τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὅ τι μὴ κατέθετο.* xi. 913 C *οὐδαμῇ ἀγεννοῦς ἀνδρὸς νουθέτημα, ὃς εἶπεν, ἃ μὴ κατέθου μὴ ἀνέλῃ.* Cf. Lev. vi. 3, 4; Deut. xxii. 3; Joseph. c. *Apion.* ii. 27. Thus in Luke xix. 21 *αἴρεις ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκας* implies not merely strict exaction of a right (Meyer), but a dishonest extortion.

d 4 *θημῶνος.* Hom. *Od.* v. 368

> *ὡς δ' ἄνεμος ζαὴς ἠΐων θημῶνα τινάξῃ*
> *καρφαλέων.*

d 5 *μὴ πυρός.* Cf. Athen. vi. 238 F

> *ἀγνοεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς*
> *ὅ τι ἐστιν, εἴ τις μὴ φράσει' ὀρθῶς ὁδόν,*
> *ἢ πῦρ ἐναύσει', ἢ διαφθείρει' ὕδωρ.*

μὴ νάματα. Juven. *Sat.* xiv. 103

> 'Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
> Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.'

d 6 *πτωχοῖς.* Tobit iv. 7, 11 'When thou givest alms let not thine eye be envious. . . . Alms is a good gift in the sight of the Most High.' Cf. 367 d, where the same rules are repeated.

d 8 *προσεπιβάλλειν.* Hor. *Carm.* i. 28

'At tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus arenae
Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare.'

359 a 1 *μὴ θῆκας . . . κινεῖν.* Cf. Dr. A. Neubauer, *Temanite and Nabataean Inscriptions* (Studia Biblica, i. 212) 'He who shall injure this monument (?) may the gods of Tema extirpate him, and his seed, and his name from the surface of Tema.'

a 3 *ἀτοκίοις,* sc. *φαρμάκοις.*

a 6 *ζυγὸν ἄδικον.* Cf. Prov. xi. 1; xvi. 11.

a 7 *ἀπόρρητα.* Prov. xi. 13.

b 1 *ποῖ δή.* 'How can those famous imprecations of the Buzygia be compared with the Jewish precepts?' Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii. 503 'They then will not escape the Buzygian imprecation, who recommend others to do what they think is not expedient for themselves.' 'At one of the festivals of Demeter, it is uncertain which, a member of the family of the Buzyges, whose founder first yoked the steer to the plough, used to pronounce a series of solemn imprecations against certain kinds of offences' (Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandl.* 277). These imprecations were directed especially against those who in daily life refused to share water, or fire, or to point out the road to those who lost their way (*Paroemiogr.* i. 388). 'Buzyges: a hero of Attica, who first yoked oxen to the plough' (Hesychius). Cf. Aristot. *Athen. Rep. Fr.* 348 '. . . vel Epimenides (significatur) qui postea Buzyges dictus est secundum Aristotelem.' 'The Athenians observe three sacred ploughings, the first at Sciron, as a memorial of the most ancient of all tillings, a second at Rharia, a third close under the Acropolis, which last is called Buzygium' (Plutarch, *Praecepta Coniug.* 42. 144 A). Buzygium was on the west side of the Acropolis, in the region called from the migratory Pelasgians 'Pelasgicum' or 'Pelargicum.' Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 206; Thuc. ii. 17; Aristoph. *Av.* 832.

b 5 *νεοττιὰν κατοικίδιον.* Deut. xxii. 6 'If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young.'

c 2 *ἐξωλείας.* Demosth. 642. 15 *διομεῖται κατ' ἐξωλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς οἰκίας.*

d 3 ἔργου, in the sense of 'labour,' 'trouble,' means here the difficulty of strictly observing the Sabbath. So below 360 a 7, ταῦτα παντὸς σπουδάσματος μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα, where codd. EI have ἔργου in place of σπουδάσματος. Cf. Juven. *Sat.* xiv. 105

'Septima quaeque fuit lux
Ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.'

360 a 2 προσεπιφημίσαι. Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 36 *And all the people said, Amen, and praised the Lord.*

a 4 ἐξηγεῖται. Swete, *Introd. to O. T. in Greek*, 20 'At Alexandria the Hebrew lesson was gladly exchanged for a lesson read from a Greek translation, and the work of the interpreter was limited to exegesis.' Note: 'But ἐξηγεῖται is ambiguous.' Cf. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 444.

b 1 θεσμῳδούς. Cf. Philo J. i. 650 τῶν θεσμῳδουμένων εἰς ἄληστον μνήμην ἀκούωσιν. The term θεσμός as applied to oracular answers is connected with Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος, who presided over the oracle at Delphi before Apollo.

b 6 τοὺς νόμους. Juvenal, in his bitter attack upon the Jews, *Sat.* xiv. 96 ff. bears witness to their careful observation of their own laws:

'Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges
Iudaicum ediscunt et servant et metuunt ius,
Tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moses.'

c 2 νέωτα. Cf. Philemon. *Fr.* ap. Stob. *Floril.* lvii. 8

ἀεὶ γεωργὸς εἰς νέωτα πλούσιος,

i.e. 'is always going to be rich next year.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1081 D καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ μὲν πέρυσι τὸ δὲ εἰς νέωτα.

361 b 9 Περὶ . . . Ἀρχαιότητος. The full title of this work is Περὶ Ἀρχαιότητος Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀπίωνος, *Concerning the Antiquity of the Jews, against Apion*, but it is usually quoted as *Contra Apionem*, to distinguish it from the greater work, *Jewish Antiquities* (Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία).

8] **d** 2 ⟨οὕτω . . . ἂν ἐπίοι τις. This whole clause is omitted in Dindorf's Josephus, and is not at all necessary to the sense.

d 3 ταῖς ὀλίγων δυναστείαις. Aristotle, *Polit.* iv. 5. 1 'Another kind of oligarchy is when the son is admitted in the place of his father, . . . and it is not the law that rules, but the magistrates. . . . And an oligarchy of this kind is called a dynasty.'

d 6 βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον. Whiston, whose translation, '*by a*

strained expression,' I have adopted, treats this as an apology for a harsh and improper expression in reference to God. It rather seems to be an excuse for coining a new word, *θεοκρατία*, though excuse was hardly needed for following so good models as *δημοκρατία* and *ἀριστοκρατία*.

362 a 1 Ἀλλ' *αὐτόν*. In Josephus Niese inserts ἵνα after ἀλλ', which improves both the sense and form of the clause.

b 2 *φιλόσοφοι*. The opinions of Plato and other Greek philosophers on the nature of God form the subject of Book XI.

b 4 *δόξαις κατειλημμένα*. The meaning, *preoccupied* or *prejudiced*, is more fully expressed in Josephus by *προκατειλημμένα*. Cf. Aeschin. *De Fals. Legat.* ii. 114 *προκαταλαβόντα τὰ Φιλίππου ὦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγον μὴ καταλιπεῖν*.

d 12 *κωφήν*. Cf. *κωφοῖς δάκρυσι Epigr. Gr.* 208 (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

363 a 5 *τῶν ⟨κοινωνησόντων⟩*. This refers to the rule of not eating with Gentiles, Matt. ix. 11; Gal. ii. 12.

b 2 *ὑποτίμησιν*, the true reading preserved in Josephus, for which Gaisford leaves *ἐπιτίμησιν* in the text of Eusebius, though it is not at all suitable to the context. On *ὑποτίμησιν*, which is adopted both by Dindorf and Heinichen, see above 357 d.

c 6 *ἔροιτο*. For ἕλοιτο (Eus. codd.) Josephus has *ἔροιτο*, which gives the more appropriate sense—'whomsoever a man might ask.'

364 c 5 *δεόμενα*. The text of Eusebius has *δεόμεναι*, which may be rendered—'are detected by the tests of experience which require their correction.' Josephus has *δεόμενα*, which gives the better sense.

d 9 Τοῦτο δ' ἦν. 'Josephus has *τούτοις δ' ἦν*, which seems easier' (Viger). With *τούτοις* we must render 'These men had an exact care,' &c.

365 b 1 *προρρήσεις*, 'public notices.' Cf. Plat. *Legg.* ix. 873 A *προρρήσεις μὲν τὰς περὶ ⟨τοῦ⟩ τῶν νομίμων εἴργεσθαι*.

b 2 *προαγορεύσεις*. Cf. Plat. ibid. *προαγορεύειν δὲ τὸν φόνον τῷ δράσαντι*. Antiphon 145. 24 *αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ προαγορεύειν εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων*.

c 6 If *καλά* be omitted with BO, render 'but at His will.'

366 c 3 *φησίν*, omitted in B alone. There seems to be no such statement in the law.

c 8 Τέκνα τρέφειν ἅπαντα. On laws concerning infanticide see Plat. *Theaet.* 149 D; Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 16. 15; Lecky, *History of Morals*, ii. 22; Boissier, *La Religion romaine*, ii. 181.

d 4 καθαρὸς εἶναι τότε προσήκει. With this personal construction of προσήκει compare Aesch. *Agam.* 1079

θεὸν καλεῖ
οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

Cf. Bernhardy, *Gr. Synt.* 467.

d 6 πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν. The meaning is that the law considered a part of the man's soul to be transferred to the wife.

367 a 8 ἐνταφίων. In Soph. *El.* 326

ἐντάφια χεροῖν
φέρουσαν οἷα τοῖς κάτω νομίζεται,

the term is limited to such offerings as could be carried in one person's hands; but ἐντάφια is also used in the wider sense of 'funeral obsequies,' equivalent to τὰ περὶ τὴν κηδείαν in b 1.

b 5 Γονέων τιμήν. Exod. xxi. 15, 17.

c 1 τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. Cf. Lev. xix. 32.

c 4 Δικάζων. Cf. Exod. xxiii. 8.

c 7 τόκον. Cf. Exod. xxii. 25.

d 10 ὁδοὺς φράζειν. Cf. Juven. *Sat.* xiv. 103, quoted 358 d 5.
ἄταφον. Cf. 358 d 8.

368 a 2 πυρπολεῖν. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1497

οἴμοι, τίς ἡμῶν πυρπολεῖ τὴν οἰκίαν;

b 2 νεοττοῖς. Cf. 359 b; Deut. xxii. 6.

b 7 ἄνευ προφάσεως, 'citra omnem excusationem' (Viger). It is difficult to understand how the text of Josephus came to be corrupted into οὐκ ἄνευ προφάσεως in the MSS. of Eusebius.

d 2 κοτίνου στέφανος. The victors in the Olympic games were crowned with a wreath of wild olive (κοτίνου), in the Isthmian and Nemean games with parsley (σελίνου), in the Pythian with laurel (δάφνης).

d 3 ἀνακήρυξις. Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 585

ἀνεκήρυττεν τῶν ἀσκητῶν τοὺς νικῶντας στεφανώσας
κοτίνου στεφάνῳ; καίτοι χρυσῷ μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ ἐπλούτει.

d 6 κἂν . . . ⟨ἀποθανοῦσιν⟩. The text of Josephus has again been altered for the worse in IO into ἀποθανεῖν.

d 8 ἐκ περιτροπῆς. Dionys. Hal. v. 2 'in turn' of the Consuls receiving by turns the axes and the fasces.

369 c 8 κεκαλλιγραφημένους. Diog. L. vii. 18 τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας λέξεις.

d 6 δισχιλίοις. Josephus exceeds the usual calculations by several hundred years.

370 a 8 Πτολεμαίων. Eleazar was the High Priest in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 285–247, and Aristobulus flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, B.C. 181–146. Valckenaer therefore rightly prefers the reading Πτολεμαίων to Πτολεμαίου (cod I). Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 410; Valck. *Diatr. de Aristob.* x; and 323 d 7, 349 d 2.

b 3 πρεσβείας. Wendland suggests πρέσβεσιν, but without any support from MSS.

ἕνεκα must therefore be joined with πρεσβείας, which otherwise has no construction, and the translation should have run thus: 'To those who had come to him as an embassy from the king he sketches out the method of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek tongue, and has made in his discourse the explanation of the allegorical sense in the sacred laws in the following form.'

9] **c** 1 The following statement is taken from Ps.-Arist. *Epist.* 128 (Wendland).

c 2 νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς. 'νομίζω Schmidt, recte ut vid.' (Wendland). τοὺς πολλούς (Viger). No change is necessary, as Ps.-Aristeas seems to use νομίζειν in an intransitive sense, 'to be customary,' or 'to be thought.' Cf. 170 Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἐνόμιζε περὶ ἑκάστων ἀπολελογῆσθαι, where ἐνόμιζε seems to be equivalent to ἐδόκει. 154 τὸ γὰρ ζῆν διὰ τῆς τροφῆς συνεστάναι νομίζει. The usage, so far as I know, is peculiar to Ps.-Aristeas. Cf. 373 c 7 νομίζει, 'solet.'

c 5 καταβολῆς, literally 'foundation,' and here 'original creation.' Compare the N. T. phrase καταβολὴ κόσμου, and Polyb. xiii. 6. 2 ἐκ καταβολῆς ναυπηγεῖν σκάφη.

d 3 πάλιν ⟨πάνυ⟩ δεισιδαιμόνως. 'Aristeas tam manuscriptus quam excusus πάνυ tantum inserit inter πάλιν et δεισιδαιμόνως, quod lacunam non satis explet' (Viger). There appears to be no 'lacuna' in the MSS., but only in the sense. The Vatican MSS. of Ps.-Aristeas, A and C, have πάνυ, Schmidt for πάλιν suggests παντάπασι, and Wendland reads παντελῶς.

d 5 διαστροφάς. Polyb. ii. 21. 8 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ δήμου διαστροφῆς.

d 8 *Διαστειλάμενος*. The sentence beginning with this participle is interrupted by a long parenthesis, *Προϋπέδειξε . . . γίνεσθαι*, and taken up again by another participial clause, *Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐξεργαζόμενος*.

371 a 1 *προδήλους* is apparently corrupt, *τὰς βλάβας* being left without government, as also in Schmidt's conjecture *προδηλώσας* adopted by Wendland. A more probable emendation would be *προδηλοῖ*.

ἐπιπομπάς, 'visitations,' a word which I fail to find elsewhere in this sense.

a 9 *Ποιησάμενος οὖν*. The sentence is interrupted by a long parenthesis, *Ἀγάλματα γὰρ . . . τελευτήσασι*, and resumed by *Συνθεωρήσας* (d 4).

b 6 *παρὰ πόδας*. Plat. *Theaet*. 174 C *περὶ τῶν παρὰ πόδας καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς*.

c 7 *πολυμάταιος*, an unusual compound.

d 2 *ἀπέρεισιν*. Plat. *Crat*. 427 A *τῆς ἀπερείσεως τῆς γλώττης δύναμιν*. Plut. *Mor*. 1130 D *οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑπόλειμμα σώματος τοῖς τεθηκόσι τιμωρίας ἀπέρεισιν* (vulg. *ἅπερ εἰσὶν*) *ἀντιτύπου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον* (Wyttenbach).

372 a 9 *ἁγνείαις*. The 'purity' expressed in *ἁγνός* and *ἁγνεία* consisted chiefly in abstinence from things regarded as impure. Cf. Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 464 B *ἀφροδισίων ἁγνεῦσαι καὶ οἴνου*; C *ἁγνεύοντα καὶ λόγων πονηρῶν καὶ πράξεων ἀτόπων*. Plat. *Legg*. 759 C *φόνου δὲ ἁγνόν*.

b 6 *τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον*. Cf. Plat. *Phaed*. 88 D *νῦν εἰς ἀπιστίαν καταπέπτωκεν* (ὁ *λόγος*).

b 7 *μυῶν*. The MSS. vary between *μυιῶν*, 'flies,' and *μυῶν* 'mice': but the connexion with *γαλῇ* is in favour of the latter: cf. Lev. xi. 29 *ἡ γαλῆ καὶ ὁ μῦς*, and 374 d 1 *γαλῆς καὶ μυῶν*.

c 5 *ἀτταγαί*. Cf. Lobeck, *Phyrn. Ecl*. 117 *Ἀτταγήν· καὶ τοῦτο παρανενόμηται καὶ τόνῳ καὶ θέσει. χρὴ γὰρ ἀτταγᾶς λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἀλλᾶς*. Rutherford, *New Phryn*. '*Ἀλλᾶς* is not a real parallel as its genitive is *ἀλλᾶντος*. It was intended by Phrynichus simply to illustrate the accentuation which in *ἀτταγᾶς* is peculiar.' In the present passage the MSS. vary between *ἀτταγοί* and *ἀττακοί*. There is a discussion of the form and accent of the word in Athen. ix. 387, and a full description of the bird, which is said to be rather bigger than a partridge, striped all over the back, and of the

colour of clay, but rather redder, corresponding perhaps to the 'attagen Ionicus' of Hor. *Epod.* ii. 54. In Lev. xi. 22 *τὸν ἀττάκην* is rendered 'the bald locust' (A. V. and R. V.).

373 c 1 *τεκούσας.* Cf. Lev. xii. 2.

c 4 *μηρυκισμὸν ἀνάγει.* Cf. Lev. xi. 4 *τὸν κάμηλον, ὅτι ἀνάγει μηρυκισμὸν τοῦτο ὁπλὴν δὲ οὐ διχηλεῖ, ἀκάθαρτον τοῦτο ὑμῖν.* Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* ii. 17. 8. Plut. *Cleom.* xxx. *πλῆθος αἵματος ἀνήγαγε.*

c 5 *ἐκτίθεται.* Cf. Polyb. iv. 24. 9 *καλὸν δεῖγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκτιθέμενος.*

c 7 *νομίζει,* 'solet.' Cf. 370 c 2, note.

d 1 *Μνείᾳ.* A confused reminiscence of Deut. vii. 18 and Job xlii. 3, applied here to the wonderful constitution of man's body.

374 a 3 *τῶν περιβολαίων,* 'the coverings,' or 'garments': the word seems to be used here in allusion to Num. xv. 38 and Deut. xxii. 12 *ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κρασπέδων τῶν περιβολαίων σου,* 'upon the four borders (corners) of thy vesture.' 'We may translate "borders of our garments" to suggest this' (J. B. M.). See Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* 'Fringes.'

παράσημον, literally, 'a side-mark,' or 'marginal note,' hence in a more general sense 'a sign,' or 'symbol.'

a 4 [*καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἰκήσεων διὰ τὸ σκεπάζεσθαι.*] These words are not found in the letter of Aristeas, but are an interpolation in the MSS. of Eusebius.

a 5 *ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν.* Cf. Deut. vi. 9 *καὶ γράψετε αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰς φλιὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν,* 'ubi *πόλεων* nulla mentio' (Viger).

a 6 *ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν.* Deut. vi. 8 *καὶ ἀφάψεις αὐτὰ εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου.*

b 4 *κοιταζομένους.* Deut. vi. 7.

b 5 *διαλήψει.* Cf. 152 d 7.

b 6 *τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἑαυτῶν.* In Plat. *Def.* 413 A *ἐπιστήμη* is defined as *ὑπόληψις ψυχῆς ἀμετάπτωτος ὑπὸ λόγου.*

b 9 *τῆς λογίας,* 'suspectum . . . *ἀπολογίας* coniec. Cohn (cf. 375 b 6 *Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἐνόμιζε περὶ ἑκάστων ἀπολελογῆσθαι*)' Wendland. I had conjectured *ἀναλογίας*, and translated accordingly; the Latin gives 'ratio.' Cohn's conjecture *ἀπολογίας* is perhaps, still better.

d 2 *διηγόρευται.* In Hdt. vii. 38 for *καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν,* Schweig-

häuser and Gaisford, with cod. Paris. B, read *διαγορεύειν*, 'to speak out plainly what he wanted.' Cf. 1 Esdras v. 49 *τοῖς . . . διηγορευμένοις*, 'expressly commanded' R.V.; Dan. (LXX.), Sus. 61.

d 5 *ἐπιβάλληται*, for which Viger would substitute *ἐπιβάλλωνται*, 'whatsoever they set themselves to damage,' seems to be used in the same sense as the intransitive *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον*.

d 7 *συλλαμβάνει*. Aristotle makes no allusion to the vulgar error about conception through the ears, but in the treatise *De Generatione Animalium*, iii. 6. 5, explains the origin of the second error as follows: 'The weasel has just the same kind of womb as all other quadrupeds: and in what way is the embryo to pass from it into the mouth? But because the weasel, like the other cloven-footed animals (*σχιζόποδα*), of which we shall speak hereafter, brings forth extremely small young, and often carries them from place to place in her mouth, she has given rise to this opinion.'

d 9 *Ὅσα γὰρ δι' ἀκοῆς λαβόντες*. '*Ἔλαβον* opinor scribere debuit' (Viger).

σωματοποιήσαντες. Cf. Polyb. *Fr. Hist.* 58 *ὡσανεὶ καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ τύχη τις ἐσωματοποίει τὰς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πράξεις*. Suidas in *Ἐσωματοποίει*.

d 10 *ἐνεκύλισαν*. Cf. Pherecr. *Chiron. Fr.* 7 (Meineke) *πολλοῖς ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκυλῖσαι πράγμασιν*.

375 a 1 *ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν*. Ptolemy Philadelphus.

a 2 *Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα*. We are reminded here that the passage previously quoted is part of a supposed conversation between Eleazar and Aristeas. Cf. 370 c 1 *τῶν ὑποδειχθέντων πρὸς τὰ δι' ἡμῶν ἐπιζητηθέντα*.

a 4 *Ὁ δέ* and *καὶ λέγω* are both omitted in the text of Eusebius, but restored by Gaisford from Aristeas.

ἐπαγρύπνησις, a rare word: Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 13 *ἐπαγρυπνία*.

b 2 *μυθωδῶς*, the reading of Eusebius, has been adopted by Wendland in place of the evident corruption *θυμωδῶς*.

b 7 *ἐνόμιζε*. Cf. 370 c 2, note. 'He takes *ἐνόμιζε* for *ἐδόκει*, in a way which I have never yet known' (Viger).

c 3 *συνιστορῶσι*. Cf. Menand. *Fr. Incert.* 86

> *ὁ συνιστορῶν αὑτῷ τι, κἂν ᾖ θρασύτατος,*
> *ἡ σύνεσις αὐτὸν δειλότατον εἶναι ποιεῖ.*

d 6 *ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων*. This title of the book is first

found in the present passage. See Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 3. 215.

d 7 ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου. '*The two letters*, which are now placed before this book, stand in no connexion with it. They are letters of the Palestinian to the Egyptian Jews, in which the latter are summoned to the feast of the Dedication.' Schürer, ibid. It is in the second letter that Aristobulus is addressed as 'King Ptolemy's teacher, who is also of the stock of the anointed priests.' Cf. 323 d 6, note.

10] **376 b** 3 ἐκδοχάς, 'interpretations.' Cf. Polyb. iii. 29. 4 καθάπερ ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐκδοχὴν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι; xxiii. 7 ἐξ ὧν ἦν λαμβάνειν ἐκδοχήν, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. Another instance of the familiarity of Eusebius with the language of Polybius, a writer sure to be studied by the author of the *Chronicon*.

c 5 ἀφορμάς, subjects which give occasion for writing, or speaking. Cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 266

ὅταν λάβῃ τις τῶν λόγων ἀνὴρ σοφὸς
καλὰς ἀφορμάς, οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν.

377 c 3 κατάβασις. Exod. xix. 18, 20. On the following passage of Aristobulus see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 755, and Valckenaer, *De Aristob.* xxiii.

d 2 ἀφηλίκων, properly applied to the aged, but also less properly to young children. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 84; Rutherford, *New Phryn.* lxiv.

d 8 ⟨οὐκ ἂν⟩ ἔδειξε. Cf. Valckn. *De Aristob.* xxiii. 71 'ἔδειξε (legendum arbitror οὐκ ἂν ἔδειξε, quod Fr. Vigerus iam monuit).'

378 a 7 ἐκφαντικῶς. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 104 B ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἐν ἄλλοις,

τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ,
ἄνθρωπος,

ἐκφαντικῶς σφόδρα καὶ φιλοτέχνως ὑπερβολῇ χρησάμενος.

c 2 ὑπῆγε, 'meant to lead on.' Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 839 ὁ ἑκὼν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ὑπαγόμενος (J. B. M.). See also Clem. Al. 596, 532.

τῶν ἐν ἕξει, 'those who had acquired the *habit* of virtue' (J. B. M.).

c 3 ἐπαναβεβηκυίᾳ. Cf. 130 b 2 τὸ ἐπαναβεβηκὸς τοὺς μύθους.

c 5 κατὰ διάνοιαν, i.e. according to the deeper thought as contrasted with the literal sense, κατὰ τὴν ῥητὴν διάνοιαν.

c 6 *βίου ἄσκησιν.* The bodily asceticism of the Essenes is to be distinguished from the ἄσκησις of the Therapeutae, Phil. *De Vita Contempl.* 475. 35 ἄσκησις· ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον νομοθεσίαν ἀλληγοροῦντες. Cf. F. C. Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, v.

d 1 *αὐτὸ μόνον*, 'only just,' 'merely.' 'Vide Valcken. ad Fr. Callim. p. 28, et Bast. ep. crit. p. 135 ed. Lips. Αὐτὸ μόνον βουκόλος, nihil nisi bubulcus' Hermann, *Adnot.* 735 *in Vig. De Idiot. Gr.*

d 4 *τῆς ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων Ἀπολογίας.* The treatise from which the following extract is taken is lost: it is supposed to be the same which is mentioned in the list of Philo's works by Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 18. 6 καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται, ὡς τὸ Περὶ Προνοίας, καὶ ὁ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτῷ συνταχθεὶς λόγος. The genuineness of the work has been disputed by Grätz and Hilgenfeld ('Noch einmal die Essäer,' *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, Feb. 1900), but very ably defended by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in the work mentioned above, from which I have received much help in the following notes. See also his article 'Essenes' in Hastings, *Dict. B.*

11] **379 a** 1 *τῶν γνωρίμων.* Cf. Philo, 481. 11 οἱ Μωϋσέως γνώριμοι. The meaning 'disciples' is very common in Plutarch: see *Mor.* 63 E Λακύδης γὰρ ὁ Ἀρκεσιλάου γνώριμος, κ.τ.λ.

ὁ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης. Philo's words must not be pressed to imply that Essenes had existed from the time of Moses: he only means to ascribe their origin to the influence of his laws. His language gives no support to the amusing exaggeration of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 15) that 'a people among whom there were no births continued to exist through thousands of ages.' The earliest date definitely assigned to them is about 150 B.C., by Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xiii. 5. 9. Besides the present fragment and the passage next quoted from Philo (*Quod omnis probus liber*, 457 M), the chief ancient authority concerning the Essenes is Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xviii. 1. 5; *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8. 2–13.

ἤλειψεν, a metaphor from the use of oil in training athletes.

a 2 *Ἐσσαῖοι, παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα.* The derivation is repeated with an apology for its inaccuracy by Philo in the next extract 381 c 2, and is assumed again in 384 b 1 Ἐσσαίων ἢ Ὁσίων.

b 1 *τῆς Ἰουδαίας.* 'We know that the Essenes were confined to Syria, Palestine, and Judaea not only from Philo who expressly says so, ii. 457 and 632' (=379 a 2, 381 b 6) but from Josephus

and Pliny as well' (F. C. C.). This distinguishes them from the Therapeutae (*τῶν θεωρίαν ἀσπασαμένων*, Philo, 471) who were widely diffused in Greece and Egypt (Philo, 474).

b 2 *ὁμίλους*. In L. and Sc. *Lex.* it is stated erroneously that 'the word seems not to be used in pl.'

ἡ προαίρεσις, 'the sect.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1137 A *οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντες τῇ τούτων προαιρέσει*. Philo, 476. 1 *μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον*: 481. 45 *ἐὰν ὀψὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐρασθῶσιν*.

b 5 *πρωτογένειος, ἡ μειράκιον*. Cf. Philo, 479. 18 *ἐφεδρεύουσιν δὲ ἄλλοι μειράκια πρωτογένεια*.

c 5 *παρασκευαί*. Cf. Philo, 479. 47 *ἐπαινέσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγα τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸν ἑστιάτορα τῆς πολυτελείας*. Hor. *Od.* i. 38. 1

'Persicos odi, puer, apparatus.'

c 8 *τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς*. Cf. Philo, ii. 404 *κοινωφελεῖς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ πρώτου ἡγεμόνος δωρεαί*.

d 2 *ἐπαποδύντες*, 'having stripped for work.' Cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 615

ἀλλ' ἐπαποδυώμεθ', ἄνδρες, τουτῳὶ τῷ πράγματι.

διαθλοῦσιν. Cf. Philo, 471. 12 *διαθλητέον δὲ ὅμως καὶ διαγωνιστέον*.

οὐ κρυμόν, οὐ θάλπος. Cf. Philo, 477. 21 *πρὸς ἀλέξημα κρυμοῦ τε καὶ θάλπους*.

380 b 1 *χρειώδης*, 'in need of.' The usual meaning is 'needful' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

b 2 *ἀσμενίζοντες*. Cf. Polyb. iii. 97. 5 *ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε φιλίᾳ*: vi. 5. 4 *ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει*.

b 6 *ἐξωμίδες*. This garment was a kind of tunic which had only one sleeve (*χιτὼν ἑτερομάσχαλος*), and took its name from leaving the right arm free: it could also be used as a cloak. See the figure of Charon in Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.* 'Exomis.'

c 3 *νοσηλεύεται*. Cf. Isocr. 389 D *ἐνοσήλευον αὐτὸν μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνός*.

c 7 *προνομίας*, 'privilege,' a better reading than *προνοίας*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 279 B *ἔχει δὲ καὶ νῦν προνομίαν τινά*.

d 6 *παλεῦσαι*, 'to decoy.' Cf. Aristoph. *Aves*, 1082

τὰς περιστεράς θ' ὁμοίως ξυλλαβὼν εἵρξας ἔχει
κἀπαναγκάζει παλεύειν.

d 8 *ὑπηκόων*, the senses as *servants* of the mind.

381 a 6 *περιμάχητος*. Cf. 388 c 4.

12] **b** 6 ἡ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Συρία. In 398 b 'Syria' includes Ascalon on the sea-coast of Palestine. But the expression 'Syria in Palestine' is peculiar, and the readings vary. Viger suggests ἡ ἐν Συρίᾳ Παλαιστίνη, 'Palestine in Syria.' In Richter's edition of Philo the reading is καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Συρία.

c 2 οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύπῳ. Philo here confesses that the name Ἐσσαῖοι is not accurately formed from the Greek ὅσιος, but he does not reject the derivation. This meaning is confirmed by the next words.

c 3 παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος, 'named (by a slight change) from ὁσιότης.' Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 8

[Φοίβῃ] τὸ Φοίβης δ' ὄνομ' ἔχει παρώνυμον.

'In this case Phoebus was named from Phoebe his grandmother; hence the male name is παρώνυμον, or slightly changed from the female' (Paley). Aristot. *Categ.* i. 5 παρώνυμα δὲ λέγεται ὅσα ἀπό τινος διαφέροντα τῇ πτώσει τὴν κατὰ τοὔνομα προσηγορίαν ἔχει, οἷον ἀπὸ τῆς γραμματικῆς ὁ γραμματικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας ὁ ἀνδρεῖος (L. and Sc. *Lex.*). Philo's vague and hesitating language gives probability to Dr. Ginsburg's suspicion that the name may have been 'coined by Philo and Josephus to suit the Greek readers.' To the twenty conjectures enumerated by Ginsburg (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.*) Edersheim (*Jesus the Messiah*, i. 332) adds another: 'They were the only real *sect*, strictly *outsiders*, and their name *Essenes* (Ἐσσηνοί, Ἐσσαῖοι) seems the Greek equivalent for Chizonim, "the outsiders."' See also Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 115–8.

d 6 ἀχρήματοι ⟨καὶ ἀκτήμονες⟩. The reading ἀκτήματοι is probably due to the close connexion with ἀχρήματοι. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 126

οὐδέ κεν ἀκτήμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο.

382 a 3 εὐόλισθα. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 878 D περιφερῆ καὶ λεῖα καὶ εὐόλισθα (σώματα).

a 4 ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι, 'abjuring.' Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι· ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, συμπράκτορι χρώμενος τῷ Διί . . . 'Scriptores non ita vetusti metaphorice usurpant pro *rem aliquam procul amandare, reiicere, respuere.*'

b 3 παρευημερήσασα, 'having been excessively prosperous.' See 388 b 7, note.

b 5 λογοθήραις, known here only.

b 6 μετεωρολέσχαις. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 489 C ἀχρήστους λεγομένους καὶ μετεωρολέσχας.

c 3 *κατακωχῆς*. The more correct form 'except perhaps in late writers' is *κατοκωχή*, like *ἀνοκωχή*, *συνοκωχή*. Plat. *Ion* 556 C *θείᾳ μοίρᾳ καὶ κατοκωχῇ*. (L. and Sc. *Lex.*)

383 a 1 *ἐπάλληλος*, 'close,' 'uninterrupted.' Cf. 391 d 10; Polyb. ii. 69. 9 *χρησάμενοι τῷ τῆς ἐπαλλήλου φάλαγγος ἰδιώματι*. The peculiarity of the Macedonian phalanx was that the men besides standing shoulder to shoulder were one behind another, three or even five deep. Polyb. xii. 18. 5 *τριφαλαγγία ἐπάλληλος*.

ἀνώμοτον. Cf. Eur. *Hipp*. 612

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ' ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

a 4 *ἀφέλειαν*. Cf. Polyb. vi. 48. 4 *καὶ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἀφέλεια*.

b 3 *ὁμοζήλων*. Cf. Philo, i. 146 *Ἀβραὰμ . . . Μωϋσῆν, καὶ εἴτις αὐτοῖς ὁμόζηλος*.

b 7 *μήποτε*, 'perhaps.' Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* x. 1. 3 *μή ποτε δὲ οὐ καλῶς τοῦτο λέγεται*. Buttmann, *Demosth. Mid.* Exc. vii. 135 'Tironibus observo *μήποτε* hoc, quod proprie est interrogativum, *num forte*, grammaticis usurpari sine omni interrogationis tenore pro *fortasse* vel *videtur*.'

c 2 *νοσηλείας*. Cf. Plut. ii. 110 C *Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς μακρὰς νοσηλείας ὑπομενόντων*.

c 6 *γηροτροφουμένων*. Cf. Isocr. 305 E *τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἀναξίως γηροτροφουμένους*.

c 8 *ἀδούλωτος*. Cf. *Orac. Sib.* x. 22

ἠδὲ γυναικὸς ἀδουλώτου ὑπὸ δουρὶ πεσούσης.

d 3 *ἐκνικῆσαι εἰς*, literally, 'to force their way to.' Cf. Thuc. i. 21 *ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα*. Athen. 276 D, quoted 399 c 4.

d 5 *ἱερεύοντες*, 'slaughtering like victims in sacrifice.' Hom. *Il.* xviii. 559 *βοῦν δ' ἱερεύσαντες μέγαν ἄμφεπον*. *Od.* ii. 56.

d 7 *τὸ παρακεκινημένον καὶ λελυττηκός*. Cf. Philo, 477. 33; Lucian, 131 *ὑπόθερμον δὲ γύναιον καὶ παρακεκινημένον, οἷον δὴ τὴν λύτταν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν δεικνύουσα*.

384 a 2 *ἄλεκτον*. Cf. Polyb. xxx. 13. 12 *ἄλεκτον ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον*.

d 3 *τῶν Εἰς τὸν Νόμον*. This title includes all Philo's treatises on the books of Moses, from the first of which, *On the Creation of the World*, the following extract is taken. See Philo, i. 2, Mangey.

13] **385 a** 4 *συνεκτικώτατα*. Cf. 317 a 2, note.

a 5 *ἔγνω δὴ ὅτι*, the true text of Philo, is corrupted in the

MSS. of Eusebius into διότι: δή has its usual inferential sense 'of course,' or 'then.'

a 6 δραστήριον. Owing to the repetition of the word δραστήριον one whole line has been omitted in the MSS. of Eusebius. Read τὸ μὲν εἶναι δραστήριον αἴτιον, τὸ δὲ παθητόν· καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν δραστήριον κ.τ.λ.

a 9 παθητικόν. Cf. Aristot. *Categ.* viii. 8 παθητικαὶ ποιότητες.

b 3 τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν. In the text of Philo ἡκόντων is added, as in Polyb. xii. 15. 9 τὰ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἥκοντα περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα. But the same sense is sufficiently indicated by τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν.

b 9 'Απεριμάχητον, 'not worth fighting for,' 'undesirable.' This is Philo's text, and corresponds with the use of περιμάχητος in 381 a 6. In the present passage περιμάχητον, the reading of the MSS. of Eusebius, would have a different meaning 'to be fought *against*.'

c 7 γένεσιν, which is found in Philo and Eus. cod. O, completes the sense.

d 4 ἐν τῷ Περὶ Προνοίας. The following important fragment of the lost work *On Providence* is preserved in Greek by Eusebius only. Cf. 336 b, note.

14] **386 a** 3 φθορᾶς. In editing the fragment Mangey reads φορᾶς, 'chance,' without authority.

b 1 ἐπικωμάζει refers to the riotous entrance of a κῶμος. Cf. Callim. *Ep.* xlii

Εἰ μὲν ἑκών, 'Αρχῖν', ἐπεκώμασα, μυρία μέμφου.

b 5 εὐμοιρίαν. Cf. Lucian, *Eunuch.* 356 σχῆμα καὶ σώματος εὐμοιρίαν προσεῖναι φιλοσόφῳ δεῖν.

b 8 ἀνασκευήν. Cf. Quintil. ii. 4 'Narrationibus non inutiliter subiungitur opus destruendi confirmandique eas, quod ἀνασκευή et κατασκευή vocatur.'

d 3 τημελοῦσι. Cf. Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 731

χώρει πρὸς Ἄργος παρθένους τε τημέλει.

ἀσπόνδων. Cf. Demosth. 314. 16 ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος.

387 a 9 ὀξυωπέστερος. Cf. Apollod. iii. 10. 3. 4 Λυγκεὺς δὲ ὀξυδερκίᾳ διήνεγκεν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς θεωρεῖν.

b 3 δαίμονα. There is a play on the words δαίμων and εὐδαίμων, which it is difficult to preserve in translation.

b 7 δεκασθέντες. Δεκασμός was the name for bribery, answering

to the Latin '*decuriatio.*' At Athens it was punished by death. Cf. Aesch. 12 *μαρτυρεῖν τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐδίκαζε, τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐδικάζετο, κ.τ.λ.*

b 8 *παλεῦσαι.* Cf. 380 d 6.

ἀνερματίστους. Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 144 A *φέρονται ὡς τὰ ἀνερμάτιστα πλοῖα.*

c 1 *κηραίνει.* Cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 223 *τί ποτ', ὦ τέκνον, τάδε κηραίνεις;* Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 29 *κείνου προκηραίνουσα.* Instead of deriving the dissimilar meanings of *κηραίνω* from some one root, as Paley does, connecting it with *cura*, it is better to recognize two distinct derivations, from *κήρ*, 'doom,' 'death,' and *κῆρ* (*κέαρ*), 'the heart.' Cf. L. and Sc. *Lex.*

c 6 *δευτερείοις ἄθλων.* Cf. Plat. *Phil.* 22 D *τῶν μὲν οὖν νικητηρίων πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν βίον οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ πω ὑπὲρ νοῦ, τῶν δὲ δὴ δευτερείων ὁρᾶν καὶ σκοπεῖν χρὴ πέρι τί δράσομεν.*

d 4 *ὅμοιον τροφῆς.* The genitive cannot depend on *ὅμοιον* for the supposed instances given in L. and Sc. *Lex.* ed. 7 admit a better explanation. 'Vel scr. *τροφῇ* vel mox *εὐπορία καί*' (Mang.). Cf. Viger, *De Idiot. Gr.* 122 '*Οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ . . . τὴν εὐψυχίαν τὴν αὑτοῦ δεικνύναι καὶ καθήμενον ἔξω τῆς ζάλης ὑπὸ τῷ τειχίῳ.* Aristid. *Or. pro Quatuorviris* p. 225' (H.).

d 9 *φορᾶς.* In Mangey's Philo *φθορᾶς* is an evident corruption. *φορᾶς* may mean either a 'crop' (*πλήθει φορᾶς*) or, more probably, from the addition of *ἀκατασχέτῳ* and *ἀναχέηται*, 'a stream' or 'flood.'

388 a 2 *ἐπαποδύντες.* Cf. 379 d 2.

a 3 *κονιόμεθα.* Cf. Aristoph. *Eccles.* 1177 *εἶτα κόνισαι λαβὼν λέκιθον.* Plut. *Mor.* 752 A *κονίεται δὲ καὶ ψυχρολουτεῖ*: 966 C *πρῶτον οὖν ὅρα τὰς προθέσεις καὶ παρασκευὰς ταύρων ἐπὶ μάχῃ κονιομένων.* Lucian, *Anachar.* 31 *χρισάμενοι τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ κονισάμενοι πρόϊτε.*

a 5 *ἀδιάστατος.* Cf. 777 d 13 *ἀδιάστατος . . . τῶν ἄστρων στρατός.*

a 6 *προβάτων . . . ἄνθος.* See Schol. in Hom. *Il.* xiii. 599 *οἰὸς γὰρ ἀώτῳ, προβάτου ἄνθει, ὅ ἐστιν, ἐρίῳ*

'*αὐτὴν δὲ ξυνέδησεν ἐϋστρόφῳ οἰὸς ἀώτῳ.*'

b 4 *ὑψαυχενεῖν.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 324 E *Κάμιλλον, ὃν εὐτυχῶν μὲν καὶ ὑψαυχενῶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπεσείσατο.*

b 7 παρευημερούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, literally 'surpassed in prosperity.' The active verb is found in Philo, i. 19 νυνὶ δὲ πάντων ὅσα λέλεκται παρευημερησάντων.

c 4 καλλιγράφων, 'painters.' The reference in L. and Sc. *Lex.* to Pollux, v. 102 τὸ πρόσωπον (καλλιγραφεῖν), shows that καλλιγράφος need not be limited to scribes. Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 122.

d 10 περίστωα. Cf. Diod. Sic. v. 40 ἔν τε ταῖς οἰκίαις τὰ περίστοα (*sic*) πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεραπευόντων ὄχλων ταραχὰς ἐξεῦρον.

γυναικωνίτιδας. Cf. Lys. 92. 28 οἰκίδιόν ἐστί μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω, κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνῖτιν.

389 a 4 ⟨ἐάσαντες⟩ Vig. If ἄξαντες, the reading of the MSS., be retained, the meaning will be 'having broken through.'

[τῶν σωματοφυλάκων]. 'Manifestum huius loci vitium est, cui nihil opis afferunt MSS. Reponi forte possit ἢ ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες' (Viger). It is better to regard τῶν σωματοφυλάκων as a marginal gloss intended to explain more precisely the meaning of τῶν ἐν τέλει.

a 5 λιθοκόλλητοι, 'set with precious stones.' Cf. Strab. 778 ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου λιθοκολλήτου.

a 6 †λίθῳ† γεγραφημέναι. 'In verbo λίθῳ latere vitium apparet' (Heinichen). λιθογεγραφημέναι I, and λιθογραφημέναι BO, are equally open to Viger's objection, 'Quid sit λίθῳ γεγραφῆσθαι non intelligo.' It is not improbable that λίθῳ or λιθο- has been interpolated from λιθοκόλλητοι in the line above.

b 1 ἀπαμφιάσαντες. Cf. Philo, 264 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπαμφιάσασα. Plut. *Mor.* 406 D ξυστίδας μαλακὰς ἀπημφίαζε.

b 3 χιτωνίσκους. Of the diminutives χιτωνίσκος and χιτώνιον the former is a man's 'shirt,' the latter a 'chemise.' Cf. Demosth. *c. Mid.* 583. 21 θοιμάτιον προέσθαι καὶ μικροῦ γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι.

b 8 τυφοπλαστοῦσιν is the reading of IO, the best MSS. of Eusebius. 'Erit autem stolide ambitioseque confingere' (Viger). But Viger and Dindorf substitute τυφλοπλαστοῦσιν, which is strongly supported by Philo, i. 521 M. καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ἀναδιδάξει τῶν ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφλοπλαστοῦσι, and ii. 345 μιμολόγων ἢ τυφλοπλαστῶν.

c 3 ἀπλήστῳ σχήματι ἐπιθυμίας. For σχήματι Mangey conjectures φυσήματι or ῥεύματι. But σχῆμα with a genitive is often

little more than a periphrasis in prose as well as in the Tragedians. 'With some insatiable *form* of desire' (J. B. Mayor).

διῴδηκε. Cf. Strab. 173 ἄρχεσθαι διοιδεῖν τὴν θάλατταν. Lucian, *Necyom.* 18 ἔτι μέντοι ἐπεφύσητο αὐτῷ (τῷ Σωκράτει) καὶ διῳδήκει ἐκ τῆς φαρμακοποσίας τὰ σκέλη.

390 a 4 [παρῆν], bracketed by Gaisford as having no authority from MSS., but probably inserted by Stephens to make the construction clearer.

a 6 ἠλόγουν. Cf. Hdt. iii. 125 Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλίας ἀλογήσας ἔπλεε.

c 5 Ἔνθα φόνοι. The passage is an imperfect quotation of a verse of Empedocles:

> Κλαῦσά τε καὶ κώκυσα ἰδὼν ἀσυνήθεα χῶρον,
> ἔνθα Φόνος τε Κότος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα Κηρῶν,
> αὐχμηραί τε νόσοι καὶ σήψιες ἔργα τε ῥευστά.

The first line is quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 516.

c 6 ἐναλλάττεσθαι, 'to receive in exchange.' Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 208 τί δ' ἐνήλλακται τῆς ἠρεμίας νὺξ ἥδε βάρος;

c 7 χορηγός seems to mean here one who supplies the means of paying the penalties mentioned just before: it stands in apposition to βαρυδαιμονία. Cf. Aeschin. 54 λήψεται χορηγὸν τῇ βδελυρίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ: 84 χορηγὸν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν δαπάναις. The story of Polycrates is related in full detail by Herodotus, iii. 120–5. He was impaled not by the King of Persia, Cambyses, but by Oroetes, Satrap of Sardis.

d 1 Οἶδα, ἔφη. The construction is incomplete: read Οἶδα ⟨δ'⟩ ἔφη.

δόξαντα. This dream occurred not to Polycrates himself but to his daughter. It was fulfilled when Polycrates hanging upon the cross was washed by the rain from heaven, and anointed by the sun with the moisture drawn out by the heat from his own body.

d 9 ἀνηνύτου. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 735 B μάταιος ἂν ὁ πόνος εἴη καὶ ἀνήνυτος: 936 C εὐχαῖς βίον ἀνηνύτοις ξυλλεγόμενος.

εὐλαβείας. Mangey suspects that the name Διονυσίου has fallen out. Cf. 391 c 8.

391 a 1 θυμηρεστάτην. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 336 ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα. Philo, 481. 39 προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμήρη γενέσθαι . . . τὴν εὐωχίαν.

a 5 ἀνείμονα. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 348

ἢ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἠὲ πενιχροῦ.

a 8 ἐδάφους. Cf. Hdt. viii. 137 περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον. Aeschin. 134 περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους (ἀγωνίζεσθαι).

τάφρου γεωργικῆς. Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* v. 20 'Quumque duas uxores haberet, . . . sic noctu ad eas ventitabat ut omnia specularetur et perscrutaretur ante. Et quum fossam latam cubiculari lecto circumdedisset, eiusque fossae transitum ponticulo ligneo coniunxisset, eum ipsum, quum forem cubiculi clauserat, detorquebat.'

b 5 δι' ἀπορρῶγος ὄρους. 'Eus. uses διά in the same way below (392 c 7) διὰ λόφου τραχέος, where one would have expected κατά' (J. B. Mayor).

ἀπορρῶγος. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xiii. 98

δύο δὲ προβλῆτες ἐν αὐτῷ
ἀκταὶ ἀπορρῶγες.

b 6 κρημνοβατοῦσιν. Strab. 711 κερκοπιθήκους, οἳ λίθους κατακυλίουσι κρημνοβατοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας.

d 3 ὑπεραιωρηθῆναι πέλεκυν. Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 1. 17

'Destrictus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet.'

392 a 1 ἑρπηνώδους. Cf. Philo, ii. 64 νόσος . . . ἣν ἰατρῶν παῖδες ὀνομάζουσιν ἕρπητα. Καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐπιφοιτῶσα κ.τ.λ. The description applies to shingles rather than cancer.

a 2 ἀθεράπευτον. Cf. Lucian, *Ocypus* 27

ἀντέδακα τοῦτον ἀθεράπευτον εὐστόχως.

a 4 ἀγκιστρευομένοις. Cf. Philo, ii. 265 τὼ ὀφθαλμώ, οἷς τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγκιστρεύεται ψυχάς.

εἰδεχθῶν. Cf. Polyb. xxxvii. 2. 1 Προυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰδεχθὴς ὢν κατὰ τὴν ἔμφασιν.

a 5 τῆς ὄψεως ὑπογραφαῖς. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3. 2 ὁρῶν δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμημένον καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει καὶ κομαῖς προσθέτοις.

b 3 ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ τιμωριῶν. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 520

ὅταν δὲ πλησθῇς τῆς νόσου ξυνουσίᾳ.

b 7 πολύκρεων, found only here.

c 3 τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον ἐν Φωκίδι. Viger and all subsequent

editors insert a second article after πόλεμον, contrary to the testimony of all the MSS., and in disregard of a well-known usage. When the article is immediately followed by an attributive, a second attributive either preceding or following the substantive does not require a second article, unless a distinctive emphasis is to be laid upon it. Thus we may write either τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον ἐν Φωκίδι, or τὸν ἱερὸν ἐν Φωκίδι πόλεμον, or τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Φωκίδι, the last form expressly distinguishing the sacred war in Phocis from *some other sacred war*. Cf. Thuc. i. 11 τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος: i. 18 τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος: i. 90 τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην: vi. 46 τά τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἐγέστης ἐκπώματα καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ξυλλέξαντες. 'Mireris hic et paulo post ante καὶ Φοινικ. articulum non esse repetitum. Sed haec omissio eadem transpositione videtur excusanda esse quam de participiis adnotavimus ad i. 90' (Poppo, Thuc. vi. 46). Plut. *Mor.* 480 A τῆς πρὸς ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίας βεβαίου. See Bernhardy, *Gr. Synt.* 323; Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 459. 3, 4, 5.

c 5 συλήσαντας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερόν. Pausanias, x. 2, says that he cannot ascertain why the Phocians were fined by the Amphictyonic Council. Diodorus Siculus tells the whole story at great length (xvi. 23–31), and says that the Phocians were fined for encroachments upon the sacred territory of Cirrha.

Strab. 421, referring to the wealth of Delphi, quotes the lines of Homer, *Il.* ix. 404

οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἔνι πετρηέσσῃ.

Polybius has a passing allusion to the story (ix. 33. 4): Ὀνόμαρχος καὶ Φιλόμηλος, καταλαβόμενοι Δελφούς, ἀσεβῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἐγένοντο κύριοι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων.

c 8 κατακρημνισθῆναι. He is said to have thrown himself voluntarily over a precipice: see the description in Diod. Sic. xvi. 31 ὁ δὲ Φιλόμηλος ἐκθύμως ἀγωνισάμενος, καὶ πολλοῖς τραύμασι περιπεσών, εἴς τινα κρημνώδη τόπον συνεκλείσθη· οὐκ ἔχων δὲ διέξοδον, καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκίαν, ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισε.

ἀφηνιάσαντος. 'I think it has lost its purely literal meaning and only implies "a run-away horse." It is a favourite word with Clement' (J. B. Mayor). Diodorus xvi. 35 gives a

different account, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὸν μὲν Ὀνόμαρχον ἐκρέμασε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς ἱεροσύλους κατεπόντισε.

d 1 ἀχανῆ. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 76 C οἱ πρὸς ἀχανὲς θέοντες ἱστίοις πέλαγος. '*Vastum mare*, quasi *infinito hiatu*' (Wyttenb.). ἀχανὲς πέλαγος is a favourite phrase with Plutarch.

d 2 δέ. For δέ read δ' ἤ, as διττὸς γάρ implies that an alternative has been already suggested.

φθινάδι νόσῳ. Diod. Sic. xvi. 38 αὐτὸς δὲ (Φάϋλλος) περιπεσὼν νόσῳ φθινάδι, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρρωστήσας ἐπιπόνως καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας οἰκείως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

d 3 τῷ ἐν Ἄβαις ἱερῷ. Cf. Pausan. x. 888, who mentions that the temple at Abae had been burnt by the army of Xerxes, and remained in a half-ruinous state, 'until in the Phocian war some Phocians beaten in battle fled thither for refuge, and the Thebans, like the Persians before them, burnt both the temple and the fugitives.'

393 a 6 αὐγάζει. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 217 ναὸς ἄξενον αὐγάζων ὅρμον.

ἀπαμπίσχων, an equivalent but rarer form than ἀπαμφιέννυμι and ἀπαμφιάζω, 389 b 1.

b 6 ἐπιτειχισμός. Thuc. i. 122. 1 ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ.

c 3 ἀποδέον. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 335 C διαθέσει χορηγίας βασιλικῆς οὐκ ἀποδεούσῃ χρώμενος. In Eusebius it seems rather to mean 'useless,' 'unsatisfactory.'

394 a 5 δαπανήσαντες. Cf. Thuc. iv. 3 τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν. 'I prefer Suidas's interpretation, that δαπανᾶν is here used to signify εἰς ἀναλώματα μεγάλα ἐμβάλλειν. Compare Antiphon, *de Caede Herodis*, 719 (Reiske) ἀνὴρ ὃν ἐδαπάνησαν, i.e. *whom they exhausted with tortures*' (Arnold).

b 1 ἀποδιοπομπεῖται. Cf. 382 a 4, note.

c 1 ὑποικουροῦντα. Cf. 70 b 11, 101 d 6.

c 3 συνδιαπονήσαντες, literally 'by working it out together.' For this Mangey substitutes συνδιαπορήσαντες, 'by discussing it together,' with which compare 399 d 9 τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ διαπορηθέντων.

395 a 6 καταιονούμενοι. The simple verb αἰονάω occurs in Aesch. *Fr.* 366 ᾐόνησα. Cf. Lucian, *Lexiph.* 5 πυέλῳ καταιονηθέντες, 'being bathed in a tub.' In medical writers καταιονέω (or -νάω) means to 'foment.' So Plut. *Mor.* 74 D ἐνέβρεξαν προσηνῶς καὶ

κατῃόνησαν, on which Wyttenbach quotes Athen. i. 44 ἔστι καὶ τρόπος ἕτερος καμάτων λύσεως ἐκ τῶν κατὰ κεφαλῆς καταιονήσεων, and other passages.

b 1 ἀπειροκάλων. The 'unrefined' being accustomed to bathe only in water, and to shake off the drops, do the same with the oil, which is meant to be rubbed in.

b 5 ἅλως. Cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 484

ἅλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω,
ἔφριξα δινήσαντος.

b 6 ⟨αὐγῶν⟩, a good conjecture by Mangey for αὐτῶν, an evident corruption in the MSS.

ἐπακολουθήματα. Cf. 397 b 4 τὰ ἰοβόλα γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν, i.e. 'as consequential effects.'

c 7 Καὶ μὲν δή. Riddell, *Apol. Socr.* 'Digest of Idioms,' 188.

d 3 πυρσείαις. Polybius (x. 43) gives a very interesting description of three methods of signalling by means of beacon-fires, the first being very simple, the second a more elaborate but clumsy system introduced by Aeneas Tacticus, and the third devised by Cleoxenus and Democleitus, and improved by Polybius himself, who connected it with a fixed code of the letters of the Greek alphabet.

d 6 θείαις . . . φύσεσιν. Philo does not mean that the natures of the sun and moon are actually 'divine,' but only that they are of great excellence.

d 7 μηνύματα. Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, i. 594; Verg. *Georg.* i. 463

'Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat? Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus
Saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.'

d 8 Πίνδαρος ἠνίξατο. Pind. *Fr.* (74) Donaldson, Hyporch. 4, Dissen, *v.* 8

πολέμου δ' εἰ σᾶμα φέρεις τινός, ἢ καρποῦ φθίσιν,
ἢ νιφετοῦ σθένος ὑπέρφατον,
ἢ στάσιν οὐλομέναν, ἢ πόντου κενέωσιν ἀνὰ πέδον,
ἢ παγετὸν χθονός, ἢ νότιον θέρος ὕδατι ζακότῳ διερόν,
ἢ γαῖαν κατακλύσαισα θήσεις ἀνδρῶν νέον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς γένος,
ὀλοφυρομένων πάντων μέτα πείσομαι.

I do not find in the passage previously quoted from Pindar (*Fr.* 58) by Philo, 511 M., any reference to an eclipse: it speaks

only of Delos. Philo may have been thinking of *Fr.* 74, as quoted above.

396 a 1 δυσαιτιολόγητος, found only here.

b 8 συνεκτικώτατα. Cf. 317 a 2. Here the word seems to refer to the chief laws or rather forces which hold the world together.

c 1 στραταρχίαις. The usual term for the office is στρατηγία, common in Polybius. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* vi. 31; *Isthm.* iv. 44

καὶ στράταρχον Αἰθιόπων ἄφοβον
Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν.

d 8 κλισιάδων. Cf. Hdt. ix. 9 μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ.

θαλαμευομένοις, 'shut up in their chambers.'

397 a 5 καταδύσεσι. Cf. Athen. 477 D ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμολογοῦσιν αὐτὸ τοῦ χεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ χωρεῖν·

Οὐδὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὅδε χείσεται.

Καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὄφεως κατάδυσις χειὴ ἡ καταδεχομένη τὸ ζῷον.

a 8 ἀλογιστίᾳ. Cf. Polyb. v. 15. 3 ὑπό τε τῆς μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀλογιστίας ἐλαυνόμεναι.

b 2 κατηλοήθησαν. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 1. 31 τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατηλόων καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵπποις καὶ τροχοῖς.

d 6 ὕστριχας, properly 'porcupines': but the name was given to a scourge knotted with sharp pieces of iron such as in 1 Kings xii. 11, 14 are called 'scorpions.'

398 b 4 ἐστελλόμην. Swete, *Intr. O. T. in Gk.* 8 'No colony was more dutiful than the Alexandrian. The possession of a local temple at Leontopolis did not weaken its devotion to the temple at Jerusalem; pilgrimages were still made to Jerusalem at the great festivals (Philo, *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* viii. 14. 64; cf. Acts ii. 10).'

d 3 Χώρα δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων has no finite verb. Viger suggests ἐν χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ Κυκλώπων. Mangey supposes that some words are omitted.

399 a 2 This was one of the boasts of the Athenians: Eurip. *Medea*, 825

ἱερᾶς
χώρας ἀπορθήτου τ' ἀποφερβόμενοι
κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος.

Plat. *Tim.* 24 C ἡ Θεὸς . . . ἐκλεξαμένη τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ γεγένησθε,

τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὡρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδοῦσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτους ἄνδρας οἴσοι. Cic. *De Fato*, 4 'Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici.' Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* vii. *εἶναι γὰρ τὴν χώραν ἀραιάν, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα κοῦφον.*

a 4 *οὗ γῆ.* For which the MSS. of Eusebius read *αὐγή*: 'the light is dry.' Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 80, n. 2 'That the true reading in this place is not, as in some texts, *αὐγή* or *αὐγῇ* (one text has *ξηρῇ ψυχῇ*) but *οὗ γῆ* is clear from the passage in Philo's *De Provid.* ii. 109 *In terra sicca animus est sapiens ac virtutis amans.*'

Bywater, *Heracl. Rel. Fr.* lxxiv–lxxvi, gives three forms of the saying:

Fr. lxxiv. *Αὔη ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.*

Fr. lxxv. † *Αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη* †.

Fr. lxxvi. † *Οὗ γῆ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη* †.

That the first is the original form seems to be confirmed by the context in Stob. *Flor.* v. 120 *ἀνὴρ ὁκόταν μεθυσθῇ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος, οὐκ ἐπαΐων ὅκῃ βαίνει, ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων. αὔη ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.* It is quoted again in this form in Stob. *Flor.* xvii. 43.

On the contrary the context in Philo seems to be in favour of the form *Οὗ γῆ ξηρή κ.τ.λ.*

The second form is quoted by Galen, t. i. p. 346 ed. Bas. *καὶ γὰρ οὗτος (Ἡράκλειτος) οὕτως εἶπεν· Αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη, τὴν ξηρότητα πάλιν ἀξιῶν εἶναι συνέσεως αἰτίαν.*

'Respic. Porphyrius *ἀφορμ. πρὸς τὰ νοητά* 33, p. 78 Holst. (p. 233 Cantab.): *ὅταν δὲ μελετήσῃ ἀφίστασθαι φύσεως, αὐγὴ ξηρὰ γίνεται, ἄσκιος καὶ ἀνέφελος*—Conf. Ficinus *de Immort. anim.* viii. 13 ut placet Orphicis et Heraclito, lumen nihil aliud est nisi visibilis anima, . . . anima vero lux invisibilis' (Bernays).

b 2 *αἰτίου*, the reading of all the chief MSS. of Eusebius, means that the air is the cause of intelligence, as is implied in the quotations given above. If *ἀερὸς αὐτοῦ* be adopted, as by Mangey, Phil. Jud. 647, the meaning will be 'out of air alone,' i.e. unmixed with the vapours from earth and water. Gaisford gives up the passage as corrupt: '*Mancus videtur huius loci sensus.*'

c 4 *προσοψήμασιν*, whatever is eaten in addition to bread. Cf. Athen. 276 D *πάντων τῶν προσοψημάτων ὄψων καλουμένων ἐξενίκησεν ὁ ἰχθὺς διὰ τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἐδωδὴν μόνος οὕτως καλεῖσθαι.*

BOOK IX

1] **403 c** 5 ἐπ' ὀνόματος, 'by name.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1120 C τούτους ἐλέγχειν ἐπ' ὀνόματος.

c 9 ὡς ἂν μάθοις. 'Rectius μάθῃς, et mox τῆς Ἑλλήνων' (Gaisford). For this use of the optative after a future compare Xen. *Anab.* iv. 3. 14 βουλευσόμεθα ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα ἀγωνιζοίμεθα, and see Bernhardy, *Griech. Synt.* 400; Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 810. 1.

d 1 τῶν Ἑλλήνων. For τῶν IO read τῆς, which should therefore have been adopted. But τῶν in itself is equally correct, as a brachylogy like κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι (Hom. *Il.* xvii. 51): ἅρματα ὁμοῖα ἐκείνῳ (Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 1. 50) for ὁμοῖα τοῖς ἐκείνου ἅρμασιν.

d 3 συνασκήσεως, 'practice,' 'active exercise.' Cf. Clem. Al. 443 τὸ δύνασθαι πάρεστιν ἐκ συνασκήσεως ηὐξηκόσι τοῦτο. Sext. Emp. *Math.* vii. 146 ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν λογισμὸν συνασκήσεως: *Math.* ix. 248 γενόμενος φρόνιμος ἔκ τινος συνασκήσεως.

2] **404 a** 1 θυσίαν. The reading in Porphyry is συνήθειαν.

a 2 ζωοθυτούντων. There is evidently some corruption in the text of this sentence both in Porphyry and Eusebius. If we retain ζωοθυτούντων, with the best MSS. of Eusebius, we must either alter Ἰουδαῖοι into Ἰουδαίας, or omit it as spurious: Nauck brackets it as spurious, and, I think, rightly. The whole passage is quite inapplicable to the Jews.

b 1 οὐ γὰρ ἑστιώμενοι. 'Ignota et falsa loquitur Theophrastus' (Viger). On Theophrastus see 28 c, note 8. On the sacrifice of animals and the sacrificial banquet in Egypt see Masp. i. 122, 266.

b 4 ὁ πανόπτης. Nauck adopts the conjecture of Bernays by reading ⟨Ἥλιος⟩ ὁ πανόπτης.

b 8 θεοκλυτοῦντες should have been translated 'calling upon them as gods.'

c 2 οὐκ ἐπιθυμίᾳ. Human sacrifices, though not unknown among the Syrians, were utterly abhorred by the Jews. Cf. 2 Kings iii. 27.

3] **d** 1 *ἱστορεῖ ὁ Πορφύριος.* Porphyry quotes the whole description from Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8, mentioning also the shorter passage in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 5, and another passage in the treatise Πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, or *Contra Apionem*, which is not now to be found there.

d 2 *οἱ Ἐσσαῖοι.* See the notes on 381 c 2 and c 3.

d 5 *ὑπεροψία.* Cf. Thuc. i. 84 *ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι.*

d 9 *φυλαττόμενοι.* Porphyry and Eusebius here omit a clause which is added in Josephus: *καὶ μηδεμίαν τηρεῖν πεπεισμένοι τὴν πρὸς ἕνα πίστιν.*

405 a 3 *τῷ τάγματι,* usually applied to a body of troops as in Xenophon and Polybius.

a 7 *αὐχμεῖν.* The original meaning of the root *αὔω*, 'uro,' seems to be retained in *αὐχμός*, 'drought,' and *αὐχμεῖν*, 'to be dry,' as the opposite of being anointed with oil.

a 9 *αἱρετοὶ πρὸς ἁπάντων.* With Nauck I have adopted this reading from Josephus, as I do not understand the meaning in this context of what is found in Porphyry and Eusebius, *ἀδιαίρετοι πρὸς ἁπάντων.*

b 2 *τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις.* Eusebius substitutes this for *τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς* Jos. Porph. After *αὐτοῖς* Josephus adds *ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἴδια.* From this point to *ἀναλωμάτων ἕνεκα* the text of Josephus is much altered and abridged by Porphyry and Eusebius.

c 4 *εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχάς.* Viger thinks it incredible that Josephus should describe prayers to the sun 'tanquam egregium verae pietatis argumentum.' But Josephus has only said that 'their piety towards the deity was of a *peculiar* kind,' *πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἰδίως εὐσεβεῖς.*

d 4 *Καθεσθέντων.* Cf. Buttmann's *Irreg. Gk. Verbs*, *ἕζεσθαι*: 'The meaning *I seat* or *place myself* may also be understood passively; and so arose (*ἕσθην*) *ἐκαθέσθην*, *καθεσθήσομαι*, forms which are frequent in the later writers but banished from the pure language.' Josephus and Porphyry have the more usual form *καθισάντων.*

σιτοποιός. Cf. Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 327 'The "baker," who was really their priest—and naturally so, since he prepared the sacrifice—set before each bread, and the cook a mess of vegetables.'

d 6 ἁγνῆς οὔσης καὶ καθαρᾶς. Porph. Eus., om. Jos.

406 a 1 τὸν Θεόν. Josephus adds ὡς χορηγὸν τῆς τροφῆς.

b 1 Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσι. A whole section of Josephus has here been omitted by Porphyry.

b 2 ἀξινάριον, an instrument identified by Josephus with the σκαλίς 407 a 7. Cf. Edersheim, i. 332 'the axe or rather spade (ἀξινάριον), which every novice received, has for its Rabbinic equivalent the word *Charina*.' Deut. xxiii. 13 אזן.

c 5 ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος. Cf. Demosth. 399. 12 πάντ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὀξέως γίγνεται.

d 2 προβάλλεσθαι, 'to expose publicly,' and as a law-term 'to prosecute' before the ἐκκλησία. Cf. Demosth. *c. Mid.* 514 προὐβαλόμην ἀδικεῖν τουτονί.

d 6 ἀφέξεσθαι δὲ λῃστείας. Edersheim, i. 328 'Can this possibly have any connexion in the mind of Josephus with the later Nationalist movement? This would agree with his insistence on their respect for those in authority. Otherwise the emphasis laid on abstinence from robbery seems strange in such a sect.'

d 8 τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα. Cf. Edersheim, i. 330 'Their mysterious traditions made them cognizant of the names of the Angels, by which we are, no doubt, to understand a theosophic knowledge, fellowship with the Angelic world, and the power of employing its ministry.' Also vol. ii, Appendix xiii 'Their names were always a composition of that of God with the special commission entrusted to them, so that the name of each Angel depended on his message, and might vary with it. This is beautifully explained in Yalkut (vol. ii. par. 797), where we are told that each Angel has a tablet on his heart, in which the Name of God and that of the Angel are combined.'

407 a 5 ἀνάγκαις. Jos. ἀναπνοαῖς, 'at their last breath.'

b 7 λυγιζόμενοι. Schol. Plat. *Rep.* 405 λυγιζόμενος· στρεφόμενος, καμπτόμενος, ἀπὸ τῶν λύγων. λύγος δέ ἐστι φυτὸν ἱμαντῶδες. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τιμωρίας βασανίζειν λυγίζειν φασί.

c 4 κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1015 D Εὔδημος ἀγνοήσας κατειρωνεύεται τοῦ Πλάτωνος See Wyttenbach's note ibid. 31 E.

c 9 ῥύμῃ φυσικῇ. For this Josephus has ὥσπερ εἱρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἴυγγί τινι φυσικῇ, 'become entangled with bodies as with

fetters, being dragged down by a kind of natural magic.' The words ἴυγγι and καταспωμένας are both used in reference to incantations. Cf. 193 d 10; Plut. *Mor.* 416 F.

d 2–**d** 7 Ἀπὸ δὴ . . . ἀστοχοῦσι. This sentence is much altered and abridged by Porphyry. After it Josephus goes on to describe another order of Essenes who differ from the former chiefly in not prohibiting marriage, but only regulating it by certain restrictions.

d 8 ἐκ παλαιῶν, ὡς εἰκός. It is remarkable that Eusebius seems to be unaware that Porphyry's account is taken almost entirely and verbally from Josephus.

4] **408 a** 1 Ἑκαταῖος. On Hecataeus of Abdera see 351 **c**, note.

b 1 Ἔστι γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The statement of Hecataeus appears to be taken by Eusebius from Joseph. *c. Apion.* 456.

b 7 ἀργῶν λίθων, 'unwrought stones.' Cf. Pausan. 235 ἀντεδίδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν.

c 8 ὑποβάς. There is no interval in Josephus, who proceeds Ἔτι γε μὴν ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

5] **409 b** 3 Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Περιπατητικός. Joseph. *c. Apion.* 454. Clearchus was a pupil of Aristotle; his works, which were on various subjects, are lost.

d 1 τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν. The rules of narration are given fully in Aristot. *Rhet. Alex.* 31. The particular rule here referred to seems to be (§ 5) τὰ πρῶτα πραχθέντα ἢ πραττόμενα ἢ πραχθησόμενα πρῶτα λέγωμεν.

d 5 Καλανοί, so called from Calanus, an Indian gymnosophist, whose interviews with Onesicritus and Alexander are described by Plut. *Alex.* 65–9, where we read (65) that 'his true name was Sphines: but because he addressed them with the word καλέ, which was the Indian form of salutation instead of χαῖρε, the Greeks called him Calanus.'

d 9 ἐπιξενούμενος. Cf. Arist. *Polit.* vii. 6. 1 τό τε γὰρ ἐπιξενοῦσθαί τινας ἐν ἄλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ἀσύμφορον.

410 a 3 σχολαστικῶν, 'studious.' Cf. Athen. 211 fin. πρὸς τὸ σοφιστεύειν ὥρμησε μειράκια σχολαστικὰ θηρεύων.

6] **c** 9 Μεγασθένης, 'a Greek writer to whom the subsequent Greek writers were chiefly indebted for their accounts of India, . . . was sent by Seleucus Nicator as ambassador to Sandracobus king of the Prasii, whose capital was Palibothra, a town probably near

the confluence of the Ganges and Sone, in the neighbourhood of the modern Patha.' Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

d 4 *Βραχμάνων.* Hippolytus, i. 24, gives an account of the Brachmans, their mode of life, philosophy, and theology. Cf. 471 a 5.

d 9 *Ἀριστόβουλος.* Cf. 323 d 6, note. The passage here quoted from Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 358 is repeated, without Clement's name, 663 d 2, where see notes.

d 13 *πρὸ Δημητρίου.* On the existence of Greek translations prior to the Septuagint see 351 b, 354 a, 664 a. Walton, *Proleg.* ii. 18 (Cantab. 1828), argues against the existence of any earlier Greek translation, and accounts for the tradition by the still more improbable supposition that Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle had borrowed many ideas from the Hebrew Scriptures. Cf. Swete, *Introd. to O. T. in Gk.* i. 1.

411 a 8 *Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων.* R. and Pr. *Hist. Philos.* (ed. ii) 525 'Numenius tamen Platoni minime criminari ista voluit, sed sapientiam eius ex superiore antiquitate atque ex Oriente repetere.' Cf. 527 a 8, note.

7] **b** 1 *τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ.* 'Numenius of Apamea (about 160 A.D.) is still nearer to the Neo-Pythagoreans, and is generally considered to be one. Yet the foundation of his views is formed by Platonism, besides which, with wide-extending syncretism, he appeals to Magians, Egyptians, and Brahmins, and even to Moses, whom he holds in high repute.' Zeller, *Outlines*, 92. 314. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 342 C; Orig. *c. Cels.* iv. 198; R. and Pr. *Hist. Phil. Gr. et R.* 525–30. Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Numenius is almost invariably designated as a Pythagorean, but his object was to trace the doctrines of Plato up to Pythagoras, and at the same time to show that they were not at variance with the dogmas and mysteries of the Brahmins, Jews, Magi, and Egyptians (see the Fragment of the 1st Book *περὶ τἀγαθοῦ*, *ap. Eus. Pr. Ev.* ix. 7).' J. W. Donaldson, *Hist. Gk. Lit.* ii. 183 'It would not be too much to say that he (Numenius) was the immediate founder of the systems of Christian and heathen philosophy which flourished at Alexandria in the third century.' Orig. *c. Cels.* iv. 51 'I know also that Numenius the Pythagorean, a very excellent expositor of Plato, and one who highly esteemed the doctrines of the Pythagoreans, in many passages of his writings quotes the

sayings of Moses and of the Prophets, and gives them an allegorical meaning not at all improbable, as in the work entitled *Epops*, and in his treatises *Concerning numbers*, and *Concerning place*. Also in the third book *Concerning the Good* he quotes a certain narrative concerning Jesus, without mentioning His name, and gives it an allegorical meaning, whether successfully or unsuccessfully this is not the occasion to say. He relates also the account concerning Moses and Jannes and Jambres,' &c. Cf. v. 38 (257) on the account of Sarapis by Numenius. Porphyr. *De antro Nympharum*, x. 111 'They believed that the souls sat beside the water which was filled with a divine spirit (θεοπνόῳ), as Numenius says, adding that on this account the Prophet says that "*the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.*"'

It is however almost entirely from Eus. *Pr. Ev.* that the doctrines of Numenius are known. See the references to quotations from his writings in the Index Scriptorum.

c 2 *ἀναχωρήσασθαι*. See the remark of Dr. Brandis in the note on b 1.

c 5 *συντελουμένας*. Cf. Aristot. *De Mirab.* 137 *θυσία τῷ Διὶ συντελεῖται*.

8] d 3 2 Tim. iii. 8 'As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses.' Cf. Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 3. 149.

ἱερογραμματεῖς. Cf. G. W. (Birch) i. 157 'The first caste was the sacerdotal order . . . composed of the chief priests or pontiffs, as well as minor priests of various grades belonging to different deities, prophets, judges, hierophants, magistrates, *hierogrammats or sacred scribes*,' &c. Hdt. ii. 28 'Some, as the one here mentioned, were scribes of the treasury, others of the granaries, others of the documents belonging to the temple,' &c. Lucian (*Macrob.* 4) says that they usually lived to a great age in consequence of their temperance in diet.

d 6 *παραστῆναι*. *To stand beside* either 'as an equal' (J. B. M.), or *to withstand*, as in Hom. *Il.* xxii. 371

οὐδ' ἄρα οἵ τις ἀνουτητί γε παρέστη,

'encountered him without being wounded.'

9] **412 a** 4 This ninth chapter is taken entirely, though without express acknowledgement, from Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 22. The introductory sentence agrees only in substance with Josephus.

Χοιρίλος. Choerilus of Samos, a friend of Herodotus, wrote

an epic poem on the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Näke (*Choerili Samii quae supersunt*) distinguishes him from three other poets of the same name, and places his birth about 470 B.C., and his death not later than B.C. 399. The prooemium of his poem is noticed by Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 14

Ἡγεό μοι λόγον ἄλλον, ὅπως Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίης
Ἦλθεν ἐς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας.

His far-fetched similes are also mentioned by Aristot. *Top.* viii. 1. 19 οἷα Ὅμηρος μὴ οἷα Χοιρίλος. Other epic fragments of Choerilus are preserved by Strabo 303 on the Sacae, a nomad tribe of Scythia, and 672

Ταῦτ' ἔχω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἀφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος
τέρπν' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κεῖνα λέλειπται.

b 6 τροχοκουράδες (τριχοκουρίδες Jos.), found only here.

c 2 Δῆλον δ' ἐστίν. This paragraph varies much from the words of Choerilus and Josephus.

10] **d** 5 Ἐκκειμένων, 'being explained.' Cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 19. 2 ἔκκεινται οἱ τόποι πρότερον.

d 6 τῶν περὶ θυσιῶν, a necessary correction of περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν by Wolff, op. cit. 139 'nondum absoluta de sacrificiis quaestione.'

413 b 4 οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες. 'Christiani. Hi, inquit, rectum ad deos aditum sapientemque cultum pessum dederunt' (Wolff).

c 1 Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι. These lines are quoted by Justin M. twice, *Cohort. ad Gr.* xi, xxiv, and by Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 104 a.

c 7 ⟨ἀριζήλωτοι⟩, Wolff's conjecture for ἀριζήλητοι. Cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1329 ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθῆναι.

d 6 ἀρχαιολογίαις. Cf. Diod. Sic. ii. 46 μύθους ἡγοῦνται πεπλασμένους τὰς περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἀρχαιολογίας.

d 8 ἐν λάρνακι ξύλου πεποιημένῃ. Cf. Simonid. *Fr.* vii

Ὅτε λάρνακι (δ') ἐν δαιδαλέᾳ κ.τ.λ.,

and the imitation by his younger contemporary, Bacchylides, v. 140

καῖέ τε δαιδαλέας
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
φιτρὸν ἀγκλαύσασα.

d 9 Βηρωσσός. Cf. the quotation in 493 a 1 from Tatian, *Orat. ad Graecos*, 36 'Berosus a Babylonian, a priest of their god Belus, born in the time of Alexander, composed for Antiochus the third after him (after Seleucus, Eus.) the history of the

Chaldeans in three books.' On μετὰ Σέλευκον in 493 a 3 cf. Schwartz, *Tatian. Index Auctorum* 'Eusebius suo arbitrio τῷ μετὰ Σέλευκον τρίτῳ correxit cum Berosi dedicationem ad Antiochum II Θεόν referret. Quod si recte fecit, certe Berosus libros suos alteri Antiocho tum dedicasse censendus est, cum ille regnum cum patre commune obtineret, i. e. ante a. 261.' See the notices of Berosus 415 d, 417 b, and 493 a, b.

Ἱερώνυμος. This Hieronymus 'the Egyptian' must not be confounded with Hieronymus of Cardia, who is often quoted as a chief authority on the history of Alexander's successors, and of whom Josephus writes (*c. Apion.* i. 23) 'Hecataeus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus nowhere mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near the places where we live.' In referring to the flood Josephus says, *Ant. Iud.* i. 3. 6 'These things are also mentioned by Hieronymus the Egyptian, who wrote the *Ancient History of the Phoenicians*.'

d 10 Νικόλαος. Nicolaus Damascenus, a poet, historian, and philosopher, friend of Herod the Great and of Augustus, wrote a *Universal History* at the request of Herod. He is mentioned again 414 b, 415 a, 417 b.

11] **414 a** 2 ὧν ἐστι καὶ Βηρωσσός. Cf. Masp. i. 564 'The tradition to which most credence was attached in the Greek period at Babylon (was) that which has been preserved for us in the histories of Berosus.' For the Chaldean account of the Deluge as given in the tablets see Masp. i. 566; Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, and especially Driver, *Authority and Archaeology*, 22–6. In the *Sibylline Oracles* there is a long account of the Flood (i. 125–282), and a short allusion in vii. 7–12.

b 3 τῶν Κορδυαίων. Masp. i. 570, note 'The mountain of Nisir is replaced in the version of Berosus by the Gordyaean mountains of classical geography; a passage of Assur-nazirpal informs us that it was situated between the Tigris and the Great Zab.'

ἔτι μέρος τι. Cf. Masp. i. 572, note 2 'The legend about the remains of the ark has passed into Jewish tradition concerning the Deluge (Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, ii. 3–6).'

b 4 τῆς ἀσφάλτου. Cf. Gen. vi. 14 'thou shalt pitch it within and without with pitch'; Masp. ibid. note 3 'Discoveries of charcoal

and bitumen, such as those made at Gebel Iudî upon one of the mountains identified with Nisir, probably explain many of these local traditions' (G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 108). In the tablet Pâr-naphistim says 'Six *Sars* of bitumen I spread over it for caulking' (Driver, op. cit. 24).

b 5 *ἀποτροπιασμούς*. Masp. ibid. note 4 'Fr. Lenormant recognized and mentioned one of these amulets in his *Catalogue de la Collection de M. le Baron de Behr*, Ant. No. 80.' Berosus, according to Maspero, calls them 'amulets of sovereign virtue against evil spells.'

b 6 *Ἱερώνυμος*. See 413 d 9, note.

b 7 *Μνασέας*, one of the later Sceptics (*circ.* B.C. 147), a native of Patara (or Patrae), who travelled in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and wrote a work called *Periplus* (Athen. viii. 331 C) and another *Concerning Oracles*. Clinton, *Ep. Fast. Hell.* 413; Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

c 1 *ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινυάδα*. Minyas is mentioned under the name Minni among the kingdoms of Armenia in Jer. li. 27 'Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz.'

c 5 *ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι*. Masp. i. 572, note 3, is not correct in making Nicolas of Damascus say that these remains of the Ark 'were *still* to be seen on the top of Mount Baris.'

12] **d** 2 *Ἀβυδηνοῦ γραφῆς*. Abydenus wrote a history of Assyria, the fragments of which were published by Scaliger, and by Richter, *Berosi Chaldaeorum Historia*, Lips. 1825. See below, 414 d, 456 d, 457 b, c. 'Cyril (*adv. Iulian.* 8, 9) states that he wrote in the Ionic dialect. Several fragments of his work are preserved by Eusebius, Cyrillus, and Syncellus' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*).

d 4 *Σείσιθρος*. Sisythrus is called by Cyril of Alexandria (*adv. Iulian.* i. 5) Xisuthrus, supposed by him to be an Assyrian name for Noah. Masp. i. 565 'Xisuthros held the sceptre for eighteen sari' (64,800 years). It was under him that the great deluge took place.'

Another form of the legend of Xisuthrus is found in Berosus, fragm. xv, and is thus related by Masp. i. 572 'By an order of the god, Xisuthros before embarking had buried in the town of Sippara all the books in which his ancestors had set forth the

sacred sciences—books of oracles and omens, "in which were recorded the beginning, the middle, and the end. When he had disappeared . . . a voice from heaven enjoined upon them to be devout towards the gods, to return to Babylon, and to dig up the books in order that they might be handed down to future generations. . . . They offered sacrifice in turn, they regained their country on foot, they dug up the books of Sippara, and wrote many more; afterwards they refounded Babylon."' The name in the tablets is Pâr-naphistim.

d 5 Δεσίου. Clinton, *Epit. Fast. Hell.* 357 'Daesius is June in Suidas and the Paschal Chronicle. . . . In A. D. 325 at the Council of Nicaea the 19th of Daesius is also the 19th of June.' Cf. Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* iii. 7. 32.

d 7 Σιππάροισιν. Cf. Driver, op. cit. 102 'Sepharvaim (2 Kings xvii. 24)—the termination is the Hebrew dual—are the two Sippars, Sippar of Shamash (the sun-god), and Sippar of Anunitum, situated on the opposite banks of a canal flowing into the Euphrates, about twenty-five miles north of Babylon.'

d 8 εὐθέως . . . ἀνέπλωε, 'straightway began his voyage.'

παραυτίκα μιν κατελάμβανε, 'began at once to overtake him.' The imperfect tenses mark the commencement and continuance of the actions, but not their completion.

415 a 1 Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ. The tablet says that the storm raged six days and nights.

ὗων ἐκόπασε, the usual elliptical phrase, Ζεύς or ὁ θεός being understood. In the text of the tablet it is 'the god who rules the rain' (Masp. i. 568), or 'the lord of the whirlwind' (Driver).

μετίει. 'When the seventh day arrived
I brought forth a *dove*, and let it go,' &c.
(Driver).

μετίει, the Ionic form of μεθίει, after the analogy of προΐειν in Hom. *Od.* ix. 88, x. 100, xii. 9, seems to have been corrupted in Eusebius into μετῄει by a very usual itacism.

a 3 ἀχανέος. Cf. 392 d 1, note.

a 4 ὀπίσω κομίζονται. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 968 F οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθολόγοι τῷ Δευκαλίωνί φασι περιστερὰν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος ἀφιεμένην δήλωμα γενέσθαι χειμῶνος μὲν εἴσω πάλιν ἐνδυομένην, εὐδίας δὲ ἀποπτᾶσαν.

a 7 ἀλεξιφάρμακα. Cf. 414 b 5, note.

13] c 7 τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειοτέρας. Lucian, *Macrobii*, 210, after mentioning the tradition that Teiresias had lived through six generations, observes that it was credible that a man devoted to the gods and adopting a very pure mode of life (διαίτῃ) had lived a very long time: thus he gives the two same reasons as Josephus. Lucian also says that the Chinese were reported to live 300 years, and that the supposed causes were the climate, soil, or especially the mode of living, they being all water-drinkers.

d 1 εὐχρηστίαν, 'usefulness.' Cf. Polyb. ix. 7. 5 τὴν πρὸς πάντα τόπον εὐχρηστίαν τῶν Νομάδων.

d 4 ὁ μέγας ἐνιαυτός. On the various lengths ascribed to the *Great Year* compare 849 c.

d 6 Μανεθῶς. For other notices of Manetho see 44 c (note), 155 d, 500 c, in which last passage there is a quotation from the second book of the *Egyptian History* (τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν), the work here referred to.

d 8 Μόλος. Josephus has Μῶχος, who is mentioned by Athen. iii. 126 as a writer on Phoenician history. Cf. 493 b.

Ἑστιαῖος. Of three persons mentioned under this name one is described by Athen. vi. 273 as a native of Pontus who boasted that he had never seen the sun rise or set, because he gave all his time to study.

Ἱερώνυμος. See 413 d 9, note.

d 9 οἵ τε τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι. For οἵ τε Josephus has only οἱ, which limits the statement to the three writers named above.

d 10 Ἑκαταῖος. See 351 c 5, note, and 417 b 7.

Ἑλλάνικος, καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος. Cf. 478 c.

d 11 Ἔφορος. Cf. 464 b.

Νικόλαος. Cf. 413 d 10.

14] 416 b 2 ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν δηλωθείς, Abydenus, cf. 414 d 2.

b 4 Ἐν τῇ δή I, Ἐν τῇδε O, 'in this country.' 'Ἐν τῇ δ' correxit Gutschmid,' Rzach, *Orac. Sib.* iii. 97, note. If Gutschmid's reading means 'in the fourth generation' (Noah, Ham, Cush, Nimrod), it is hardly to be reconciled with τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ γῆς ἀνασχόντας. Viger's conjecture Ἐντὶ δ' οἵ, implying a double itacism, gives a very good sense, 'There are some who say,' and is adopted by Heinichen and Dindorf, but rejected by Gaisford on account of the Doric dialect: 'Doricum ἐντί Ionice scribenti Abydeno

non debuerat obtrudere doctissimus Vigerus.' Koen. ad Gregor. Dial. Dor. s. xcviii.

b 5 *θεῶν καταφρονήσαντας ἀμείνονας εἶναι.* Cf. Hdt. i. 66 *καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι.*

b 6 *τύρσιν ἠλίβατον.* Cf. Buttm. *Lexil.* 61 ' *Ἠλίβατος* in Homer is always the epithet of *πέτρη* . . . a steep height, difficult or impossible to be climbed, &c.'

b 8 *βωθέοντας*, Ionic for *βοηθέοντας*.

b 9 *λέγεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα.* Cf. Gen. xi. 9 בָּבֶל, 'confusion.' But Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* i. 113 (128) and many others think that Bâbil or Bâbilu means 'God's gate-way.'

c 1 *πολύθροον φωνήν.* Cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 798

μετά με δρόμοισι διόμενοι
φυγάδα μάταισι πολυθρόοις.

c 2 *συστῆναι πόλεμον.* The statement concerning the war of Kronos and Titan against the new race of men is derived by Abydenus from *Orac. Sib.* iii. 121

καὶ μαχέσαντο Κρόνος Τιτάν τε πρὸς αὐτούς.

c 3–**417 a** 3 *ὁ δὲ τόπος . . . ἐντυχοῦσαν.* The whole of this statement is taken not from Abydenus, but from Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* i. 4. 3.

15] **d** 2 *Σίβυλλα.* See Mr. Lupton's excellent article, Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* (Sibylline Oracles). A list of the Sibyls is given in the anonymous Prologue to the *Oracula Sibyllina*, Rzach 4, and in Pausan. 826. Cf. Neander, *Church Hist.* i. 245 'Whatever truth might be lying at the bottom of those ancient legends of the Sibylline prophecies, of which the profound Heraclitus five hundred years before Christ had said, "Their unadorned earnest words spoken with inspired mouth reach through a thousand years," most unquestionably the consciousness of such a prophetic element in paganism—all that in these predictions spoke of the fates of cities and nations, and more particularly of a final and a golden age of the world, gave occasion to divers interpretations based upon Jewish and Christian principles.'

d 3 *ὁμοφώνων.* The original passage is *Orac. Sib.* iii. 97–104

ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἂν μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ τελέωνται ἀπειλαί,
ἅς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτευξαν
χώρῃ ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ· ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν ἅπαντες
καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβῆναι ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα·

αὐτίκα δ' ἀθάνατος μεγάλην ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκην
πνεύμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον
ῥίψαν καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔριν ὦρσαν.
τοὔνεκά τοι Βαβυλῶνα βροτοὶ πόλει οὔνομ' ἔθεντο.

This passage is quoted by Theophilus, *Ad Autolyc.* ii. 31; and some of the following verses (108–13) are quoted by Athenagoras, *Legat.* 30, and by Tertull. *Ad Nationes*, ii. 12.

d 7 Σενναάρ. Gen. xi. 2 Shinar.

d 8 Ἑστιαῖος. Cf. 415 d 8.

d 9 Ἐνυαλίου Διός. The title Ἐνυάλιος is usually given to Ares, Hom. *Il.* xvii. 210, xx. 69. In a Scholion on Aristoph. *Plut.* 457 Enyalios is described as a son of Kronos and Rhea: this would lead to his being identified with Zeus. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 55.

ἱερώματα. Cf. 2 Macc. xii. 40, with Fritzsche's note 'ἱέρωμα kömmt ausser uns. Stelle nirgends (?) vor; der Etymologie zufolge *Geweihetes*: Vulg. *donaria.*'

417 a 1 ὑπὸ τῆς ὁμογλωσσίας τὰς συνοικίας. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 5 (6) has ἀλλογλωσσίας and ἀποικίας, i. e. 'they were scattered through diversity of language.' Eusebius means that, when thus scattered, as many as spoke the same dialect formed a community.

16] **b** 8 Νικόλαος. Cf. 413 d 10.

c 1 ἔπηλυς. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 243

πῶς ἂν οὖν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολεμίους ἐπήλυδας;

and *Theb.* 34; *Suppl.* 195.

d 1 Ἀβραάμου οἴκησις. Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* 'Damascus': Nicolaus 'mentions a village called "the Habitation of Abraham," which may be identical with *el-Burzeh*, three miles north of the city, where there is a *wely* sacred to the patriarch.'

d 3 διαίρειν, sub. ἑαυτόν. Cf. Polyb. i. 37 διάραντες δὲ τὸν πόρον ἀσφαλῶς.

d 12 ἐκφαυλιζόντων. Cf. Lucian, *Merc. Cond.* 667 εἰ μὲν ἐκφαυλίζοι τι τῶν λεγομένων.

418 a 1 διαπτύσσων. Joseph. 'unfolding,' 'examining.' Plat. *Legg.* 858 E τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους γεγραμμένα φαίνεσθαι διαπτυττόμενα μακρῷ κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα. The reading of the MSS. of Eusebius διαπτύων is quite unsuitable.

17] **c** 1 Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor from his great learning, was a native of Miletus (*Suidas*), taken prisoner

in Sulla's campaigns in Greece (B. C. 87–83), and made a slave to Cornelius Lentulus Sura (Catiline's confederate), who made him tutor to his children, and gave him his liberty. He wrote 'more books than a man can count' (*Suidas*, Ἀλέξανδρος), among them 'a history of the various Schools of Philosophy (Φιλοσόφων διαδοχαί), and an interpretation of the Pythagorean symbols' (Zeller, *Outlines*, II. 306; Diog. L. viii. 24 f.). The passage here quoted by Eusebius, from a work Περὶ Ἰουδαίων, consists of extracts from several writers on the history of Judaea, and may possibly have formed part of his great geographical work of nearly all countries of the known world. It is to this collection of extracts, quoted by Eusebius, 'that we are almost entirely indebted for our acquaintance with the oldest Judaeo-Hellenistic and Samaritan compilations of Scriptural history, whether in poetic or prosaic form, with those of Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristeas, Kleodemus, Philo, Theodotus, and Ezekiel' (Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 3. 197).

c 4 ἐν τῇ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων συντάξει. Cf. Clem. Al. 396 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Πολυίστωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων συγγράμματι ἀνέγραψεν κ.τ.λ. The genuineness of Polyhistor's work is defended 'with convincing proofs by Freudenthal, 174–84' (Schürer, ibid. 198).

c 7 Εὐπόλεμος, besides the work here ascribed to him, which Freudenthal (34) regards as an extract from a larger work, wrote a book *On the kings in Judaea* (Clem. Al. 413).

ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας φησὶ πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα. The mistake of making τῆς Ἀσσυρίας depend on Ἰουδαίων instead of πόλιν has given to the book the false title (Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* ii. 101 b) Περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας Ἰουδαίων. See *Corrigenda*.

d 2 τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Καμαρίνῃ. Cf. *Orac. Sib.* iii. 218

ἔστι πόλις . . . κατὰ χθονὸς Οὖρ Χαλδαίων.

After πόλις there is a lacuna which Alexandre in his edition proposed to supply by Καμάρινα from this passage.

d 3 Οὐρίην. After quoting the present passage Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* i. 114 (130), writes 'Here, at all events, we seem to have, so far as the designation of locality is concerned, a tradition which is independent of what appears to be the tradition of the Bible: and it is certainly a strange coincidence that Καμαρίνη, when explained from the Arabic, expresses the meaning of "moon-

town," a name which would suit Uru or Οὐρίη like no other among the ancient Babylonian towns. Uru was probably the seat of the worship of the moon-deity.'

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a 2 *Ἑρμιούθ.* Viger conjectures that the name is compounded

of ארם, 'Aram,' and יהוד, 'quasi Syro-Judaeus; non Judaeus tantum.' The name occurs again 430 a 5.

a 3 *Ἑβραίους ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμου.* 'Talis ignorantia videtur revelare ipsum Artapanum non esse Iudaeum, uti declaravit Valckenarius *De Aristobulo*, 26' (Seguier). But Freudenthal observes that the name is derived not from 'Abraam,' but from his surname, Gen. xiv. 13, עברי, 'the Hebrew.' See 304 c 4 *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἔβερ.*

b 2 *Φαρεθώθην.* 'Nomen istud similiter deformatur in Joseph. *A. I.* i. 8 *Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*' (Seguier). Cf. Freudenthal, 169; Deissmann, 327 'The Papyri yield a large number of examples of similar forms in *-ωθ*.'

b 3 *ἔτη ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι.* The duration of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt is not mentioned in the Bible.

b 6 *ἀδεσπότοις*, applied to writings of which the authors were unknown, a word common in Plutarch. Freudenthal supposes that both this and the previous extract ascribed to Eupolemus are derived from one and the same original, namely the *anonymous work of a Samaritan.* Cf. Schürer, ibid. 211.

ἀναφέροντα εἰς τοὺς γίγαντας. Plat. *Theaet.* 175 A *ἀναφερόντων εἰς Ἡρακλέα.*

b 8 *Βῆλον.* In Apollodorus Belus is mentioned not as one of the giants (i. 6), but as son of Poseidon and Libya, king of Egypt, and father of Aegyptus and Danaus (ii. 1. 4. 2). Cf. Diod. Sic. i. 28 *εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἀγαγεῖν ἀποίκους Βῆλον τὸν νομιζόμενον Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Λιβύης.*

19] **d** 1 *συσκευήν.* Cf. 31 a 2. L. and Sc. *Lex.* give only the meanings 'preparation' and 'intrigue.' A more appropriate sense here is 'compilation.'

Μόλων. Molon was a surname of Apollonius of Alabanda, a rhetorician of Rhodes, mentioned by Strabo, 655, who distinguishes between Apollonius and Molon: *Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ μαλακὸς καὶ Μόλων, ἦσαν δὲ Ἀλαβανδεῖς, Μενεκλέους μαθηταὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος. ἐπεδήμησε δὲ πρότερον Ἀπολλώνιος, ὀψὲ δ' ἧκεν ὁ Μόλων, καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος 'ὀψὲ μολών, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθών.'* See also Strab. 661.

Thus there were two rhetoricians natives of Alabanda residing at Rhodes at the same time. *Μόλων* and *Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μόλων* (Joseph. *c. Apion.* ii. 14. 36), called also simply *Μόλων*,

or simply Ἀπολλώνιος. This Apollonius is the adversary of the Jews here mentioned, while the former Molon was the rhetorician by whose teaching Cicero profited at Rhodes and at Rome (Cic. *Brutus*, 89, 90, 91; Quintil. *Inst.* xii. 6; Schürer, 252).

d 5 *τρεῖς γενεάς*. Cf. 418 d 4.

d 6 *πατρὸς φίλον*. Gen. xvii. 5. The name אַבְרָם, 'Abram,' means 'Exalted Father,' and אַבְרָהָם, 'Father of a multitude.' In the interpretation 'Father's friend,' רהם has been read by mistake as רחם, the latter form meaning 'love.' 'The title "el-Khalil," "the Friend" (of God) (see 2 Chron. xx. 7; Isa. xli. 8; Jas. ii. 22), is that by which he is usually spoken of by the Arabs' (Smith, *Dict. Bible*).

421 a 2 *δώδεκα υἱούς*. The author has confused Ishmael with his father. The sons of Ishmael are mentioned by name in Gen. xxv. 13–6 'twelve princes according to their nations.' Cf. Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* i. 13.

a 8 *υἱοὺς ἕνδεκα*. Again Isaac is confounded with Jacob.

b 4 *ὁλοκαρπῶσαι*. Gen. xxii. 2 *ἀνένεγκε αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν*.

b 8 *καρπῶσαι*. Cf. Lev. ii. 11 *καρπῶσαι Κυρίῳ*.

20] **c** 1 *Φίλων*. This is probably the Philo who is mentioned by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 23 (quoted on 458 c 6) and by Clem. Al. 404.

c 3 *Ἔκλυον ἀρχεγόνοισι*. These verses are made up of long and unusual words put into metre with little regard to sense. Viger in his Latin translation omits them altogether as unintelligible. For the sake of completeness I have left the original Greek in the text of my translation. Cf. 430 c 1, 453 a, b, where other specimens of Philo's epics are given.

422 a 6 *Ἀφρήν*. Cf. b 7 *Ἀφράν*. Dindorf's text of Josephus, *A. I.* i. 15, gives the names as *Ἀφέραν*, *Σουρείμ*, and *Ἰάφραν*.

a 7 *υἱωνοί*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 666

υἱέες υἱωνοί τε βίης Ἡρακληείης.

a 8 *Ἀφρικά*. This name seems only to occur in late authors as the Greek transliteration of the Latin 'Africa.'

b 1 *Κλεόδημος*. This appears to be the sole mention of Cleodemus Malchas. The name Malchas being neither Jewish nor Greek, but Phoenician and Syrian, Ewald thinks he was a Phoenician, Herzfeld a Syrian. But from the reference to the books of Moses, from the title 'prophet,' corresponding to the

claims of Simon Magus, and from the alleged affinity of Heracles to Abraham (c 2), Freudenthal thinks Malchas was a Samaritan.

b 5 Ἀφέρ. Among the sons and grandsons of Abraham and Keturah in Gen. xxv. 1–4, the names most nearly corresponding to those given by Cleodemus are (Sept.) Ἀσσουριείμ, Γεφάρ, and Ἀφείρ, in English 'Asshurim,' 'Ephah,' and 'Epher.' See note on a 6 above.

c 1 Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῦσαι. For the expedition of Hercules to Libya, and his wrestling with Antaeus, see Apollod. ii. 5. 11. 5; Plut. *Sertorius*, 572.

c 2 γήμαντα δὲ τὴν Ἀφρὰ θυγατέρα. That the Samaritans connected Heracles with the history of Abraham is made probable by a statement of Epiphanius, *Haer.* lv. *Melchisedekiani* εἶπον δέ τινες Ἡρακλᾶν τινα καλεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ) πατέρα, μητέρα δὲ Ἀσταρθ τὴν δὴ καὶ Ἀστοριανήν. No Pagan, Jew, or Christian would have spoken thus about Melchisedek, but the Hellenizing Samaritans in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes claimed to be Phoenicians of Sidon (Joseph. *A. I.* xii. 5. 5), and as such would be likely to claim descent from the union of a grand-daughter of Abraham with the Phoenician Heracles, Melcarth of Tyre, whose worship was still maintained (2 Macc. iv. 18, vi. 2).

c 3 Διόδωρον. Τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σοφωνᾶν. According to Plut. *Sertor.* ix. Diodorus was the son of Sophax and grandson of Hercules.

c 4 Σοφὰς λέγεσθαι. Plutarch adds that King Juba claimed descent from Diodorus and Sophax. Hence also the name Syphax (Σύφαξ). Cf. Schürer, 210.

21] **d** 2 Δημήτριος, who is not to be confounded (as by Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 23) with Demetrius Phalereus, was a Jewish historian and chronographer, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 222–205). 'Hence we obtain also an important standpoint for determining the date of the LXX. For that Demetrius made use of the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch is acknowledged even by Hody' (Schürer, 201).

'This fragment of Demetrius, though sometimes in error, comes much nearer to the truth of the Sacred History than the statements of the others' (Viger). As Eupolemus and Philo have both been mentioned by Polyhistor (418 c 7, 421 c 1), it is

probable that the Demetrius here named is the same who is joined with them in Clem. Al. 404 Φίλων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς Ἰουδαίων διαφώνως τῷ Δημητρίῳ. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Εὐπόλεμος ἐν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ πραγματείᾳ κ.τ.λ.

ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. 'Immo septuaginta septem . . . Annorum enim erat nonaginta unius, cum Iosephum ex Rachele suscepit post annos quatuordecim quibus Labano servierat' (Viger). See the next note.

d 8 ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. 'This statement is perfectly correct,' Freudenthal 39, who praises Demetrius for his careful adherence to the Biblical narrative.

423 a 3 ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις. In Gen. xxix. 27, *Fulfil her week* means to celebrate the marriage with Leah for seven days (Judges xiv. 17), and *we will give thee this* (Rachel) *also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.* The second service of seven years was not to precede but to follow the marriage with Rachel, as is shown by the context.

a 7 τὴν ἑαυτῆς παιδίσκην Ζελφάν. Zilpah was Leah's handmaid, and Bilhah Rachel's. Cf. Freudenthal 219 'Locum foede depravatum integritati restituere potes scribendo παιδίσκην ⟨Βαλλάν, ἣν τεκεῖν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ τετάρτῳ Δὰν καὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ δευτέρῳ Νεφθαλείμ· Λείαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν παρακοιμίσαι τῷ Ἰακὼβ τὴν ἑαυτῆς παιδίσκην⟩ Ζελφάν.' The cause of the corruption is discussed at large by Freudenthal 54 f., who imputes the fault neither to Demetrius nor Eusebius nor to a mere copyist, but to 'no other than the superficial compiler the heathen Alexander.' With this correction 'the handmaids have their right mistresses, Dan, Naphtali, Gad and Asher their own mothers; the omission is explained by the most frequent cause of transcribers' errors, the repetition of a like ending, and our faith in the accuracy of Demetrius has suffered no loss' (Freudenthal, 56).

b 3 Γάδ, 'fortune.' Cf. Gen. xxx. 11 Καὶ εἶπεν Λεία Ἐν τύχῃ· καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Γάδ.

b 5 Ἀσήρ, 'happy.' Gen. xxx. 13 Καὶ εἶπεν Λεία Μακαρία ἐγώ, ὅτι μακαρίζουσίν με πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀσήρ.

b 6 μήλων τῶν μανδραγόρου. 'The Alexandrian version of Genesis . . . was used by the Hellenist Demetrius, fragments of whose treatise Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων are preserved by Clement

(*Strom.* i. 403) and Eusebius (*praep. ev.* ix. 21, 29). The following specimens may suffice to prove this assertion. Demetrius ἀντὶ τῶν μήλων τοῦ μανδραγρόου. Gen. (LXX) εὗρεν μῆλα μανδραγόρου . . . ἀντὶ τῶν μανδραγορῶν (xxx. 14 f.)' (Swete, *Introd. to O. T.* 18). Dudâîm (Gen. xxx. 14) is usually identified with 'mandrakes' (Atropa mandragora), and the name probably means 'love-plants.' The fruit has a strong odour (Cant. vii. 13), and was supposed to promote conception.

b 7 συλλαβεῖν. 'Primum indicare videtur Liam concepisse, nec tamen foetum ipsi ullum tribuit' (Viger). Cf. Gen. xxx. 17 f. The supposed error of Polyhistor disappears if we include καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτῆς Ζελφάν in a parenthesis.

c 4 τεκεῖν υἱὸν ὄνομα Δάν. 'Cave credas. Fuit enim Dan Balae Rachelis ancillae primogenitus. Gen. xxx. 6' (Viger).

d 4 ἔτη εἴκοσι. Gen. xxxi. 41 'I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy flock' (R. V.).

d 5 τοῦ πλάτους, 'the flat,' answering to the Hebrew כַּף 'the hollow of the hand': in Gen. xxxii. 26, 33, it means the hollow pan or socket of the thigh.

d 6 ναρκήσαντα ἐπισκάζειν. Cf. Gen. xxxii. 25 ἐνάρκησεν τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ: ibid. 31 ἐπέσκαζεν τῷ μηρῷ αὐτοῦ.

d 9 εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν Σικίμων. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18 Καὶ ἦλθεν Ἰακὼβ εἰς Σαλὴμ πόλιν Σικίμων, ἥ ἐστιν ἐν γῇ Χαναάν.

424 b 5 Ἰσραήλ. Gen. xxxv. 10.

b 6 Χαφραθά. Gen. xxxv. 16. Heb. כִּבְרַת (R. V. 'some way'): χαβραθά the transliteration in LXX is regarded by Eusebiu as a proper name (H. A. Redpath).

c 1 Μαμβρὶ τῆς Χεβρών. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 27.

c 3 εἰς Αἴγυπτον. The date of the arrival of Joseph in Egypt is supposed to be 1706 B. C., and that of his death B. C. 1635, by G. W. (Birch, i. 30).

d 1 Ἀσενέθ. Gen. xli. 45 *Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On,* i. e. of Heliopolis or Bethshemesh.

d 8 κτηνοτρόφους. Gen. xlvi. 32 ἄνδρες γὰρ κτηνοτρόφοι ἦσαν.

425 a 4 δύο. The MSS. have μίαν, making confusion, as before, among the numbers.

a 7 τριακοσίους χρυσοῦς. Gen. xiv. 22 'three hundred pieces of silver' (Heb. כֶּסֶף). But the LXX have χρυσοῦς.

b 5 λιμοῦ ὄντος, for which cod. I has λιμοῦ οὔσης. On the feminine

form cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 188. Hom. *Hymn. in Cerer.* 311 Λιμοῦ ὑπ' ἀργαλέης. In Aristoph. *Acharn.* 743 the Megarian, speaking in the Doric dialect, says: τὰ πρῶτα πειρασεῖσθε τᾶς λιμῶ κακῶς, and at Sparta in the temple of Apollo Λιμός was painted as a woman.

d 1 Χαρράν is the form given by the LXX to חָרָן (Gen. xi. 31), which in the English Bible is 'Haran.'

d 6 Κλάθ. Gen. xlvi. 11 קְהָת : E. V. 'Kohath,' LXX Καάθ.

22] **426 b** 1 Θεόδοτος. Theodotus is mentioned again 458 b 7 among those who had written concerning the Jews. His verses show an intimate knowledge of Homer, and are by no means devoid of poetic merit.

b 2 ⟨Ἐμμώρ⟩. The reading Ἑρμοῦ is apparently a mistake for Emmor, or Hamor, the father of Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 19). The name Ἐμμώρ is given correctly d 3.

b 4 αἰγίνομος, 'browsed by goats.' The paroxytone αἰγινόμος means a 'goat-herd,' *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 221 ἦλθε φιλοκρήμων αὖλιν ἐς αἰγινόμων.

ὑδρηλή. Hom. *Od.* ix. 132 (λειμῶνες) ὑδρηλοί, μαλακοί.

c 1 δρία λαχνήεντα. Hom. *Od.* xiv. 353 δρίος ἦν πολυανθέος ὕλης. Hesiod, *Opp.* 528 ἀνὰ δρία βησσήεντα. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 451 λαχνήεντ' ὄροφον λειμωνόθεν ἀμήσαντες.

c 5 ⟨ἡ διερή⟩. The reading of the MSS. is ἦδ' ἱερή. Neither ἡ δὲ nor ἥδε is here suitable; and the repetition ἱερή and ἱερὸν ἄστυ is very objectionable. Read, therefore, with Grotius, ἡ διερὴ Σ. The epithet, like ὑδρηλή, six lines above, exactly corresponds to the description of Shechem by modern travellers. 'The whole valley,' says Dr. Robinson, 'was filled with gardens of vegetables and orchards of all kinds of fruit, watered by fountains which burst forth in various parts and flow westwards in refreshing streams. All writers are struck by the peculiar verdure and fertility produced by the numerous springs and streams.' See Smith, *Dict. Bible* ('Shechem'). For the use of διερός see Plut. 735 E ἡ διερὸν ὡς μυρσίνη καὶ κιττός, and 951 B ἀερὸς διεροῦ. It is used in the same sense by Pindar, *Fr.* lxxiv. 11 νότιον θέρος ὕδατι ζακότῳ διερόν, and Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 253 (αἷμα) τὸ διερὸν πέδοι χύμενον οἴχεται. Hesych. διερόν· ὑγρόν· χλωρόν.

d 1 λισσόν. Hom. *Od.* iii. 293 ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἅλα πέτρη.

ὑπώρειαν. Hom. *Il.* xx. 218, Schol. ὑπωρείας· τὰ κάτω μέρη τῶν ὀρῶν.

d 7 μάλ' ⟨ἀτειρέε⟩ φῶτε. Cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 60 αἰεί τοι κραδίη πέλεκυς ὥς ἐστιν ἀτειρής: *Il.* xv. 697 ἀκμῆτας καὶ ἀτειρέας.

427 a 3 ποταμοῦ κελάδοντος. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 576 πὰρ ποταμὸν κελάδοντα.

a 4 ἐνιπήν. Hom. *Il.* iv. 402 αἰδεσθεὶς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο.

b 1 ἀνεψιός. Hom. *Il.* ix. 464. Laban and Rebekah were children of Bethuel, son of Nahor, Abraham's brother.

b 2 ⟨νειηγενές⟩. Hom. *Od.* iv. 336 and xvii. 127 νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνούς. Laban's sons are mentioned Gen. xxx. 35; xxxi. 1. Cf. Delitzsch 'Jacob's brothers-in-law having been, contrary to Oriental custom, still silent individuals at their sisters' marriages, were quite little fourteen years ago, and perhaps not born twenty years ago; now however they are grown up (xxx. 35) and of age.'

b 4 ὁπλοτάτης, a word frequent in Hesiod. Homer uses only the comparative ὁπλότερος.

τελέθειν. The transitive sense is found *Or. Sib.* iii. 263 τοῖσι μόνοις καρπὸν τελέθει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

ἐπεμαίετο. The simple verb is more usual with the infinitive. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* viii. 8; Soph. *Aj.* 287; Hom. *Il.* x. 401 δώρων δ' ἐπεμαίετο θυμός. The compound verb is not used by Hesiod, except in a fragment preserved by Athenaeus, 498 B.

b 5 τολύπευσε. Hom. *Od.* xix. 137 ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω.

b 6 προγενεστέρη. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 161 γενεῇ προγενέστερος.

c 1 κακορραφίην. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xv. 16 κακορραφίης ἀλεγεινῆς.

c 3 νόῳ πεπνυμένοι. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 377 πέπνυσαί τε νόῳ.

c 5 ⟨ἐπίστρεπτον⟩ δὲ δέμας. Aesch. *Supp.* 997 ὥραν ἐχούσας τήνδ' ἐπίστρεπτον βροτοῖς.

d 3 γεωμορεῖν. Cf. Hdt. vii. 155; Thuc. viii. 21; Plut. 303 E.

428 a 4 νυούς. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxii. 65; *Od.* iii. 451; Theocr. *Id.* xv. 77 ἐνδοῖ πᾶσαι, ὁ τὰν νυὸν εἴπ' ἀποκλάξας: Ibid. xviii. 15 Μενέλαε, τεὰ νυὸς ἅδε.

b 3 ἀστεμφές. Hom. *Il.* ii. 344 ἔχων ἀστεμφέα βουλήν.

c 1 πολιτικῶς. Cf. Polyb. xviii. 31. 7 πρᾴως καὶ πολιτικῶς.

c 3 συγκάταινον, literally, 'one who joins in approval.' Cf. Demosth. 284. 3 βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι.

d 3 ἔτιον. Hom. *Il.* i. 244 ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας.

d 4 ⟨μόλοι⟩. I have substituted μόλοι for μόλει O or μόλῃ I. Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 832.

d 6 λοίγια δ' ὠρώρει τοῖσιν μεμελημένα ἔργα, made up of two lines of *Il.* i. 518 ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἔργ': and *Il.* xviii. 497 ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος ὠρώρει.

429 a 2 λεῦψε δ' ἔτι σπαίρουσαν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 203 ζωὸν ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα.

a 3 μένος ἄσχετος. Hom. *Od.* iii. 104 μένος ἄσχετοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.

a 4 γούνων ἁπτόμενον. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 65 γούνων ἅψασθαι μεμαώς.

ἄσπετα μαργήναντα. Both words are Homeric.

a 5 κληῖδα. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxii. 324 ᾗ κληῖδες ἀπ' ὤμων αὐχέν' ἔχουσι.

δῦ δὲ ξίφος ὀξύ. *Il.* xvi. 340 πᾶν δ' εἴσω ἔδυ ξίφος.

b 2 ἀναρρυσαμένους, literally, 'having drawn up,' as from a well. Cf. Cratin. *Didasc. Fr.* Suidas, Ἀναρύτειν· ἐξαντλεῖν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρύεσθαι.

ὅτε σὺ τοὺς καλοὺς θριάμβους ἀναρύτουσ' ἀπεχθάνου.

The reading of O ἀναρυσαμένους and the reference to ἐρύομαι by Suidas suggest ἀνερυσαμένους as more appropriate to the idea of 'rescuing.' Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 300 ὡς ἐκ νούσου ἀνειρύσω.

23] c 4 προειδόμενον. This form is found here in all our MSS. and is retained in Thuc. iv. 64 by Goeller and Arnold; it often occurs in MSS., elsewhere, but see Poppo's note on Thuc. loc. cit., and Kühner on Xen. *Anab.* vi. 1. 8 (προΐδηται). The more correct form is found in Dionys. Hal. *Ant.* i. 65; vii. 42; Lucian, *Toxaris* 39.

c 5 τὸ ἐντυγχανόμενον, 'what was requested.' The active ἐντυγχάνω, 'to entreat' is common; but this sense of the passive is hardly to be found.

c 7 ἀπογόνους Ἰσραήλ, υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. 'Israel' must here be taken as the ordinary name of the nation. Gaisford's conjecture Ἰσμαήλ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ would require the further change of ἀδελφοῦ for Ἰσαὰκ ἀδελφούς. The reading of the MSS. is confirmed by 421 a 2–4.

d 5 χερσευομένην, 'laid waste.' Xen. *Oecon.* v. 17; xvi. 5 καὶ χερσεύουσα δὲ ὅμως ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν 'even when lying waste.'

d 6 γεωργήσιμον. Cf. Aristot. *Probl.* xx. 12. 4 οὐκ ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι ἐν γεωργησίμῳ.

430 a 3 Σάει. On Sais, *Sa-Hadjar*, see Hdt. ii. 62; Plat. *Tim.* 21 'There is in Egypt at the head of the Delta where the river Nile divides a Nome called the Saitic, and the chief city of the Nome is called Sais, the birth-place of King Amasis. The founder of their city is a goddess whom the Egyptians call Neith, but the Greeks in their language Athena.' Cf. Diod. Sic. v. 57; G. W. (Birch, iii. 40); Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 9. But Freudenthal for Σάει with cod. B reads Σάν, one of the many Egyptian names for Tanis or Zoan (Ps. lxxviii. 12).

a 4 τὸ ἐν Ἀθώς. Of an Athos I can find no mention elsewhere, but Freudenthal 128 tries to identify it with Pithom, Πάτουμον (Hdt. ii. 158), by cutting off the article Π.

a 5 Ἑρμιούθ. Cf. 420 a 2.

24] **b** 3 Φίλων. Cf. 421 c 1.

c 1 ὅλης, sc. γῆς. On the omission of γῆς cf. Eur. *Heracleid.* 140 ἐκ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τούσδε δραπέτας ἔχων.

ἄκτωρ. Cf. Aesch. *Persae*, 567 Σουσίδαις φίλος ἄκτωρ.

c 5 δινεύσας. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 543 ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον.

25] **d** 2 Ἀριστέας, 'not the pseudonymous author of the letter but the writer of a treatise περὶ Ἰουδαίων, quotes the book of Job according to the LXX, and has been suspected of being the author of the remarkable codicil attached to it, Job xlii. 17 b–c' (Swete, *Introd. O. T.* 208). Cf. Schürer, op. cit. II. iii. 208.

d 3 Βασσάραν. In Gen. xxxvi. 3 Esau's wife is called 'Basemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebaioth.' Instead of Βασσάρας υἱὸν . . . γεννῆσαι υἱόν, cod. B alone has the right reading Βασσάραν . . . γεννῆσαι Ἰώβ.

ἐν τῇ Αὐσίτιδι χώρᾳ. The name עוּץ, 'Uz,' is rendered Αὐσῖτις by the LXX. Uz lay to the south-east of Palestine, corresponding to Arabia Deserta; cf. 431 b 3, note.

d 7 ὄνους θηλείας νομάδας. Job i. 3 LXX. The epithet νομάδας, 'at pasture,' introduced by the Septuagint, is not very appropriate to the אָתוֹן, so-called from its slowness, and being of the domestic kind.

431 a 1 Ἰωβάβ. Gen. xxxvi. 33 *Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah.* This becomes in the Sept. Ἰωβὰδ υἱὸς Ζάρα ἐκ Βοσόρρας. 'Jobad son of Zara by Bosorra,' as if Bosorra were the name of Jobad's mother. At the end of the book of Job after xlii. 17 the Septuagint has the following addition: 'But it is written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord raiseth up. This (man) is by translation from the Syriac book a dweller in the land of Ausitis (*Uz*, Job i. 1), upon the borders of Idumaea and Arabia: and his name was originally Jobab. Having taken an Arabian wife, he begets a son whose name was Ennon: and he was himself a son of Zaré, of the sons of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 13), and his mother was Bosorra, so that he was fifth from Abraham. And these are the kings who reigned in Edom, of which country he also was ruler. First Balak the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba: and after Balak Jobab who is called Job; and after him Asom, who was a chieftain from the land of Theman; and after him Adad son of Barad, who cut off Madiam in the plain of Moab, and the name of his city was Gethaim. And the friends who came to him were Eliphaz of the sons of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 1) king of the Themanites, Baldad the monarch of the Sauchaeans (*Shuhites*), Sophar the king of the Minaeans (Naamathites).'

a 7 *αὐθημερόν.* Schol. in I ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰὼβ αὐθημερὸν οὗτός φησιν ἑλκῶσαι τῆς γραφῆς τοῦτο μὴ παρασημαινούσης.

b 1 *Θαιμανιτῶν*, 'the south,' a part of Edom, called after or perhaps giving name to a son of Eliphaz son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11). The people were famed for wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7, 8; Obad. vv. 8, 9).

b 2 *Σαυχαίων.* The Shuhites are identified by G. Rawlinson (*Dict. Bib.* 'Shuhite') with Tsukhi a people mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, dwelling on both sides of the Euphrates, in a district afterwards called *Sohene.*

Μινναίων. The Seventy by this rendering seem to have identified the Naamathites with the Minaei, a powerful people in the south-west of Arabia, bordering on the Red Sea, in the country now called *Yemen*. See Smith, *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Geogr.* 'Minaei.'

b 3 *Ζωβίτην.* Cf. Job xxxii. 2. The Buzites, or descendants of Buz (Gen. xxii. 21), are mentioned in Jer. xxv. 23 in connexion with Dedan and Tema, and so seem to have settled in Arabia.

But Polyhistor, by transforming the name into *Zobite*, seems to refer to Zobah in Syria (2 Sam. viii. 3). The passage in the LXX is Ἐλιοὺς ὁ τοῦ Βαραχιὴλ ὁ Βουζίτης ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας Ῥάμ, τῆς Αὐσείτιδος χώρας, where Ram is the name of a family, not of a country, Aram.

26] c 3 This passage of Eupolemus is quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 413.

φησι. Clem. Al. ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων τὸν Μωϋσῆ φησι.

c 4 γράμματα. Clem. Al. γραμματικήν, retained by Freudenthal 209, 'weil Cobet (Ἑρμῆς 169) die Bedeutung "Kunde der Buchstabenschrift" dem Worte gesichert hat.' Freudenthal adds an example of this meaning from Syrianus' Commentary on the Στάσεις of Hermogenes (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* 43 ἡ γοῦν κατὰ Κάδμον . . . γραμματική).

27] d 1 Ἀρτάπανος. Cf. 420 a 1, note.

d 2 Μεμψασθενώθ. The name Mempsasthenoth seems not to occur elsewhere. On the terminations -ωθ and -ωθης see Deissmann, 327, who gives many examples from the Papyri.

d 4 Παλμανώθην. 'Palmanothes reminds us of Pamenothes and Pamonthes in Brugsch' (Freudenthal, 158).

d 5 Κεσσάν, identified by Freudenthal with Γεσέμ (Sept.), Goshen, which in hieroglyphics is Κεσεμ.

432 a 2 Χενεφρῇ. The name Chenephres is apparently identical with Cephren, Hdt. ii. 127; Diod. Sic. i. 64: he was the brother and successor of Cheops, and builder of the second pyramid, and is mentioned by the Scholiast on Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 44

Μνήματα Χεφρῆνός τε καὶ ἀντιθέου Μυκερίνου
Καὶ Χέοπος κατιδὼν Μάξιμος ἠγασάμην.

Cf. Masp. i. 372, 379, where the pyramid of Cephren and two of his statues are represented, as well as the coffin and sarcophagus of Mycerinus. See also G. W. (Birch, i. 16).

a 3 πολλούς. G. W. (Birch, i. 19, note) 'If we may believe Josephus, Manetho speaks of kings of the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt uniting in a common cause; and thereby shows the existence of contemporary dynasties.' Masp. i. 226, note 5 'E. de Rougé triumphantly demonstrated, in opposition to Bunsen, now (1895) nearly fifty years ago, that all Manetho's dynasties are successive . . . and the monuments discovered from

year to year in Egypt have confirmed his demonstration in every detail.' Ibid. 227 f. 'The country was, no doubt, frequently broken up into a dozen or more independent states, each possessing its own kings during several generations; but the annalists had from the outset discarded these collateral lines, and recognized only one legitimate dynasty, of which the rest were but vassals.' Ibid. iii. 28.

b 1 *λιθοθεσίας*. The blocks of stone were drawn up inclined planes by oxen, and were laid with the most scrupulous care. Cf. Masp. i. 375, 384.

ὅπλα. On the Egyptian arms see G. W. (Birch, i. 297 ff.), and Plates, 332, 406.

b 2 *ὑδρευτικά*. See the representations of the *shadoof*, pole and bucket, in G. W. (Birch i. 279).

b 3 *νομούς*. On the original communities and principalities of Egypt see Masp. i. 70–6, and on the 'Nomes' 77; also G. W. (Birch, i. 97–9).

b 4 *ἀποτάξαι τὸν Θεόν*. See Diod. i. 89 quoted above 50 d 6.

ἱερὰ γράμματα, 'hieroglyphics,' as shown by the next sentence. See Masp. i. 221.

d 5 *Ἑρμοπολίτην*. Masp. i. 72 'Rhmûnû, the present Ashmûneîn, is the Hermopolis of the Greeks, the town of the god Thot.' A plan of the ruins is given by Masp. i. 144.

d 7 *προκαθεδουμένους τῆς χώρας*. Cf. Polyb. ii. 24. 8 *τὰ μὲν οὖν προκαθήμενα στρατόπεδα τῆς χώρας ταῦτα ἦν*.

d 11 *τὴν ἶβιν*. Hdt. ii. 75.

433 a 7 *ἐν Διοσπόλει*. Diospolis was a name of Thebes: the No, or No-Ammon of the Bible.

b 1 *τὸ πλησίον ὄρος*. For a description of the mountains see Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* ii. 1137 a.

b 6 *Ἆπιν*. On Apis see 47 a; 51 b, c; 117 d.

b 9 *Ἀποξενωσάντων δὲ αὐτόν*, literally, 'having treated him as an alien.'

d 5 *Μερόην*. On Meroë see Hdt. ii. 29, with G. W.'s note.

d 6 *τὴν Ἶσιν*. Cf. Strab. 822 'The people in Meroë worship Hercules, and Pan, and Isis, in addition to some other foreign (*βαρβαρικῷ*) deity.'

434 a 4 *προκαταταχήσαντα*. Cf. Sext. Emp. x. 145 *οὔτε στήσεται οὔτε τὸ ἕτερον προκαταταχήσει*.

a 5 *φονεῦσαι τὸν Χανεθώθην*. This seems to refer to the incident in Exod. ii. 12.

b 5 *ἐλεφαντιάσαντα*. Elephantiasis, a disease akin to leprosy, and the name under which leprosy itself was sometimes described. Cf. Plut. *Sympos.* viii. Probl. 9 (731 A) 'Philo the physician was maintaining that the so-called elephantiasis had become known not very long before; for none of the elder physicians made mention of it. . . . But I brought forward for him the testimony of a philosopher Athenodorus, who in his first book on Epidemics narrates that not only elephantiasis, but also hydrophobia first appeared in the times of Asclepiades.' Asclepiades of Prusa in Bithynia flourished at Rome about B.C. 100 (Cic. *De Orat.* i. 14. 62), and Athenodorus about A.D. 100.

c 3 *πῦρ ἀναφθῆναι*. Cf. Exod. iii. 2 ff.

d 6 *αὐτομάτως ἀνοιχθῆναι*. Cf. Acts xii. 10 *αὐτομάτη ἠνοίχθη αὐτοῖς ἡ πύλη*. The story is quoted from Artapanus by Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 413.

435 a 3 *ἀναβιῶσαι*. Clem. Al. *ἀναβιῶναι*. Aristot. *Hist. An.* vii. 10. 3 *πάλιν ἀνεβίωσεν*; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 14. 12 *καὶ τὰ φύλλα ἀνεβίωσεν*.

b 4 *ἐποζέσαι*. Cf. Exod. vii. 18 *ἐποζέσει ὁ ποταμός*; xvi. 20, 24.

c 6 *φρονηματισθέντα*. Cf. Aristot. *Pol.* viii. 6. 11 *μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων*.

d 5 *σκνῖπας*. Sept. Exod. viii. 16 (12) *σκνῖφες* (Swete), the word by which the LXX rendered כִּנִּם, R. V. 'lice,' *Marg.* 'sandflies,' or 'fleas.' The more usual word for 'flea' is *ψύλλα*. The form of the word is discussed by Lobeck, *Phryn.* 399 '*Σκνιφός* cum *φ* negant Atticum esse Phryn. et Thom., sed *σκνιπόν* aut *σκνῖπα*.'

d 7 *τὴν γῆν εἶναι Ἶσιν*. Cf. 116 a 7 *Ἶσις ἡ Αἰγυπτία ἐστὶ γῆ*.

d 8 *ἀφρονουμένου*. The active present participle occurs in Hom. *Il.* xv. 104 *μενεαίνομεν ἀφρονέοντες*. But the middle voice is hardly to be found, though there is a cognate form *ἀφρονεύομαι*.

d 11 *σεισμῶν*. 'Hieronymus *ad Fabiolam ep.* 127: Illud Hebraei autumant quod nocte qua egressus est populus omnia in Aegypto templa destructa sunt, sive motu terrae sive ictu fulminum' (Seguier).

436 a 6 *διαβάντας*. The very awkward repetition suggests that one or other of the two clauses is an interpolation.

c 6 κρίμνον. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 965 κεἰ κριμνώδη κατανίφοι, 'though it should snow thick as meal.'

ἐλύμῳ. '*Etymolog. M.* p. 333. 33 Ἔλυμος. σπέρμα ὃ ἕψοντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἤσθιον. Ἀριστοφάνης Νήσοις.'

c 7 πυρράκη. 1 Sam. xvi. 12 (Sept.) καὶ οὗτος πυρράκης.

d 1 ἀξιωματικόν. Cf. Polyb. x. 18. 8 ἦν ἡ γυνὴ πρεσβυτέρα καί τινα προστασίαν ἀξιωματικὴν ἐπιφαίνουσα.

28] d 4 Ἐζεκιῆλος. Ezekiel, a Jewish author of uncertain date, wrote a dramatic story of the Exodus (Ἐξαγωγή) in Greek Iambics, part of which is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 414.

d 6 παρεισάγων. Cf. Polyb. iii. 47. 7 τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀμίμητόν τινα παρεισάγοντες στρατηγόν.

437 c 4 ἅβραις. Suidas, Ἅβρα: οἰκότριψ· γυναικὸς κόρη καὶ ἔντιμος, εἴτε οἰκογενὴς εἴτε μή. Thus Ἅβρα means 'a favourite maid,' whether born in the household or not. It was the title of a play by Nicostratus, a poet of the Middle Comedy. Cf. Meineke, *Comic. Graec. Fr.* Nicostratus, Athenae. 654 B, 133 C.

438 c 2 ἀπογυμνῶσαι. Cf. Pausan. 333 ἀπεγύμνου τὸ πᾶν.

c 9 συμφανές. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. N.* i. 9. 7 συμφανὲς δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ζητούμενον.

d 3 ἀλλοτέρμονα, a word which I have not found elsewhere.

439 a 5 ἀμοιβαίων. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 394 B ὅταν τις τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ῥήσεων ἐξαιρῶν τὰ ἀμοιβαῖα καταλείπῃ.

a 6 Χούμ. The name occurs in 419 d 2 as that of the mythical ancestor of the Ethiopians.

29] c 1 Ἰοθόρ, Heb. יִתְרוֹ, Exod. iii. 1. There is a well-known difficulty in reconciling the various statements concerning the name of Moses' father-in-law, who is called *Reuel* in Exod. ii. 18, *Jethro* in Exod. iii. 1, *Hobab* in Judges iv. 11, while in Num. x. 29 we read 'Hobab, the son of Raguel, the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law.'

c 5 Δαδάν. Gen. xxv. 3 'And Jokshan begat Sheba and Dedan.'

c 6 Ὀβάβ, seemingly the same name as Hobab, Num. x. 29; Judges iv. 11.

d 5 Ἰσαάρ. There is no name corresponding to Isaar among the sons of Keturah mentioned in Gen. xxv. 2.

d 10 ἐν Ἀσηρώθ. Num. xi. 35, xii. 16 'Hazeroth.'

d 11 Αἰθιοπίδα. Num. xii. 1. Demetrius seems here to adopt the

untenable opinion that Zipporah was the same as the Cushite or Ethiopian woman whom Moses married.

d 12 *προσπαρειληφώς*. There is no mention of a dream in the narrative of the interview between Moses and Jethro in Exod. xviii.

440 c 1 *παρεμβολή*, usually a camp or fortress, Acts xxi. 34, but here 'an army.' Cf. Gen. xxxii. 1.

c 6 *Ἀρά γε*. Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 546

ἆρά γε πολλῶν
ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀποφαίνω σ' αἴτιον οὖσαν;

Ast. *Lex. Plat.* Ἆρα. 'Affirmate interrogat ita ut responsio aiens vel sequatur vel in totius orationis continuatione lateat (sicut Lat. *ne* pro *nonne* ponunt).'

d 6 *τεράστιον*. Cf. Lucian, *Dialog. Mort.* xvii *τεράστιόν τι πάσχεις, ὦ Τάνταλε*.

441 c 2 *δύσφραστος*. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 50 C *τρόπον τινὰ δύσφραστον*.

ἰσχνόφωνος. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 89 B *ἡ φιλία τανῦν ἰσχνόφωνος γέγονεν*.

d 2 *κολαστρίαν*, 'feminine of *κολαστήρ*' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

442 b 4 *Κυνόμυια*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 394

Τίπτ' αὖτ', ὦ κυνάμυια, θεοὺς ἔριδι ξυνελαύνεις;

Lobeck, *Phryn.* 689 '*Κυνάμυια*, quod quidem retroacto ordine *μυιάκυνα* (i. e. *τὸν ἀναιδῆ* Hesych.) dixerunt, in oratione soluta raro occurrit, v. Athen. iii. 126 A.'

443 c 1 *πρωτότευκτα*, a late form for *πρωτότοκα*.

d 4 *κοῖλα* (sc. *ὑποδήματα*), 'boots that reach to mid-leg' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

444 b 4 *προστάταισι*, 'front-rank men.' Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 41 *χώραν ἔχετε οὐδὲν ἧττον ἡμῶν ἔντιμον τῶν προστατῶν παραστάταις*. Cf. Hdt. vi. 117 *τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι*.

b 6 *φαλαγγικοί*. The more usual forms are *φαλαγγίτης* and *φαλαγγιτικός*.

b 7 *διεκδρομάς*, nearly equivalent to *διεξόδους*. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* viii. 813 *ὁπλομαχίας καὶ διεξόδων τακτικῶν*. In naval battles the corresponding term was *διέκπλους*, Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 31.

c 8 *ἀποσκευή*. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 29 *πᾶσαν τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν*.

d 2 *ἔνδακρυν*. Cf. Lucian, *Somn.* 4 *κατέδαρθον ἔτι ἔνδακρυς*.

445 b 6 *εἰσεκύρσαμεν*. The compound seems not to occur elsewhere.

c 9 *συνεκλύσθη*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 206 D *συγκλυζομένου δὲ τοῦ πλοίου*.

d 12 *εὐαεῖ*. Cf. Hesiod, *Opp.* 597 *χώρῳ ἐν εὐαεῖ*: Soph. *Philoct.* 828 (Jebb).

446 a 8 *ἐπίρρυτος*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 22 *πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλὸν ἐπίρρυτον καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων*.

b 2 *τοῦ φανέντος ὀρνέου*. The bird is evidently meant to be the phoenix, which Herodotus thus describes (ii. 73): 'The plumage is partly red, partly golden, while the general form and size are almost exactly like the eagle.' There is no mention in Exodus of the phoenix or any such bird, but the twelve palm trees (*φοῖνιξ*) at Elim may have suggested the story of the phoenix to the poet, just as in the poem of Lactantius, *Phoenix* 70, the tree is said to have been named from the bird:

> 'Tum legit aërio sublimem vertice palmam,
> Quae gratum Phoenix ex ave nomen habet.'

b 7 *πορφυροῦν*. The many-coloured plumage of the bird, as described in our text, falls far short of the glowing picture by Lactantius, 137

> 'Ingentes oculi: credas geminos hyacinthos,
> Quorum de medio lucida flamma micat.'

c 4 *φωνήν*. Lact. 45

> 'Incipit illa sacri modulamina fundere cantus
> Et mira lucem voce ciere novam.'

c 6 *Πάντα γὰρ τὰ πτήν' ὁμοῦ*. Lact. 155

> 'Contrahit in coetum sese genus omne volantum,
> Nec praedae memor est ulla nec ulla metus.
> Alituum stipata choro volat illa per altum,
> Turbaque prosequitur munere laeta pio.'

Cf. Clem. R. i. 25, with Lightfoot's full notes.

30] **447 a** 1 *Εὐπόλεμος*. On this fragment see Schürer, op. cit. II. iii. 203.

b 3 *υἱόν*. *γαμβρόν* B, probably a conjectural emendation.

b 5 *Κομμαγηνήν*, a district in the north of Syria, lying between the Euphrates on the east, Cilicia on the west, and Cappadocia on the north.

Γαλαδηνῇ, probably the same district of Assyria which is called by Strabo (530, 735) 'Calachene,' and lies a little to the

north of Nineveh: it is supposed to derive its name from 'Calah' (Gen. x. 11).

b 6 Στρατεῦσαι. This account of David's conquests corresponds nearly with 2 Sam. viii.

c 1 Ναβδαίους. The Nabdaei are unknown, but perhaps the name is a variation of Nabathaei, the first-born of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15). Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 61

'Eurus ad auroram Nabataeaque regna recessit.'

Juven. *Sat.* xi. 126 'Nabataeo belua saltu,' where see Dr. Mayor's note.

Σούρωνα. Other forms of the name are Χειράμ (Sept.), Εἴρωμος (Josephus), Hiram (1 Kings v. 10), Huram (1 Chron. xiv. 1), Σίρωμος (Hdt. vii. 68). Cf. 493 c 4.

c 3 Οὐαφρῆν, 'Vaphres.' Cf. Ewald (*Hist. of Isr.* iii. 225, note, E. Trs.): 'What Eupolemus (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30) or Al. Polyhistor (Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 21) says of the assistance of an Egyptian king Vaphres in the building of the temple, supported by allegation of the letters exchanged between the two kings, is plainly in imitation of 1 Kings v. 2 sq., and may be derived from an Apokryphon.' See below 448 a 1, note.

c 7 ἱδρύσθαι. Gaisford prints ἱδρύσθαι both times, and Dindorf ἱδρῦσθαι. Both forms are found as variants for ἱδρύσασθαι in Hdt. ii. 182; ἱδρῦσθαι is more correct for the perfect passive, which is also used in an active sense, as in Hdt. ii. 42 ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαιέος ἵδρυνται ἱρόν. Here the passive sense is preferable.

c 8 αἵματι. 1 Chron. xxii. 8, xxviii. 3.

c 9 Διαναθάν. There is no mention of an angel in the passages quoted on c 8, nor does the name Διαναθάν occur in the Bible: it is probably formed from the name of Nathan the prophet.

d 4 Αἰλάνοις, 'Eloth,' 1 Kings ix. 26.

d 5 Οὐρφῆ, 'Ophir,' 1 Kings ix. 28.

d 7 μεταλλευτάς. Cf. Strab. 407, 700.

448 a 1 γράψαι πρὸς Οὐαφρῆν. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 396 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων συγγράμματι ἀνέγραψέ τινας ἐπιστολὰς Σολομῶνος μὲν πρός τε Οὐαφρῆν τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα πρός τε τὸν Φοινίκης Τυρίων τάς τε αὐτῶν πρὸς Σολομῶνα κ.τ.λ. In these spurious letters no regard is paid to chronology; Pharaoh-Hophra, who is called in the Septuagint

(Jer. xliv. 30) Οὐαφρή, and by Herodotus (ii. 161) Ἀπρίης, was contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar and in Manetho's list succeeded Psammuthes or Psammitichus as eighth in the 26th Dynasty. See Hdt. iv. 159; Diod. Sic. i. 68.

31] **a** 4 ΟΥΑΦΡΗΙ. 'The name Hophra is in hieroglyphics WAH-(P)RA-HAT, and the last syllable is equally omitted by Herodotus, who writes Apries (ii. 161), and by Manetho, who writes Uaphris.' Smith, *Dict. Bib.* 'Pharaoh-Hophra'; Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* 'Hophra.'

32] **d** 1 Σεβριθίτου νομοῦ. This name is not given in the list of Nomes in Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Geogr.* 'Aegyptus,' but the Nome meant is probably that of the Sembrithae (Strab. 771).

d 4 ὡς ἂν. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 1330 ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἥλιος ταύτῃ μὲν αἴρῃ. ἕως ἂν is a certain emendation of ὡς ἄν, which would mean 'in whatever way,' 'however' (*Aj.* 1369) . . . ὡς ἂν never means, or could mean, 'while' (Jebb). Cf. Dind. Soph. *Aj.* 1117, note. In all these passages, as here, the MSS. have ὡς ἄν, and in *Oed. Col.* 1361 ὥσπερ ἄν, where Jebb and Blaydes read ἕωσπερ ἄν. The use of ὡς ἂν in a temporal sense is common in later Greek, and in face of the remarkable agreement of MSS. in all the passages mentioned above the conjectural emendation can hardly be regarded as certain.

d 5 ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας ⟨γενόμενοι⟩, 'when they have finished the business.' 'Notus Hellenismus ἀπό τινος πράγματος γενέσθαι, hoc est ἀπηλλαχέναι τοῦ πράγματος . . . Plut. *Alex.* 683 C ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες' (Viger). Cf. Polyb. v. 14. 7 ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς χρείας, 'after this affair' (the battle).

33] **449 a** 6 κόρους. 'The largest (about 8¼ bushels) of the dry measures, equivalent to the homer' (Smith, *Dict. Bibl.* 2nd edit.). Cf. 1 Kings v. 11 'Solomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures (*cors*) of wheat . . . and twenty measures of pure oil,' where the *cor* is used for a fluid as well as a dry measure, as here.

a 7 ἀρταβῶν ἕξ. Cf. Hdt. i. 192 'The artabas is a Persian measure, and holds three choenices more than the medimnus of the Athenians.'

a 8 μέτρα δέκα. The measure here meant is the ephah, ten of which made one homer or *cor*.

b 1 ἱερεῖα δὲ εἰς κρεοφαγίαν, 'sacrificial animals for food.' Cf. Hdt. iii. 69 σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱερήϊα, i.e. as food for crocodiles. Diod. Sic. iii. ἀπὸ κρεοφαγίας τὸν βίον ἔχουσι.

34] **d** 12 πλάτος πηχῶν ξ'. 1 Kings vi. 2. The measures do not agree either with the Hebrew or the Septuagint, or with Josephus, *A. I.* viii. 5.

450 a 1 Νάθαν. In 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12 it is said that David gave to Solomon the pattern of the house and of all that he had 'by the spirit,' no mention being made of Nathan.

a 2 δόμον, 'a course.' Cf. Hdt. ii. 127 ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ.

ἔνδεσμον, a word used in the Septuagint in several senses, which it is not easy to understand (3 Kings vi. 10; Prov. vii. 20; Ezek. xiii. 11; 3 Macc. iii. 25): here it is a beam laid between alternate courses of stone.

a 3 πελεκίνοις, 'securicula,' 'dovetailing.' But here a kind of cramp, so called from its resemblance in shape to a small hatchet.

a 4 ἔξωθεν. In 1 Kings vi. 15 this covering of cedar is said to have been on the inside, but in ver. 10 we read that 'he covered the house with beams and planks of cedar.'

a 6 In 1 Kings vi. 10, 16 ναός means the Holy Place, as distinguished from Δαβίρ 'the oracle,' or Holy of Holies; and the covering of gold is there said to have extended to the whole house (ver. 22) as well as to the 'oracle' (ver. 20).

b 1 μαστοειδέσι. Cf. Polyb. v. 70. 6 ἐπὶ λόφου μαστοειδοῦς.

b 3 φατνωμάτων. Cf. Polyb. x. 27. 10 τὰς δοκοὺς καὶ τὰ φατνώματα, 'lacunaria.'

δῶμα. Cf. Judges ix. 51 ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα τοῦ πύργου.

b 4 χαλκόν, either pure 'copper,' or 'bronze,' a mixture of copper and tin: but I have retained the word 'brass,' which is commonly used in the Bible, and particularly in this place, 1 Kings vii. 15–22.

d 8 ἀνδρομήκεις. Cf. Polyb. viii. 7. 6 ὡς ἀνδρομήκους ὕψους.

d 11 ὀπτάνηται. Cf. Acts i. 3 ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς.

451 a 3 ἁλυσιδωτούς. Polyb. vi. 23. 15 ἁλυσιδωτοὺς περιτίθενται θώρακας.

a 5 δικτυΐ, an unusual form for δίκτυον. In Hdt. iv. 193 it is the name of an unknown animal, but is there paroxytone δίκτυς.

κώδωνας χαλκοῦς. 2 Chron. iv. 13 Sept. κώδωνας χρυσοῦς. A. V. and R. V. '*pomegranates.*' Cf. the description of Aaron's robe, Exod. xxxix. 25 'They made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates . . . a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate.'

b 4 ἀνάκτορον. Cf. Simon. lix. 1 Ὦ ἴτε Δήμητρος πρὸς ἀνάκτορον.

b 8 Σηλώμ, 'Shiloh'; the form in the LXX is Σηλώ or Σηλώμ.

βοῦς χιλίους. In 1 Kings viii. 63 the number is 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep: in 2 Chron. v. 6, 'sheep and oxen which could not be told nor numbered for multitude.'

d 1 τάλαντα μυριάδων νξ'. If the reading is correct, this means 460 × 10,000 = 4,600,000 talents of gold. This is reduced in cod. B to τετρακισμυρίων ἑξήκοντα, 40,060. Possibly μυριάδων has been inserted by some one to whom 460 talents seemed too small a sum (Freudenthal, 212).

452 a 1 Theophilus is mentioned again 458 b 7 among the writers who had taken notice of the Jews. Passages from his geographical works are quoted by Plutarch and Ptolemy.

a 3 ζῶον. Cf. Hdt. iii. 88 ζῶον δέ οἱ ἐνῆν ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς.

a 6 χρυσῶν. The χρυσοῦς, or gold stater, was nearly equal to the shekel, that is, to two drachmae in weight, and twenty drachmae in value. The numbers here differ from those in 1 Kings x. 17 τριακόσια ὅπλα χρυσᾶ ἐλατά· καὶ τρεῖς μναῖ ἐνῆσαν χρυσοῦ εἰς τὸ ὅπλον τὸ ἕν.

35] **b** 1 Τιμοχάρης, a writer otherwise unknown.

36] **d** 1 σχοινομέτρησιν. The schoenus was a land-measure varying in different countries from thirty to sixty furlongs. Cf. Hdt. i. 66 πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι. I have not found any other mention of this metrical survey of Syria. Cf. Schürer, i. 1. 75.

37] **d** 7 On Philo see 421 c, note. 'Of course the author must have lived before the time of Alexander Polyhistor, who came to Rome B.C. 83' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*). Cf. Schürer, ii. 3. 223.

453 a 3 Νηχόμενος. These verses are so corrupt that I cannot attempt to translate them. Viger's Latin version is as follows:

'Desuper allabens nova tum miracula vidi
* * qua fons uberrimus undas
Egerit atque sinus implet ductusque profundos.'

a 7 ὑψιφάεννον, an unusual form. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 701 λάινον ὑψιφαῆ τόνδ' ἀνέτεινε τάφον.

b 1 ⟨ὑπαὶ πύργοις συνόροισι.⟩ The reading of the MSS. ὑπὲρ πύργοισιν ὅροισι is manifestly corrupt: Viger suggests ὑπαί, to which I have added πύργοις συνόροισι. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* viii. 10. 3 σύνοροι γάρ εἰσιν αὗται: *Eth. Eud.* vii. 9. 1 πάντα ταῦτα σύνορα ἀλλήλοις.

b 5 ἀποχετεύσεως. An interesting description of some of the subterranean cisterns and aqueducts recently discovered in Jerusalem will be found in the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund. See *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 17–29; J. H. Lewis, *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, 118–23.

c 1 σωλῆνες. Cf. Hermann, *Archilochi Fr.* 98, *Etymolog.* 324. 14 οἷον ὡς παρὰ Ἀρχιλόχῳ, διὲξ σωλῆνος. Cyril. Hieros. *Cat.* iv. 9 οὐδὲ ὥσπερ διὰ σωλῆνος διελθὼν τῆς παρθένου. The word is probably used here of the underground tunnel by which the waters of Siloam were brought from the Virgin's fountain to the pool of Siloam. See note on d 6.

38] c 6 Ἀρισταῖος. This Aristaeus, or Aristeas, is otherwise unknown, and quite distinct from the Ps.-Aristeas whose letter concerning the Septuagint translation is mentioned 349 c 10. Cf. Schürer, ii. 3. 208.

d 4 σμῆξιν. On σμήχω, the late form for σμάω, and its derivatives see Lobeck, *Phryn.* 253; Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 221 Σμῆγμα καὶ σμῆξαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναττικά· τὸ γὰρ ἀττικὸν σμῆμα καὶ σμῆσαι.

d 6 Ὕδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις. The truthfulness of this and the other particulars here mentioned has been fully confirmed by the researches of last century. In 1838 Dr. Robinson and afterwards Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren passed through the tunnel from end to end. In 1881 a remarkable inscription was found carved on the rock near the exit: the translation by Professor Sayce ends thus: 'They struck on the west of the excavation: the excavators struck, each to meet the other, pick to pick. And there flowed the waters from their outlets to the Pool for a thousand two hundred cubits.' The conduit was probably made shortly before the siege by Sennacherib. Cf. Hayter Lewis, *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, 120 ff.; Wilson and Warren, *The Re-*

covery of Jerusalem, 17–27, where the water supply is fully described.

d 8 ὑποδοχείων, the underground cisterns mentioned in the works quoted above.

454 a 2 ἑαυτά. For ἑαυτάς it seems necessary to restore ἑαυτά, as found in Aristeas.

a 5 κονιάσεως. This word is mentioned by L. and Sc. as a probable reading in Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 10. 4 where Wimmer's text is ᾧ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς κονίας.

39] **b** 1 τῆς Ἱερεμίου προφητείας. This anonymous fragment from the compilation of Polyhistor probably belongs to Eupolemus (Freudenthal 16).

b 5 Ἰωναχείμ. Jer. i. 3: Ἰωακείμ, Sept. 'Jehoiakim,' E. V.

b 7 Βάαλ. Jeremiah frequently denounces the worship of Baal, but without any reference to a golden image.

c 4 Ἀστιβάρην. Cf. Diod. Sic. ii. 34 'After the death of Artaeus Artynes reigned over the Medes twenty-two years, and Astibaras forty years. . . . And when Astibaras the king of the Medes died of old age at Ecbatana, he was succeeded in the government by his son Aspadas, who was called by the Greeks Astyages.' According to Hdt. i. 74 Astyages was the son of Cyaxares.

c 7 †πεζῶν† ἅρματα. Probably πεζῶν has been repeated from the preceding line, and should be omitted as Viger suggests.

d 5 τὸν Ἱερεμίαν κατασχεῖν. Against the statement in 2 Esdras x. 22 'The ark of our covenant is spoiled,' may be set the tradition preserved in 2 Macc. ii. 4 'It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being warned of God commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God. And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door.'

40] **455 b** 4 Συμμίξας. 'This admirable and truly golden fragment of Berossus has been preserved by Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 450' (Viger). Cf. Tatian. *ad Graecos*, 141 (Schwartz) Βηρωσὸς ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βήλου, κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον γεγονώς, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τρίτῳ τὴν Χαλδαίων ἱστορίαν ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις κατατάξας, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκθέμενος, ἀφηγεῖταί τινος

αὐτῶν ὄνομα Ναβουχοδονόσορ *τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Φοίνικας καὶ* Ἰουδαίους.

b 5 *ἐξ αὐτῆς*. Cf. Polyb. ii. 7. 7 *ἐξαυτῆς* (*sic*) *ἐπεβάλοντο διαρπάζειν τὴν πόλιν*.

αὐτῶν. The editors have unnecessarily changed this reading of the MSS. into *αὐτοῦ*, instead of *αὐτοῦ* in Josephus. *αὐτῶν* means 'of Nebuchadnezzar and his father Nabopolassar,' who being ill at this time entrusted the expedition to his son (Joseph. ibid.).

c 3 *τισὶ τῶν φίλων*. Eusebius omits the statement of Berossus that Nebuchadnezzar left his heavy-armed troops and booty with these friends, and hastened on with a few to Babylon.

c 8 Εὐιλμαλούρουχος. The name Evil-Merodach, or Amil-Marduk (Driver, *Auth. and Arch.* 120), is variously represented in Greek. Cf. 456 b 2.

d 1 Νηριγλισάρου. Neriglissar is identified by Canon Driver (ibid.) with *Nergal-Shar-uzur* (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13).

d 4 Χαβαεσσοάραχος. The name in Berossus, as quoted by Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 20, is 'Laborosoarchod,' and by Driver (ibid.) as Labashi-Marduk.

d 6 *ἀπετυμπανίσθη*. Cf. Heb. xi. 35 *ἐτυμπανίσθησαν*.

d 9 *τὰ περὶ ποταμὸν τείχη*. This work is attributed by Herodotus (i. 186) to Queen Nitocris, mother of Labynetus. Cf. *Author. and Arch.* 165. 'At the end of the sixth Dynasty in Manetho, and in the ancient Papyrus of Kings at Turin, is a queen Nitakere, evidently the Nitocris of Herodotus.' Cf. ibid. 199.

456 a 2 Ναβόννηδος. Nabonnedus, or Nabo-na'id, the Labynetus of Herodotus and last king of Babylon, admitted his eldest son Bel-shar-ezar, or Belshazzar, to a share in the government. When Nabonnedus retired to Borsippa, the government of the city of Babylon was left in the hands of Belshazzar, who is mentioned in an inscription of the period along with his father. Belshazzar was slain in the capture of the city by Cyrus, B.C. 539. Daniel, v. 30; Sayce, *Babylonia*, 174; Rawlinson, *Historical Illustrations of O. T.*, 171. Cf. Hdt. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 15, and especially Driver (ibid. 122).

a 4 Βορσιππηνῶν. Strab. 739 'Borsippa is a city sacred to Artemis and Apollo, a great linen-factory.' It was 'almost adjoining Babylon on the south-west,' and Birs Nimroud stood within it

(Driver, ibid. 31, 122). See Sir H. C. Rawlinson's essay on *The Topography of Babylon*, in Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 573: he speaks of 'the identification of *Birs* with Borsippa—a town quite distinct from Babylon, which is rendered certain by the monuments.' See a fuller description on p. 580.

b 2 ἐγχειρίσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον. 'From the 'Annalistic Tablet' quoted by Driver 123, 125 we learn that on the 16th of Tammuz (June) 538 B.C. the soldiers of Cyrus under Gubaru entered Babylon without fighting, and Nabo-na'id in consequence of delaying was taken prisoner in Babylon.

b 3 Καρμανίαν, on the north-east side of the Persian Gulf.

b 7 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ. 2 Kings xxv. 8 'nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar.'

c 2 Δευτέρῳ. According to Ezra i. 1 the decree of Cyrus was made in his first year, and *the house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius* (Ezra vi. 15).

41] **d** 1 Ἀβυδηνοῦ. See 414 d 2, 416 b 2.

d 3 Μεγασθένης. Cf. 410 c 9.

d 4 Ἰβηρίην. The Iberia here meant is a region near the Caucasus (Strab. 118 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καύκασον, οἷον Ἀλβανοὺς καὶ Ἴβηρας) in the isthmus between the Black and Caspian seas, nearly corresponding with Georgia. Strabo describes it as a rich country well inhabited for the most part in cities and farmsteads (ἐποικίοις) with tiled roofs, and he even commends the architectural character of the buildings both public and private (499 fin.). The remarkable story of the conversion of the Iberians to Christianity (A.D. 320–30) is told by Neander, *Church Hist.* iii. 162.

d 9 Βῆλος. Cf. 420 b 8, note, 457 b 10.

457 a 1 Βῆλτις. See note on 38 d 9.

a 2 ἡμίονος. Cf. 213 a 6.

b 2 Ἀμιλμαρούδοκος. Cf. 455 c 8, note.

b 3 Ἰγλισάρης, another form of Νηριγλίσαρος, 455 d 1. On this succession of the Babylonian kings see the notes on 455 c 6–456 c 4, Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* 235; G. Smith, *Babylonia*, 10.

b 10 Βῆλον δέ σφεα παῦσαι. Apparently σφεα refers to πάντα.

c 1 τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἱκνευμένῳ. Cf. Hdt. vi. 86 συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. 'Male olim: *insequenti*

tempore, cum potius sit : *justo, conveniente, commodo tempore*, sive ut Larcherus reddi vult, *constituto* tempore. Vid. nott. ad vi. 65 οὐκ ἱκνεομένως' (Bähr).

c 3 χαλκόπυλον. Herodotus (i. 180) describes the city as divided by the Euphrates, and the city wall as brought down on both sides to the edge of the stream, the cross streets which run down to the water-side having low gates of brass in the fence of burnt bricks that skirts the stream. In one division of the city was the royal palace, and in the other was the sacred precinct of Zeus Belos, a square enclosure two furlongs each way, with gates of brass; 'which was also remaining' (says Hdt. 181) 'to my time.'

c 6 τριπλῷ περιβόλῳ. Hdt. i. 181 'The *outer wall* is the main defence of the city. There is, however, a *second inner wall*. . . . The centre of each division of the town was occupied by a fortress. In the one stood the palace of the kings, surrounded by *a wall of great strength and size*.'

c 8 Σιππαρηνῶν. Sippara was situated on both sides of the river (whence the dual form Sepharvaim) about the site of the modern *Mosaib*. The Euphrates below this point was known to the Babylonians as the 'river of Sippara': just as in Arabian times, when Sippara had become *Sura*, it was known as the *Nahr-Sura*.' Maspero, i. 565, note 2 'Pantibibla' (the name of a city in Berossus' account of Chaldaea) 'has been identified with Sippara and Sepharvaim, on account of the play upon the Hebrew word Sepher (*book*).'

The parasang contained thirty stades or furlongs (Hdt. ii. 6) about three and a half miles. The circuit here ascribed to this artificial lake would therefore be 140 miles. This corresponds exactly with the circuit given by Diod. Sic. ii. 9; but the depth mentioned there is only thirty-five feet. See the *Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar*, Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 585 'The *Yapur-Shaper*—the reservoir of Babylon—by the grace of Merodach, I filled completely full of water. . . . For the delight of mankind I filled the reservoir.'

d 1 ἐχετογνώμονας, dams having a graduated index ⟨γνώμων⟩ to regulate the rise of the water, as in the Nile and its canals, Strab. 817; Diod. Sic. 43, 44; G. W. (Birch, ii. 388).

d 3 τά τε βασιλήϊα. This palace of Nebuchadnezzar is identified by Sir H. C. Rawlinson with the modern *Kasr*, of which he

gives an engraving on p. 577 of Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. Cf. Diod. Sic. ii. 10 'There was also the so-called Hanging Garden, not made by Semiramis but by some later Syrian king, to please a concubine. For she is said to have been a Persian by birth, and longing for the mountain-meadows asked the king to imitate the peculiar character of the land of Persia by means of skill in gardening. And the garden extends on each side four plethra (i. e. 400 feet), and the ascent is mountainous, and the buildings one after another, so that the appearance is like a theatre.'

d 7 *ναῷ*. Theodot. Dan. iv. 26 *ἐπὶ τῷ ναῷ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ*. R. V. iv. 29 '*in the royal palace of Babylon.*'

42] **458 b** 5 *Σύρων*. For 'Syrians' Josephus has 'Aegyptians.'

b 7 Theophilus, 452 a.

Theodotus, 426 b, 427 a.

Mnaseas, 414 b.

For 'Aristophanes' Josephus has 'Ariphanes.'

b 8 Euemerus, 59 seq.

'Conon,' an author of the age of Augustus.

Zopyrion is otherwise unknown.

c 6 On Demetrius Phalereus see 350 a 1.

c 7 *Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος*. See 421 c 1, 430 b 3, 452 d 7.

BOOK X

1] **460 d** 10 *ὡς δέ*. The sentence beginning with *Ὥσπερ* (d 1) is left without an apodosis. Viger has *οὕτως ὅτι*, but gives no authority.

d 12 *συνεκτικώτατα*. Cf. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* iii. 15 *τούτων δὲ τῶν αἰτίων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἡγοῦνται τὰ μὲν συνεκτικὰ εἶναι τὰ δὲ συναίτια τὰ δὲ συνεργά, καὶ συνεκτικὰ μὲν ὑπάρχειν ὧν παρόντων πάρεστι τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ αἰρομένων αἴρεται καὶ μειουμένων μειοῦται.* Cic. *De Fato* 19 'causas cohibentes in se efficientiam naturalem': ibid. 44 'continentem causam.' Cf. 317 a, note.

461 b 4 *ἐσκευωρῆσθαι*. Cf. 218 c *σκευωρησαμένους*, 'having collected their goods.'

c 2 *ὁ καθ' εἷς*. Mark xiv. 19 *εἷς καθ' εἷς*: Rom. xii. 5 *τὸ δὲ καθ' εἷς*: 3 Macc. v. 34 *ὁ καθ' εἷς*.

2] d 6 καθ' ὃ σημαινόμενον κ.τ.λ. Viger remarks: 'Graeca hic subhorrida sunt, nec tamen a genio Clementis aliena.' For the meaning of ἐκδεχόμενοι see Aristot. *Eth. N.* iv. 1. 5.

d 8 φέρε. The apodosis of the sentence commencing with Παραστήσαντες begins here.

462 a 4 Οἱ γάρ. Clement's reading εἰ γάρ has been changed in the MSS. of Eusebius into the more difficult Οἱ γάρ, which would be better written Οἶ γάρ.

σχολῇ γ' ἂν . . . ἀφέξονται. On this very anomalous use of ἄν with a future indicative, see 267 a 5, note, Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 424 δ. A learned friend suggests οὖν instead of ἄν, but I have allowed the reading of the MSS. to stand.

a 6 τῶν τὰς αἱρέσεις διανενεμημένων. For the construction cf. Plat. *Legg.* v. 737 E γῆ δὲ καὶ οἰκήσεις ὡσαύτως τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη διανεμηθήτων.

b 1 καθωμιλημένων, 'familiarly known.' Cf. Polyb. x. 5. 9 δόξα καθωμιλημένη.

c 5 Θεοπόμπου. Theopompus of Chios, a rhetorician and historian contemporary with Alexander, and a pupil of Isocrates, who said that Theopompus needed the bit and Ephorus the spur. He wrote an epitome of Herodotus, a continuation of Thucydides, a history of Philip, and various orations. Theopompus is mentioned also in 354 d, 464 b, 465 b, c, 467 d, and especially in 491 a 8. See the good account of Theopompus in J. W. Donaldson's *Literature of Ancient Greece*, i. 217–22.

d 5 Εὐγάμων . . . ἐκ Μουσαίου. Cf. Pausan. 53 'Among other paintings' (in the Acropolis at Athens) 'is one of Musaeus. I have read verses in which it is said that Musaeus could fly, as a gift of Boreas, and I think Onomacritus is the author of the verses: and there is nothing certainly written by Musaeus except a hymn to Demeter, written for the Lycomedae.' Müller, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, 70 'The continuation of the *Odyssey* was the *Telegonia*, of which poem only two books were introduced into the collection used by Proclus. Eugammon (*sic*) of Cyrene, who did not live before the 53rd Olympiad (568 B.C.), is named as the author.' In the course of the poem 'Ulysses (in all probability in compliance with the prophecy of Teiresias, in order to reach the country where the inhabitants were neither

acquainted with the sea nor with salt, the product of the sea) goes to Thesprotia, and there rules victoriously and happily, till he returns a second time to Ithaca, where, not being recognized, he is slain by Telegonus, his son by Circe, who had come to seek his father.' In his note on this passage Müller adds that 'the poem on the Thesprotians in a mystic tone, which Clemens of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 277) attributes to Eugammon, . . . was manifestly in its original form a part of the *Telegonia*.'

463 a 4 ἐπιστροφήν. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* v. 2. 9 ἄξιον . . . ἐπιστροφῆς.

b 7 αὐχμοῦ. Pausanias, 179, says that the drought prevailed beyond the Isthmus and in the Peloponnese, and that envoys were sent from every city to Aeacus, king of Aegina, who offered sacrifices and prayers to Pan-Hellenian Zeus, and so brought rain; and the people of Aegina made statues of all the envoys at the entrance of the Hall of Aeacus. Cf. Apollod. iii. 12. 6. 9; Diod. Sic. iv. 61. 305; Pind. *Nem.* v. 17.

d 9 κατεφώρασεν. The charge of plagiarism is vigorously retorted upon Clement himself by Valckenaer (*Diatr. de Aristobulo*, iv), where, speaking of plagiarism among the Greeks, he says: 'The fact itself cannot be denied, having been proved by clear examples from the poets by Athenaeaus, ii. 43 F, iii. 84 B, iv. 262 D, E, x. 454; and of express purpose by Porphyry in Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* x. 464–8. Moreover, Porphyry, fearing lest, while accusing others, he might himself be clearly convicted of plagiarism (467 d 1–468 b 3) enumerates the authors who had professedly treated of the plagiarisms of the ancients. That not one of these is mentioned by Clement in that part of his work seems, I confess, strange to me: yet he may have been well acquainted with some of them. Certainly if these cases, which he has so diligently searched out, are to be called thefts, he might perhaps have applied to himself the words of Callimachus,

οὐκ ἀπὸ ῥυσμοῦ
εἰκάζω, φωρὸς δ' ἴχνια φὼρ ἔμαθον.

For we have reason to suspect that Clement has copied out much from other writers, not bearing on the present point, and especially from the aforesaid Aristobulus, without mentioning his name.'

3] **464 a** 1 The heading of the following chapter is 'Porphyry

on the Greeks as Plagiarists, from the First Book of the *Lecture on Literature* (τῆς φιλολόγου ἀκροάσεως).' In Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*, the title is given as φιλόλογος ἱστορία.

Τὰ Πλατώνεια. A festival held in honour of Plato on his birthday, by his followers, who also paid like honour to Socrates. Cf. Porph. *Plotin. Vit.* 117 ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐν Πλατωνείοις ποίημα ἀναγνόντος τὸν ἱερὸν γάμον, κ.τ.λ.

Longinus, A. D. 213–273. Cf. Porph. *Plotin. Vit.* 126 ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Λογγίνου, ἃ ἐν συγγράμματι γέγραφε περὶ Πλωτίνου τε καὶ Ἀμελίου καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενομένων φιλοσόφων, ἀναγκαῖον παραθεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ πλήρης γένηται ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσις, οἷα γέγονε τοῦ ἐλλογιμωτάτου ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐλεγκτικωτάτου.

a 2 Nicagoras of Athens wrote *Lives of Illustrious Men*, and other works (Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*).

Major, an Arabian, wrote Περὶ στάσεων (ibid.).

a 3 This Apollonius, whom it is difficult to identify among so many of the name, must not be confounded with 'the Grammarian,' Apollonius Dyscolus, who lived a century earlier.

Of the other three guests who are named nothing is known.

b 3 ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις. The others are the many who have not been named.

b 6 κλέπτην ἀπεκάλει. On Ephorus, cf. Donaldson, *Hist. Lit. Anc. Gr.* i. 214 'It is clear that, in drawing up his details of historical events, he availed himself of all the best authorities, not neglecting inscriptions and other authentic documents, and correcting many errors of his predecessors. This diligence has rendered him liable to a charge of plagiarism, but there seems to be no reason for believing that he intentionally concealed his obligations to other writers.' Ephorus flourished *circ.* B. C. 408.

b 7 ἐκ τῶν Δαϊμάχου. Daïmachus, *circ.* B. C. 312, wrote a book about India, said by Strabo, 70, to be utterly unworthy of credit. The dates show that Ephorus could not have borrowed from him.

Καλλισθένους. Callisthenes accompanied Alexander in his expedition, and was put to death by him *circ.* B. C. 326.

c 1 Ἀναξιμένους. Cf. 491 a 8. The dates in all these cases prove that the charge made by Caÿstrius was false. There is therefore no need to change the reading Δαϊμάχου (with Clinton)

into Δηϊόχου, the name of an early historian who lived before Herodotus.

c 4 τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ. The *Philippica* of Theopompus contained an elaborate history of Philip of Macedon in fifty-eight books (Donaldson, ibid. i. 220).

c 8 τὸν ἐπὶ Μαυσώλῳ ἀγῶνα. At the consecration of her husband's celebrated tomb Artemisia offered a prize for the best panegyric on Mausolus, which was won by Theopompus (B.C. 352). Strabo, 656, speaks of the Mausoleum as one of the seven wonders of the world.

d 3 Ἄνδρωνος. Andron of Ephesus wrote a work on the Seven Sages of Greece, which he called *The Tripod*: cf. Diog. L. i. 30 'Andron in the *Tripod* says that the Argives offered a tripod as a reward of excellence to the wisest of the Greeks; and that Aristodemus of Sparta who was adjudged the wisest gave way to Cheilon.' Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 396.

d 6 ἀνιμήσας (ἱμάς). Cf. Athen. 352 εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ἱμώντων, Ἡμεῖς γε τοῦτο πίνομεν, κ.τ.λ.

d 10 Ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν. For ἂν εἶπον the reading of Viger's text Gaisford substitutes εἰπών with the MSS. Viger's conjecture εἶπεν, referring αὐτός to Andron, seems to give the best construction and sense, but is without support from the MSS.

465 a 2 On Pherecydes see 41 d 5.

a 5 τῆς προρρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ. Cf. Diog. L. i. 11 καὶ ἀνιμηθέντος ἐκ φρέατος ὕδατος πιόντα προειπεῖν ὡς εἰς τρίτην [ἡμέραν] ἔσοιτο σεισμός· καὶ γενέσθαι. Iambl. *Pyth. Vit.* 136.

a 7 ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῆς Σικελίας. The Hyblaean Megara was a city on the east coast of Sicily described by Thucydides, vi. 4.

ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου. Diog. L. ibid. παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς Σάμου περιπατοῦντα, καὶ ναῦν οὐριοδραμοῦσαν ἰδόντα εἰπεῖν ὡς μετ' οὐ πολὺ καταδύσεται· καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καταδῦναι. The authority quoted for these stories by Diog. L. is Θεόπομπος ἐν Τοῖς Θαυμασίοις. Cf. Iambl. ibid. 126.

b 1 Συβάρεως ἅλωσιν. The capture of Sybaris (B. C. 510) and its total destruction by the people of Crotona, led by the Pythagorean Milo, is recorded by Strab. 263; Hdt. v. 44; Athen. xii. 521; Diod. Sic. xii. 10.

Μεσσήνης. Messana, or Zanclé, the modern Messina, was captured by the Samians, *circ.* B.C. 490 (Thuc. vi. 4), and by Himilcon

the Carthaginian (B.C. 396), who utterly destroyed it, and left scarcely a trace of the city. This final destruction seems to have been related by Theopompus with circumstances borrowed, as is here alleged by Porphyry, from the capture of Sybaris.

b 3 Περίλαον. Cf. Diog. L. i. 11 (116) ἀνιόντα τε (Φερεκύδη) εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰς Μεσσήνην τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλεῦσαι μετοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι· Μεσσήνην δὲ ἑαλωκέναι.

b 7 Φαρναβάζου. The account of the interview is given at length with the speeches of both parties in Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 1. 29–39, and fully deserves the praise here bestowed upon it by Porphyry. Whether his criticism of Theopompus is equally just we have no means of judging, as all his works are lost. The interview is also described by Plut. *Agesilai Vita*, 602.

c 4 ἐξεργασίαν, lit. 'elaboration.' Cf. Polyb. x. 45. 6 ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος τρόπος ἐπινοηθεὶς διὰ Κλεοξένου καὶ Δημοκλείτου, τυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἐξεργασίας δι' ἡμῶν, κ.τ.λ.

d 2 Μένανδρος. Menander, the famous dramatist of the New Comedy, was born B.C. 342.

d 4 ὁ γραμματικός. Aristophanes of Byzantium (*circ.* B.C. 200), a very eminent grammarian, and chief director of the library at Alexandria. He introduced accents, edited Homer and Plato, and commented on all the chief poets. Cf. Donaldson, *Gk. Lit.* i. 311.

d 5 Λατῖνος, unknown except from this mention of his work by Porphyry.

d 7 Φιλόστρατος. Neither of the rhetoricians thus named is said to have been an Alexandrian: nor can I find any other notice of the treatise on the plagiarism of Sophocles. Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* ii. 17 refers to this passage only.

d 8 ⟨Καικίλιος⟩, a Greek rhetorician of Kalé Acté in Sicily, came to Rome in the time of Augustus. On his statement concerning Menander see Meineke, *Fragm. Gr. Com.* (ed. min. 888), where several fragments of the Δεισιδαίμων are quoted.

d 10 Ἀντιφάνους. Antiphanes (B.C. 404–330), one of the most famous authors of the Middle Comedy, was a native of Κίος in Bithynia, or, as some say, of Smyrna (Meineke, ibid. *Antiphanes*).

Οἰωνιστήν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 858 Μυσῶν δὲ Χρόμις ἦρχε καὶ Ἔννομος οἰωνιστής.

466 a 1 Ὑπερίδην. Hyperides, or Hypereides, of Athens, a distinguished orator contemporary with Demosthenes, and usually allied with him in patriotic opposition to the Macedonians. Of his numerous orations fragments only were known until the discovery by the late Mr. Churchill Babington of the Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος and the *Defence of Euxenippus*. For an account of the discovery of other works by which Hyperides was restored to his rightful eminence among Athenian orators, see Donaldson, *Gk. Lit.* i. 199.

a 2 τῷ Πρὸς Διώνδαν λόγῳ. Diondas unsuccessfully opposed the bestowal of the wreath upon Demosthenes. Cf. Demosth. *De Cor.* 302. 15; 310. 10.

a 3 Εὐβούλου. Eubulus was the first named of the ambassadors sent to Philip for the ratification of peace, and was charged with receiving bribes. Cf. Demosth. *De Cor.* 232, 235, &c.

b 5 Ἑλλανίκου. Hellanicus, like other logographers, 'wrote local histories and traditions. This circumstance, and the many differences in his accounts from those of Herodotus, render it highly probable that these two writers worked quite independently of each other, and that the one was unknown to the other' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*). Thucydides (i. 97) says that Hellanicus almost alone had touched on the history of the times between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, but had done so too briefly and inaccurately as regard to dates. Hellanicus is mentioned by Eusebius 415 d, 476 d, 478 c, d, 489 a, 498 c.

b 6 ⟨Δαμάστου⟩. Damastes of Sigeum, a Greek historian contemporary with Herodotus and Hellanicus, is mentioned by Strab. 583 (Δαμάστης δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον συστέλλει ἀπὸ Παρίου) and 684.

b 8 Περιηγήσεως, the title of a Geography of Hecataeus, called also Περίοδος γῆς. Rawlinson, Hdt. i. 49 'A writer of weak authority (Porphyry) accuses him (Herodotus) of having copied word for word from Hecataeus his long descriptions of the phoenix, the hippopotamus, and the mode of taking the crocodile. It seems, however, improbable that he should have had recourse to another author for descriptions of objects and occurrences with which he was likely to have been well acquainted himself; and

with regard to the phoenix, his own words declare that his description is taken from a picture (ii. 73).'

c 1 περὶ βασάνων. Cf. Isaeus, 70. 2 'You regard torture as the surest proof both in public and in private suits'; 69. 43 ἔφυγε τὴν βάσανον.

c 2 Κύλωνος. The name is variously given in the MSS. of Eusebius as Cylon, Cilon, Cyclon; but in Isaeus it is Ciron.

τῷ Τραπεζιτικῷ. An oration against the banker Pasion. Cf. 361 e οὗτος δ' οὕτω σφόδρα ἔφευγε τὴν βάσανον.

c 3 ἐξούλης. Demosth. *Adversus Onet.* 871. 14 ἔφυγε τὴν βάσανον.

c 5 Κατὰ Κλεομέδοντος. This is not one of the extant orations of Dinarchus, and we therefore cannot tell what he borrowed from Demosthenes, *Against Conon*, 1256–71. The δίκη αἰκίας was tried before the Forty as a private action, and it was necessary to prove who had struck the first blow, and whether in joke or in anger. Cf. Demosth. *Mid.* 21 D.

d 3 Γυναικός. Simonid. *Fr.* 224 (6); Clem. Al. 744.

d 5 Two of the plays of Euripides were named *Melanippe the Wise* and *Melanippe the Captive.* Fragments only remain of either. Diog. L. i. 33 ἔφασκε γὰρ (ὁ Θαλῆς) τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον· εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή· τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.

d 11 Theodectes was an eminent rhetorician and tragic poet in the time of Philip of Macedon, a pupil of Isocrates and friend of Aristotle, who refers to one of his tragedies, *Eth. Nic.* vii. 7. 6. See the interesting life of Theodectes in Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

With these sentiments concerning woman compare the Talmud, *Berakhoth*, ix. 156 (Schwab) 'R. Judah taught three things that a man should say every day: "Blessed be God; (1) for not creating me a pagan; (2) nor foolish; (3) nor a woman."'

467 a 5 Antimachus, of Colophon, an epic and elegiac poet, *circ.* B.C. 400, of whom Cicero (*Brutus*, 51) narrates the following anecdote. In reading his interminable poem (*The Thebaid*) he had wearied out all his audience except Plato, when he remarked, 'I shall go on reading none the less, for Plato alone is to me worth all the rest.' Athenaeus (xiii. 597 A) mentions his elegiac

poem on Lyde, his wife or mistress. Cf. Müller, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, 453.

a 7 Idas, brother of Lynceus, was one of the Argonauts, and it was he who slew the Calydonian boar.

b 2 *Λυκόφρων ἐπαινεῖ.* Lycophron was a celebrated grammarian and poet, who under Ptolemy Philadelphus arranged all the Comic poets in the library of Alexandria and wrote a great work on Comedy.

b 5 *Κρατίνου.* Cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 526 sqq.

εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῷ ῥεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
ἐφόρει τὰς δρῦς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμνους·
. . . .
νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε.

d 2 Lysimachus is probably the grammarian of Alexandria (*circ.* B. C. 140–100).

d 3 Alcaeus of Messene the epigrammatist of the time of Philip III of Macedon (B. C. 219–196).

d 5 *Πολλίωνος.* This was probably Claudius Pollio a contemporary of the younger Pliny.

Σωτηρίδαν. Soteridas of Epidaurus was either the husband or father of Pamphila, and lived in the reign of Nero.

d 6 *Περὶ τῆς Κτησίου Κλοπῆς.* Ctesias, a physician and historian of Cnidos (*circ.* B. C. 400), wrote histories of Persia and of India, and other works chiefly geographical. An *Epitome of Ctesias* was written by the Pamphila mentioned above, who says that during thirteen years being constantly at work upon her book she diligently wrote down whatever she heard from her husband and his many learned friends. See Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Pamphila,' and on Ctesias see Donaldson, *Gk. Lit.* i. 40.

d 8 Of Aretades nothing is known, except from Plut. *Mor.* 308 C ὡς Ἀρητάδης Κνίδιος ἐν τρίτῳ Μακεδονικῶν.

468 a 7 *Περὶ τοῦ Ὄντος.* The work of Protagoras entitled *Truth* 'was probably identical with the work on the *Existent* (Περὶ τοῦ Ὄντος), attributed to Protagoras by Porphyrius (in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* x. 3. 463 Viger). This work was directed against the Eleatics (Πρὸς τοὺς ἓν τὸ ὂν λέγοντας), and was still extant in the time of Porphyrius, who describes the argumentation of

the book as similar to that of Plato, without adding any more exact statements' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*). As the supposed proofs are not given, we can only say that the charge of plagiarism is not very probable, considering how often Plato quotes Protagoras by name in several dialogues, and refutes his doctrines at length in the *Theaetetus*.

4] **d** 8 *ἄλλην ἄλλως*. Cf. Plat. *Euthyd.* 273 B *ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην βλέποντε*.

d 9 *ποσῶς*, 'in some degree.' Cf. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 120 *ποσῶς δὲ ἐπινευομένη*, 'inclined in some degree'; 227 *οἷον ἐν οἴκῳ σκοτεινῷ ποσῶς κειμένου σχοινίου ἐσπειραμένου πιθανὴ ἁπλῶς φαντασία γίνεται ἀπὸ τούτου ὡς ἀπὸ ὄφεως*, i. e. 'when a coiled rope is placed in a certain position.' Polyb. x. 61. 2 *οὐδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν ἐποιήσατο μνήμην*.

469 a 2 *καταλήψεως*. 'conception' as distinguished from 'perception' (*φαντασία*), a term invented by Zeno. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 236; *Stoics*, 79; Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 128 *εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατάληψιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου*.

d 5 *ὁ Δωδωναῖος*. Cf. 61 d 9 and 134 d 11, note. In the present passage Apollo alone is mentioned as *σεμνός τις καὶ μέγας θεός*. At Dodona there was the famous oracle of Zeus, but none of Apollo. Probably, therefore, we should read here *ὁ Διδυμεύς*, corresponding to 61 d 9 *τὸν Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδυμέα*. Cf. Strab. 634, 642.

d 12 *θεῖα*. Cod. B has *αὐτά τ' αὐτῶν χρηστήρια*, omitting *τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι βοώμενα θεῖά τε καί*. *θεῖον* in the sense of 'divinity' seems to be first used by Hdt. i. 32 *τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν*. Cf. iii. 40; iii. 108 *τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη*. Here *τὰ θεῖα* means not so much the gods themselves as their religious rites and sanctuaries.

470 b 5 *τοὺς ἑπτὰ . . . σοφούς*. Zeller, *Outlines*, 27 'The story of the *Wise Men* (which we first meet, though then universally recognized, in Plat. *Protagor.* 343 A) is for the rest entirely unhistorical, not merely as to the statements concerning the tripod, their maxims, their meetings and letters, but also as to the theory that seven men were acknowledged by their contemporaries to be the wisest. Even their names are very variously given: we are acquainted with twenty-two belonging to widely different periods. Only four are to be found in all the enumera-

tions, viz. Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon.' Cf. Diog. L. i. 40; Iambl. *De Pyth. Vit.* 83.

c 7 ἀγωγῆς τῆς ἠθικωτέρας. Zeller, *Outlines*, 26 'Among the Greeks, as everywhere else, the universally recognized moral laws are referred to the will of the gods, and their inviolability is founded on the belief in Divine retributive justice.' . . . 'It was under the influence of Pythagoreanism that the belief appears first to have been more universally spread, and turned to account in a purer moral tendency.'

d 2 φιλοσοφίαν. Diog. L. *Prooem.* 12 φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον . . . μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν. Eusebius seems to have followed Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 300 D) in his account of the birth-place of Pythagoras. Zeller, *Outlines*, 46 'Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, was born in Samos, whither his ancestors, who were Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, had migrated from Phlius.' . . . 'He was born about 580–70 B.C., came to Italy about 540–30 B.C., and died towards the end of the sixth or soon after the beginning of the fifth century': 47 'The statement that Pherecydes was his instructor (attested from the middle of the fourth century, ap. Diog. i. 118, 119, and others) is more trustworthy, but also not certain.' Cf. Diog. L. viii. 1. 1.

d 7 Φερεκύδην δὲ Σύριον. Cf. 41 d 5, note.

471 a 5 Βραχμάνων. Stephanus Ethnicographicus, quoted by Bishop Pearson, *Minor Theological Works*, ii. 579, gives the following account of the Brahmins: 'Hierocles in the *Philhistorica* says: After this it was thought worth while to see the tribe of Brachmans, men who are philosophers and dear to the gods, and especially consecrated to the sun. They abstain altogether from eating flesh, and spend their whole life in the open air, and have reverence for truth. They wear linen raiment made from stones: for they weave together soft skin-like filaments of stones, out of which webbings are made which are neither burned by fire nor cleansed by water; but when full of dirt and stains they are cast into fire and become white and transparent.' For a similar account of the asbestos cloth of Carystus see Plut. *De defectu oraculorum*, 434.

b 5 Ἰταλικὴ φιλοσοφία. Zeller, l.c. 47 (Pythagoras) 'settled in Crotona, and established an association there which found numerous adherents among the Italian and Sicilian Greeks.'

[illegible]

of Alexandria [illegible]

of Pythagoras. Zeller [illegible]

Mnesarchus, was born [illegible]

Tyrrhenian Pelasgians [illegible]

born about 580–570 B.C. [illegible]

died towards the end of the [illegible] c,

the fifth century': 47 'The statement [illegible]

instructor (attested from the [illegible]

Diog. i. 118, 119, and others [illegible]

certain.' Cf. Diog. [illegible] iii,

d 7 Φερεκύδης [illegible] in

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[illegible], the

favourite author of Eusebius, who may possibly have had in mind the juxtaposition of the words in ii. 61. 3 τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἔργων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, κ.τ.λ.

a 9 ἀπολογισμόν, a word frequent in Polybius, and not confined to a defensive plea: iv. 14. 2 κατηγορούντων αὐτοῦ καὶ φερόντων ἀπολογισμοὺς ἐναργεῖς.

5] d 3 Φοινικήϊα τὰ γράμματα. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 361 'Barbarians were the inventors not only of philosophy, but of almost every art . . . 362 And Cadmus the inventor of letters among the Greeks was a Phoenician, as Euphorus states: whence also Herodotus writes that they were called Phoenician letters. And they say that the Phoenicians and Syrians first invented letters.' Cf. Hdt. v. 58.

d 5 Σύρους. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 5 'It is not however to be supposed that the Greeks received the alphabet from the Phoenicians at one single place from whence it was passed on through Hellas; but rather at several points of contact from whence it was locally diffused among neighbouring cities and their colonies. . . . We cannot, then, accept the idea of a Cadmean alphabet, in the sense of an alphabet of one uniform pattern for all Greece.' Cf. G. Wilkinson, *Invention of Letters*; Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 317.

d 6 Ἑβραῖοι. Cf. Clem. Recogn. i. 30; Theoph. *Ad Autolyc.* 30; Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 31. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 267 'The ancient language of Phoenicia, to judge from inscriptions, was most closely allied to Hebrew.' Maunde Thompson, ibid. 4 'Bible history proves that in patriarchal times writing was unknown to the Jews, but that, when they entered the promised land, they were in possession of it. All evidence goes to prove its acquisition during the Semitic occupation of the Delta; and the diffusion of the newly-formed alphabet may have been due to the retreating Hyksos when driven out of Egypt, or to Phoenician traders, or to both.' Ewald, *Heb. Gram.* 9 'For each of its twenty-two consonantal sounds a distinct sign is appropriated, which is the image of an object whose name begins with this sound.'

474 a 5 κατά τινος σημαντικῆς διανοίας. 'The names of the letters, which are all significative in Semitic tongues of the objects

which they were originally intended to represent, but have no meaning in Greek, prove that the Semites are the inventors, the Greeks the copyists' (Rawlinson, Hdt. v. 58).

b 2 Ἄλφ, 'ox.' Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Sympos.* ix. 2. 738 'When Protogenes had ceased, Ammonius addressed me, and said, Do not you the Boeotian mean to give any aid to Cadmus, who is said to have placed Alpha before them all, because the Phoenicians give this name to the ox, not putting it second or third as Hesiod does, but first of all things necessary?' According to Gesenius the ox is called אֶלֶף, as being tamed and used to the yoke. The interpretation 'learning' given by Eusebius agrees with the meaning of the root אָלַף.

b 3 Βήθ, 'tent' or 'house.'

b 4 Γίμελ, Gimel, 'camel.'

b 5 Δέλθ, Daleth, 'door.' The meaning 'tablets' is a mere conjecture from the similarity of δέλτα and δέλτος in name and shape (Δ).

b 6 Ἠ, Hê.

b 9 Οὐαῦ, Vâv. In rendering the letter αὕτη Eusebius connects it with the pronoun הוּא or הִיא.

b 10 Ζαΐ, Zain. It corresponds with ζῇ only in sound.

Ἠθ, Kheth, connected by Eusebius with the root חָיָה.

c 2 Τήθ, Theth.

Ἰώθ, Yod, 'hand.'

c 3 Χάφ, Kaph, 'hollow of hand.'

c 4 Λάβδ, Lamed, 'ox-goad,' from the root לָמַד.

c 5 Μήμ, Mem, 'water.' Eusebius מֵהֶם, ἐξ αὐτῶν.

c 6 Νοῦν, Nun, 'fish.'

c 7 Σάμχ, Samech, 'prop.'

c 8 Ἀΐν, Ain, 'eye' or 'fountain.'

c 9 Φῆ, Pé, 'mouth.'

c 10 Σάδη, Tzade, 'righteous.' Eusebius צֶדֶק.

d 2 Κώφ, Qoph, 'hole of axe,' which the Phoenician letter resembles in shape.

d 3 Ῥήs, Rêsh, 'head.'

Σέν, Shin, 'tooth,' Heb. שֵׁן.

d 5 Θαῦ, Tau, 'a sign.'

d 6 Κλῆσις κεφαλῆς. It is perhaps needless to say that this meaning is purely imaginary, an example of misplaced ingenuity.

475 a 1 Τί γὰρ τοῦ Ἄλφ. Cf. G. W. *Invention of Letters*, Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 317; Maunde Thompson, *Palaeogr.* 3, on the derivation of the Semitic letters from the Egyptian.

6] b 3 Ἰατρικὴν δέ. Eusebius has abridged the passage, Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 361, and transposed the parts of it. Clement himself borrowed great part of it without acknowledgement from Tatian, *Orat. ad Graecos*, i., or from some compilation used by both. Cf. De Faye, *Clém. d'Alex.* 314 'Il y a dans différents passages du 1er *Stromate* (74–6, 78–80) des listes ou catalogues d'inventions avec les noms légendaires de ceux qui les auraient découvertes. Deux jeunes critiques, MM. M. Kremmer (*De Catalogis heurematum*, Leipzig, 1890) et A. Wendling (*De peplo aristotelico Quaestiones selectae*, Strasbourg, 1891), ont recherché l'origine des catalogues. . . . Il est bien difficile de ne pas leur accorder que nous avons dans ces passages de Clément des pages copiées dans des écrits spéciaux.'

b 5 ἐναυπηγήσατο. Vid. 35 a 9, c 5.

ἀστρολογίαν. Cf. Diod. Sic. i. 81 'Nowhere are the order and movement of the stars more carefully observed than among the Egyptians; and the records of each they preserve for an incredible number of years, that study having been pursued by them from ancient times. . . . They often succeed in foretelling what is about to happen to men in their course of life.' Tatian, ibid. 'To the Babylonians you owe astronomy . . . to the Egyptians geometry.'

c 3 Πτήσεις. Tatian, ibid. 'The Phrygians and the most ancient Isaurians (invented) augury by the flight of birds.'

c 4 'Italy' has here its earlier and limited sense as denoting only the southern part of the peninsula.

c 5 οἰωνιστικήν, augury from the cries and flight of birds.

c 6 ⟨Τελμησσεῖς⟩. Cf. Hdt. i. 78; Strab. 665; Tatian, ibid. i. 4 'The most celebrated of the Telmessians invented the art of divination by dreams.' Telmessus was a river and city of Lycia close to Caria. Lucan, *Phars.* viii. 247. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 526 'Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.' Aesch. *Eum.* 567; Soph. *Aj.* 17; Eur. *Phoen.* 1576, *Heracleid.* 830.

c 7 Φρύγες αὐλόν. Pausan. 873 'Above him (Thamyris) is Marsyas seated on a stone, and near him Olympus, a handsome boy learning to play on the pipe.' Tatian, ibid. i. 12 'You acquired

the art of playing the flute from Marsyas and Olympus: these two rustic Phrygians constructed the harmony of the shepherd's pipe (σύριγγος).' Cf. 476 b 6.

c 9 τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. For the Egyptian names of the twelve months, and their division into three seasons, see G. W. (Birch, ii. 368–74).

d 3 Κέλμις. According to Thrasyllus, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 401, the Idaean Dactyls discovered iron at the time of the conflagration of Mount Ida, seventy-three years after the Flood: cf. G. W. (Birch, ii. 248). The Dactyls were originally three only, Kelmis 'the smelter,' Damnameneus 'the forger,' Acmon 'the anvil.' Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 657 'The Idaean Dactyls also belonged to the circle of the Great Mother, and the Mount Ida in Asia must be regarded as their home, although in time they were also transferred thence to the Cretan Ida. The name "Dactyls" is variously explained, most probably meaning "Fingers," from the skill of these metallurgic spirits of the mountain-forest; for such is their real nature, although they must not on that account by any means be regarded as pigmies in the sense of our German mythology.' Various forms of the myth are mentioned by Strab. 473. Viger quotes from a poem called *Phoronis*, from Phoroneus king of Argos, five lines to the following effect:

'Where Phrygian sorcerers,
The men of Ida, had their mountain home,
Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Acmon fierce.
These in their mountain glens discovered first
The art of wise Hephaestus; and to fire
Bringing dark iron, wrought a beauteous work.'

Compare the extract from Clem. Alex. on p. 497.

d 4 Δέλας. 'Plinius, vii. 56. Aes conflare et temperare Aristoteles Lydum Scythem monstrasse, Theophrastus Delam Phrygem putat' (Viger).

d 5 ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος. I cannot find the passage.

d 6 ἅρπην. See Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.* 'Falx.'

d 10 Κάδμος. 'Pliny attributes the discovery of gold and the secret of smelting it to Cadmus, who is supposed to have gone to Greece B. C. 1493; but this, like most of the inventions mentioned by him, was known long before to the Egyptians' G. W. (Birch, ii. 257). See Pliny's chapter on inventions (vii. 56).

476 a 1 Πάγγαιον. Hdt. vii. 112 τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος . . . ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν.

a 3 νάβλαν, a stringed instrument called in Hebrew נֵבֶל (nêvel) 'psaltery.' Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* vii. 12. 3 ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθογγὰς ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται.

a 4 τετρήρη, a galley with four banks of rowers. Triremes were first built by the Corinthians (Thuc. i. 13), quadriremes and quinqueremes by Dionysius of Syracuse about 400 B.C. (Diod. Sic. xiv. 42). Polybius (i. 47) gives an animated description of the capture of a Carthaginian quinquereme off Lilybaeum in the first Punic war (B.C. 249), and of the eager patriotism with which the Romans built a fleet of 200 quinqueremes on the model of the captured galley of the Rhodian Hannibal.

a 5 αὐτοσχέδιον. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad. Herm.* 55 ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίης πειρώμενος.

b 1 Νώροπες. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 16. 9; Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 712 'Durior et ferro quod Noricus excoquit ignis'; Mart. *Epigr.* iv. 55. 12; Strab. 208.

b 2 Ἄμυκος. Cf. Ap. Rh. *Argon.* ii. 51–3

τοῖσι δὲ μεσσηγὺς θεράπων Ἀμύκοιο Λυκωρεὺς
θῆκε πάροιθε ποδῶν δοιοὺς ἑκάτερθεν ἱμάντας
ὠμούς, ἀζαλέους, περὶ δ' οἵγ' ἔσαν ἐσκληῶτες.

b 4 τὴν Λύδιον ἁρμονίαν. Cf. Athen. xiv. 624. Heracleides Ponticus says that neither the Phrygian nor Lydian is properly called a harmony. Milton, *L'Allegro* 136:

'Lap me in soft Lydian airs.'

Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*:

'Softly sweet in Lydian measures
Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasures.'

ἐφιλοτέχνησεν. Plut. *Mor.* 142 B (ποιητὰς) κινεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν φιλοτεχνοῦντας.

b 5 σαμβύκην. Cf. Athen. xiv. 633 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ζητήσεως γενομένης περὶ σαμβύκης ἔφη ὁ Μασούριος ὀξύφθογγον εἶναι μουσικὸν ὄργανον τὴν σαμβύκην . . . χρῆσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ Πάρθους καὶ Τρωγλοδύτας τετραχόρδῳ ὄντι. On the Troglodytes see Hdt. iv. 183; Strab. 775.

b 6 τὴν πλαγίαν. The Syrinx or Pan-pipe was so called from its shape, consisting of reeds of different lengths. Cf. 475 c 7.

b 7 Ὕαγνιν. Cf. Athen. xiv. 624 ὁ Ἀριστόξενος τὴν εὕρεσιν

αὐτῆς (τῆς Φρυγιστὶ ἁρμονίας) Ὑάγνιδι τῷ Φρυγὶ ἀνατίθησιν. On the meaning of the terms in ancient music compare the article 'Music' in Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.* and the more recent work of Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.

c 4 *τρίκροτον ναῦν.* Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 28 *αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι.*

c 6 *κρόταλα.* Cf. Pind. *Fr.* xlviii. 2 *ἐν δὲ κεκλάδειν κρόταλα.* These instruments were used in the festivals of the Magna Mater, and of Diana at Bubastis (Hdt. ii. 61).

Σεμιράμεως βασιλίδος. The reading in Clem. and IO. Σ. *βασιλέως* may be corrected as Klotz suggests by substituting *βασιλίδος*, or we may suppose that the name of some Egyptian king is corrupted into that of Semiramis. A statue of the god Nebo in the British Museum is dedicated by the artist to 'his lord Iva-Cûsh and his lady Sammuramit.' This inscription shows that the name of the wife was Semiramis, and that she reigned conjointly with her husband, thus very remarkably confirming the account given by Herodotus of the real age of that personage, and also explaining in some degree her position in Herodotus as a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian princess (Rawlinson, Hdt. i. 467).

c 7 *βύσσινα.* Byssus was a species of flax, from which the finest linen was made. Hdt. ii. 86 *κατειλίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι.*

d 1 *ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι.* Cf. Bentley, *Phalaris* (London, 1816), 39 'The words of Tatian (*Or. ad Gr.* 1) and Clemens are *ἐπιστολὰς συντάσσειν*: now whether we take *συντάσσειν* in a general sense for writing, or more strictly for comprising a volume and publishing, it is either way sufficient to prove Phalaris's epistles a cheat.' Maunde Thompson, *Palaeogr.* 21 'As to correspondence, small tablets, *codicilli* or *pugillares*, were employed for short letters; longer letters, *epistolae*, were written on papyrus.' In Tatian *συντάσσειν* has been understood by Otto as referring to some mode of fastening epistolary tablets together, as in Hom. *Il.* vi. 169 *γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ*; but *συντάσσειν ἱστορίας* a few lines before in Tatian is not favourable to this meaning.

d 2 *Σκάμων.* Athen. xiv. 630 *Σκάμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ εὑρημάτων κ.τ.λ.*

Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἐφέσιος. 'Legendum Ἐρέσιος' (Viger). In

the book as similar to that of Plato, without adding any more exact statements' (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*). As the supposed proofs are not given, we can only say that the charge of plagiarism is not very probable, considering how often Plato quotes Protagoras by name in several dialogues, and refutes his doctrines at length in the *Theaetetus.*

4] d 8 ἄλλην ἄλλως. Cf. Plat. *Euthyd.* 273 B ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην βλέποντε.

d 9 ποσῶς, 'in some degree.' Cf. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 120 ποσῶς δὲ ἐπινενομένη, 'inclined in some degree'; 227 οἷον ἐν οἴκῳ σκοτεινῷ ποσῶς κειμένου σχοινίου ἐσπειραμένου πιθανὴ ἁπλῶς φαντασία γίνεται ἀπὸ τούτου ὡς ἀπὸ ὄφεως, i. e. 'when a coiled rope is placed in a certain position.' Polyb. x. 61. 2 οὐδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν ἐποιήσατο μνήμην.

469 a 2 καταλήψεως. 'conception' as distinguished from 'perception' (φαντασία), a term invented by Zeno. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 236; *Stoics*, 79; Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 128 εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατάληψιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου.

d 5 ὁ Δωδωναῖος. Cf. 61 d 9 and 134 d 11, note. In the present passage Apollo alone is mentioned as σεμνός τις καὶ μέγας θεός. At Dodona there was the famous oracle of Zeus, but none of Apollo. Probably, therefore, we should read here ὁ Διδυμεύς, corresponding to 61 d 9 τὸν Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδυμέα. Cf. Strab. 634, 642.

d 12 θεῖα. Cod. B has αὐτά τ' αὐτῶν χρηστήρια, omitting τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι βοώμενα θεῖά τε καί. θεῖον in the sense of 'divinity' seems to be first used by Hdt. i. 32 τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν. Cf. iii. 40; iii. 108 τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη. Here τὰ θεῖα means not so much the gods themselves as their religious rites and sanctuaries.

470 b 5 τοὺς ἑπτὰ . . . σοφούς. Zeller, *Outlines*, 27 'The story of the *Wise Men* (which we first meet, though then universally recognized, in Plat. *Protagor.* 343 A) is for the rest entirely unhistorical, not merely as to the statements concerning the tripod, their maxims, their meetings and letters, but also as to the theory that seven men were acknowledged by their contemporaries to be the wisest. Even their names are very variously given: we are acquainted with twenty-two belonging to widely different periods. Only four are to be found in all the enumera-

tions, viz. Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon.' Cf. Diog. L. i. 40; Iambl. *De Pyth. Vit.* 83.

c 7 *ἀγωγῆς τῆς ἠθικωτέρας.* Zeller, *Outlines*, 26 'Among the Greeks, as everywhere else, the universally recognized moral laws are referred to the will of the gods, and their inviolability is founded on the belief in Divine retributive justice.' . . . 'It was under the influence of Pythagoreanism that the belief appears first to have been more universally spread, and turned to account in a purer moral tendency.'

d 2 *φιλοσοφίαν.* Diog. L. *Prooem.* 12 *φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον . . . μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν* [*ἄνθρωπον*] *ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν.* Eusebius seems to have followed Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 300 D) in his account of the birth-place of Pythagoras. Zeller, *Outlines*, 46 'Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, was born in Samos, whither his ancestors, who were Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, had migrated from Phlius.' . . . 'He was born about 580–70 B.C., came to Italy about 540–30 B.C., and died towards the end of the sixth or soon after the beginning of the fifth century': 47 'The statement that Pherecydes was his instructor (attested from the middle of the fourth century, ap. Diog. i. 118, 119, and others) is more trustworthy, but also not certain.' Cf. Diog. L. viii. 1. 1.

d 7 *Φερεκύδην δὲ Σύριον.* Cf. 41 d 5, note.

471 a 5 *Βραχμάνων.* Stephanus Ethnicographicus, quoted by Bishop Pearson, *Minor Theological Works*, ii. 579, gives the following account of the Brahmins: 'Hierocles in the *Philhistorica* says: After this it was thought worth while to see the tribe of Brachmans, men who are philosophers and dear to the gods, and especially consecrated to the sun. They abstain altogether from eating flesh, and spend their whole life in the open air, and have reverence for truth. They wear linen raiment made from stones: for they weave together soft skin-like filaments of stones, out of which webbings are made which are neither burned by fire nor cleansed by water; but when full of dirt and stains they are cast into fire and become white and transparent.' For a similar account of the asbestos cloth of Carystus see Plut. *De defectu oraculorum*, 434.

b 5 *Ἰταλικὴ φιλοσοφία.* Zeller, l.c. 47 (Pythagoras) 'settled in Crotona, and established an association there which found numerous adherents among the Italian and Sicilian Greeks.'

b 8 Ἰωνική. The order of succession of the Ionic and Italian schools is here inverted, the Ionic founded by Thales being the more ancient. Zeller, l. c. 35 'Through the Ionians, Pythagoras and Xenophanes, these endeavours were transplanted to Italy, and carried on with such independent inquiry that from each of them there arose a new school,' namely the Pythagorean and Eleatic. Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, was a younger contemporary of Thales, who is said to have predicted the solar eclipse of B. C. 609 (Hdt. i. 74), though this is discredited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson.

b 10 Φοῖνιξ ἦν. 'This statement rests on the authority of Hieronymus, the Peripatetic, a disciple of Aristotle.' Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Thales.' Cf. Diog. L. i. 1 'According to the statements of Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus, Thales was the son of Exemius and Cleobule, of the family of the Thelidae, who are Phoenicians and the noblest descendants of Cadmus and Agenor, as Plato also says. . . . And he was enrolled as a citizen in Miletus, when he came thither with Neileus who was banished from Phoenicia; but according to most authors he was a genuine native of Miletus and of illustrious birth.' According to Diog. L. i. 51, Solon withdrew to Egypt when Peisistratus became master of Athens (B. C. 560).

c 6 ἐν Τιμαίῳ. *Tim.* 22 C. The passage is abridged by Eusebius.

d 1 ὁ Πλάτων. Plato, who was born in B. C. 429, was trained as a youth in the philosophy of Heracleitus by Cratylus (Aristot. *Metaph.* A 6), but from about his twentieth year (B. C. 409) devoted himself to Socrates, after whose death in B. C. 399 he withdrew to Megara, and passed the next three or four years in travels in Italy, Cyrene, and Egypt, and returned to Athens in B. C. 394. See Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* under the several dates.

d 5 πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἰδίων λόγων. It is unfortunate for this statement of Eusebius, that of the many supposed proofs he alleges none except from the *Epinomis*, a work attributed not to Plato but to one of his followers, Philip of Opus. Cf. Diog. L. iii. 37.

d 12 Τούτου, i. e. the ignorance of the name of the third planet. In *Epinomis* 986 E, after mentioning the Sun and Venus (ἑωσφόρος), the author speaks of a third body of which he cannot give the name, because it is not known; and the reason of its not

being known is that the first observer was some barbarian, whether Syrian or Egyptian. The Greeks called the planet in question Στίλβων. In Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, ii. 9, the planets are named in the following order, beginning with the largest and most distant, Saturn (Φαίνων), Jupiter (Φαέθων), Mars (ὁ Πυρόεις), next Στίλβων, which some call Mercury, others Apollo, after which comes Phosphorus, which some call Venus, others Juno. The order of the last two planets is thus inverted.

d 13 ταῦτα, i. e. astronomy. Cf. Cic. *De Divinat.* i. 1. 2.

472 a 2 Ὅθεν. Between this and the preceding sentence Eusebius has omitted the following words: φανεροὺς μέν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀστέρας ἀεὶ ξύμπαντας καθορῶντας ἅτε νεφῶν καὶ ὑδάτων ἀπόπροθεν ἐκεῖ τοῦ κόσμου κατῳκισμένους.

b 3 γραμμέων συνθέσιος, i. e. geometry.

b 5 ⟨Ἀρπεδονάπται⟩ Clem. Al., but more correctly Ἁρπεδονάπται, so called from ἁρπεδών, 'a rope,' because they used ropes for measurements in their work as geometers.

ἐπ' ἔτεα ⟨πέντε⟩. 'Est vetustus error in numero, qui et Clementis codices invasit, librariis Π non ut debuerat pro πέντε, sed pro ὀγδώκοντα sumentibus. v. Diodor. infra 482 b. In re minime dubia πέντε reposui' (Gaisf.). Clinton, following Clement's reading σὺν τοῖς δ' for οἷς, thinks that Democritus spent five years (σὺν τοῖσδε π') with the Egyptians alone. Dindorf, *Praef.* xviii, thinks that as ὀγδώκοντα is the reading of the MSS. both in Clement and Eusebius, the error being older than either author should be allowed to remain. But the error is not found in the quotation from Diod. Sic. who was older than either. The older compendious mode of writing numerals consisted in using the initial letters of Ἴος (one), Πέντε, Δέκα, Ηεκατόν, Χίλιοι and Μύριοι to express the corresponding numbers. See Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 162; Donaldson, *Gk. Gr.* 253, Obs. 4.

d 9 ἀποματτόμενοι, 'copying.' Cf. Aristot. *Eth. N.* ix. 12. 3 ἀπομάττονται γὰρ παρ' ἀλλήλων οἷς ἀρέσκονται. The unfairness of the exaggerated invective in this long passage is too manifest to need proof: it could do the Christian cause no good.

473 a 2 ⟨τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν⟩ ἐπισημαίνεται. Viger's proposed emendation instead of τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας seems to be necessary, unless we attribute the unusual construction to Eusebius himself. The verb ἐπισημαίνεσθαι is extremely common in Polybius, the

favourite author of Eusebius, who may possibly have had in mind the juxtaposition of the words in ii. 61. 3 τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἔργων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, κ.τ.λ.

a 9 ἀπολογισμόν, a word frequent in Polybius, and not confined to a defensive plea: iv. 14. 2 κατηγορούντων αὐτοῦ καὶ φερόντων ἀπολογισμοὺς ἐναργεῖς.

5] d 3 Φοινικήϊα τὰ γράμματα. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 361 'Barbarians were the inventors not only of philosophy, but of almost every art . . . 362 And Cadmus the inventor of letters among the Greeks was a Phoenician, as Euphorus states: whence also Herodotus writes that they were called Phoenician letters. And they say that the Phoenicians and Syrians first invented letters.' Cf. Hdt. v. 58.

d 5 Σύρους. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 5 'It is not however to be supposed that the Greeks received the alphabet from the Phoenicians at one single place from whence it was passed on through Hellas; but rather at several points of contact from whence it was locally diffused among neighbouring cities and their colonies. . . . We cannot, then, accept the idea of a Cadmean alphabet, in the sense of an alphabet of one uniform pattern for all Greece.' Cf. G. Wilkinson, *Invention of Letters*; Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 317.

d 6 Ἑβραῖοι. Cf. Clem. Recogn. i. 30; Theoph. *Ad Autolyc.* 30; Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 31. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 267 'The ancient language of Phoenicia, to judge from inscriptions, was most closely allied to Hebrew.' Maunde Thompson, ibid. 4 'Bible history proves that in patriarchal times writing was unknown to the Jews, but that, when they entered the promised land, they were in possession of it. All evidence goes to prove its acquisition during the Semitic occupation of the Delta; and the diffusion of the newly-formed alphabet may have been due to the retreating Hyksos when driven out of Egypt, or to Phoenician traders, or to both.' Ewald, *Heb. Gram.* 9 'For each of its twenty-two consonantal sounds a distinct sign is appropriated, which is the image of an object whose name begins with this sound.'

474 a 5 κατά τινος σημαντικῆς διανοίας. 'The names of the letters, which are all significative in Semitic tongues of the objects

which they were originally intended to represent, but have no meaning in Greek, prove that the Semites are the inventors, the Greeks the copyists' (Rawlinson, Hdt. v. 58).

b 2 Ἄλφ, 'ox.' Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Sympos.* ix. 2. 738 'When Protogenes had ceased, Ammonius addressed me, and said, Do not you the Boeotian mean to give any aid to Cadmus, who is said to have placed Alpha before them all, because the Phoenicians give this name to the ox, not putting it second or third as Hesiod does, but first of all things necessary?' According to Gesenius the ox is called אֶלֶף, as being tamed and used to the yoke. The interpretation 'learning' given by Eusebius agrees with the meaning of the root אָלַף.

b 3 Βήθ, 'tent' or 'house.'

b 4 Γίμελ, Gimel, 'camel.'

b 5 Δέλθ, Daleth, 'door.' The meaning 'tablets' is a mere conjecture from the similarity of δέλτα and δέλτος in name and shape (Δ).

b 6 Ἤ, Hê.

b 9 Οὐαῦ, Vâv. In rendering the letter αὕτη Eusebius connects it with the pronoun הוא or היא.

b 10 Ζαΐ, Zain. It corresponds with ζῇ only in sound.

Ἤθ, Kheth, connected by Eusebius with the root חָיָה.

c 2 Τήθ, Theth.

Ἰώθ, Yod, 'hand.'

c 3 Χάφ, Kaph, 'hollow of hand.'

c 4 Λάβδ, Lamed, 'ox-goad,' from the root לָמַד.

c 5 Μήμ, Mem, 'water.' Eusebius מֵהֶם, ἐξ αὐτῶν.

c 6 Νοῦν, Nun, 'fish.'

c 7 Σάμχ, Samech, 'prop.'

c 8 Ἄϊν, Ain, 'eye' or 'fountain.'

c 9 Φῆ, Pé, 'mouth.'

c 10 Σάδη, Tzade, 'righteous.' Eusebius צֶדֶק.

d 2 Κώφ, Qoph, 'hole of axe,' which the Phoenician letter resembles in shape.

d 3 Ῥής, Rêsh, 'head.'

Σέν, Shin, 'tooth,' Heb. שֵׁן.

d 5 Θαῦ, Tau, 'a sign.'

d 6 Κλῆσις κεφαλῆς. It is perhaps needless to say that this meaning is purely imaginary, an example of misplaced ingenuity.

475 a 1 Τ. γένη τοῦ Ἄλφα. Cf. G. W. *Invention of Letters*, Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 317: Maunde Thompson, *Palaeogr.* 3, on the derivation of the Semitic letters from the Egyptian.

b 3 Ἰατρικὴν δέ. Eusebius has abridged the passage, Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 361, and transposed the parts of it. Clement himself borrowed great part of it without acknowledgement from Tatian, *Orat. ad Graecos*, i., or from some compilation used by both. Cf. De Faye, *Clém. d'Alex.* 314 'Il y a dans différents passages du 1er *Stromate* (74–6, 78–80) des listes ou catalogues d'inventions avec les noms légendaires de ceux qui les auraient découvertes. Deux jeunes critiques, MM. M. Kremmer (*De Catalogis heurematum*, Leipzig, 1890) et A. Wendling (*De peplo aristotelico Quaestiones selectae*, Strasbourg, 1891), ont recherché l'origine des catalogues. . . . Il est bien difficile de ne pas leur accorder que nous avons dans ces passages de Clément des pages copiées dans des écrits spéciaux.'

b 5 ἐναυπηγήσατο. Vid. 35 a 9, c 5.

ἀστρολογίαν. Cf. Diod. Sic. i. 81 'Nowhere are the order and movement of the stars more carefully observed than among the Egyptians; and the records of each they preserve for an incredible number of years, that study having been pursued by them from ancient times. . . . They often succeed in foretelling what is about to happen to men in their course of life.' Tatian, ibid. 'To the Babylonians you owe astronomy . . . to the Egyptians geometry.'

c 3 Πισίδας. Tatian, ibid. 'The Phrygians and the most ancient Isaurians (invented) augury by the flight of birds.'

c 4 'Italy' has here its earlier and limited sense as denoting only the southern part of the peninsula.

c 5 οἰωνιστικήν, augury from the cries and flight of birds.

c 6 (Τελμησσεῖς). Cf. Hdt. i. 78; Strab. 665; Tatian, ibid. i. 1 'The most celebrated of the Telmessians invented the art of divination by dreams.' Telmessus was a river and city of Lycia close to Caria. Lucan, *Phars.* viii. 247. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 526 'Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.' Aesch. *Eum.* 567; Soph. *Aj.* 17; Eur. *Phoen.* 1576, *Heracleid.* 830.

c 7 Φρύγες αὐλόν. Pausan. 873 'Above him (Thamyris) is Marsyas seated on a stone, and near him Olympus, a handsome boy learning to play on the pipe.' Tatian, ibid. i. 12 'You acquired

the art of playing the flute from Marsyas and Olympus: these two rustic Phrygians constructed the harmony of the shepherd's pipe (σύριγγος).' Cf. 476 b 6.

c 9 τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. For the Egyptian names of the twelve months, and their division into three seasons, see G. W. (Birch, ii. 368–74).

d 3 Κέλμις. According to Thrasyllus, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 401, the Idaean Dactyls discovered iron at the time of the conflagration of Mount Ida, seventy-three years after the Flood: cf. G. W. (Birch, ii. 248). The Dactyls were originally three only, Kelmis 'the smelter,' Damnameneus 'the forger,' Acmon 'the anvil.' Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 657 'The Idaean Dactyls also belonged to the circle of the Great Mother, and the Mount Ida in Asia must be regarded as their home, although in time they were also transferred thence to the Cretan Ida. The name "Dactyls" is variously explained, most probably meaning "Fingers," from the skill of these metallurgic spirits of the mountain-forest; for such is their real nature, although they must not on that account by any means be regarded as pigmies in the sense of our German mythology.' Various forms of the myth are mentioned by Strab. 473. Viger quotes from a poem called *Phoronis,* from Phoroneus king of Argos, five lines to the following effect:

'Where Phrygian sorcerers,
The men of Ida, had their mountain home,
Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Acmon fierce.
These in their mountain glens discovered first
The art of wise Hephaestus; and to fire
Bringing dark iron, wrought a beauteous work.'

Compare the extract frem Clem. Alex. on p. 497.

d 4 Δέλας. 'Plinius, vii. 56. Aes conflare et temperare Aristoteles Lydum Scythem monstrasse, Theophrastus Delam Phrygem putat' (Viger).

d 5 ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος. I cannot find the passage.

d 6 ἅρπην. See Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.* 'Falx.'

d 10 Κάδμος. 'Pliny attributes the discovery of gold and the secret of smelting it to Cadmus, who is supposed to have gone to Greece B. C. 1493; but this, like most of the inventions mentioned by him, was known long before to the Egyptians' G. W. (Birch, ii. 257). See Pliny's chapter on inventions (vii. 56).

476 a 1 Πάγγαιον. Hdt. vii. 112 τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος . . . ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν.

a 3 νάβλαν, a stringed instrument called in Hebrew נֵבֶל (nêvel) 'psaltery.' Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* vii. 12. 3 ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθογγὰς ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται.

a 4 τετρήρη, a galley with four banks of rowers. Triremes were first built by the Corinthians (Thuc. i. 13), quadriremes and quinqueremes by Dionysius of Syracuse about 400 B.C. (Diod. Sic. xiv. 42). Polybius (i. 47) gives an animated description of the capture of a Carthaginian quinquereme off Lilybaeum in the first Punic war (B.C. 249), and of the eager patriotism with which the Romans built a fleet of 200 quinqueremes on the model of the captured galley of the Rhodian Hannibal.

a 5 αὐτοσχέδιον. Cf. Hom. *Hymn. ad. Herm.* 55 ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίης πειρώμενος.

b 1 Νώροπες. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 16. 9; Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 712 'Durior et ferro quod Noricus excoquit ignis'; Mart. *Epigr.* iv. 55. 12; Strab. 208.

b 2 Ἄμυκος. Cf. Ap. Rh. *Argon.* ii. 51–3

> τοῖσι δὲ μεσσηγὺς θεράπων Ἀμύκοιο Λυκωρεὺς
> θῆκε πάροιθε ποδῶν δοιοὺς ἑκάτερθεν ἱμάντας
> ὠμούς, ἀζαλέους, περὶ δ' οἵγ' ἔσαν ἐσκληῶτες.

b 4 τὴν Λύδιον ἁρμονίαν. Cf. Athen. xiv. 624. Heracleides Ponticus says that neither the Phrygian nor Lydian is properly called a harmony. Milton, *L'Allegro* 136:

> 'Lap me in soft Lydian airs.'

Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*:

> 'Softly sweet in Lydian measures
> Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasures.'

ἐφιλοτέχνησεν. Plut. *Mor.* 142 B (ποιητὰς) κινεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν φιλοτεχνοῦντας.

b 5 σαμβύκην. Cf. Athen. xiv. 633 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ζητήσεως γενομένης περὶ σαμβύκης ἔφη ὁ Μασούριος ὀξύφθογγον εἶναι μουσικὸν ὄργανον τὴν σαμβύκην . . . χρῆσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ Πάρθους καὶ Τρωγλοδύτας τετραχόρδῳ ὄντι. On the Troglodytes see Hdt. iv. 183; Strab. 775.

b 6 τὴν πλαγίαν. The Syrinx or Pan-pipe was so called from its shape, consisting of reeds of different lengths. Cf. 475 c 7.

b 7 Ὕαγνιν. Cf. Athen. xiv. 624 ὁ Ἀριστόξενος τὴν εὕρεσιν

αὐτῆς (*τῆς Φρυγιστὶ ἁρμονίας*) *Ὑάγνιδι τῷ Φρυγὶ ἀνατίθησιν*. On the meaning of the terms in ancient music compare the article 'Music' in Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Ant.* and the more recent work of Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.

c 4 *τρίκροτον ναῦν*. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 28 *αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι*.

c 6 *κρόταλα*. Cf. Pind. *Fr.* xlviii. 2 *ἐν δὲ κεκλάδειν κρόταλα*. These instruments were used in the festivals of the Magna Mater, and of Diana at Bubastis (Hdt. ii. 61).

Σεμιράμεως βασιλίδος. The reading in Clem. and IO. Σ. *βασιλέως* may be corrected as Klotz suggests by substituting *βασιλίδος*, or we may suppose that the name of some Egyptian king is corrupted into that of Semiramis. A statue of the god Nebo in the British Museum is dedicated by the artist to 'his lord Iva-Cûsh and his lady Sammuramit.' This inscription shows that the name of the wife was Semiramis, and that she reigned conjointly with her husband, thus very remarkably confirming the account given by Herodotus of the real age of that personage, and also explaining in some degree her position in Herodotus as a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian princess (Rawlinson, Hdt. i. 467).

c 7 *βύσσινα*. Byssus was a species of flax, from which the finest linen was made. Hdt. ii. 86 *κατειλίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι*.

d 1 *ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι*. Cf. Bentley, *Phalaris* (London, 1816), 39 'The words of Tatian (*Or. ad Gr.* 1) and Clemens are *ἐπιστολὰς συντάσσειν*: now whether we take *συντάσσειν* in a general sense for writing, or more strictly for comprising a volume and publishing, it is either way sufficient to prove Phalaris's epistles a cheat.' Maunde Thompson, *Palaeogr.* 21 'As to correspondence, small tablets, *codicilli* or *pugillares*, were employed for short letters; longer letters, *epistolae*, were written on papyrus.' In Tatian *συντάσσειν* has been understood by Otto as referring to some mode of fastening epistolary tablets together, as in Hom. *Il.* vi. 169 *γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ*; but *συντάσσειν ἱστορίας* a few lines before in Tatian is not favourable to this meaning.

d 2 *Σκάμων*. Athen. xiv. 630 *Σκάμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ εὑρημάτων κ.τ.λ.*

Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἐφέσιος. 'Legendum *Ἐρέσιος*' (Viger). In

the MSS. of Eusebius Ἐφέσιος is a corruption, as Theophrastus was a native of Eresus in Lesbos.

d 3 Cydippus is known only from this passage of Clement.

Ἀντιφάνης. Cf. 465 d 10.

d 4 Ἀριστόδημος. There were many writers named Aristodemus, and it is uncertain which of them is here meant.

Φιλοστέφανος of Cyrene, friend of Callimachus, about B.C. 249, wrote on Geography and History. Cf. Athen. viii. 331 d.

d 5 Στράτων. Straton of Lampsacus succeeded Theophrastus as head of the Peripatetic School, B.C. 288. See Ritt. and Pr. *Hist. Philos.* 358 ff.

7] **477 d** 3 Ὀψὲ δὲ καὶ μόλις. Cf. *Author. and Archaeol.* 237 'In both these regions' (Cyprus and Asia Minor) 'exist remains of early systems of *writing* which are clearly not of Phoenician descent'... 'the Cypriote syllabic script, and the "Hittite" symbols must have been firmly rooted in their homes before ever the convenient alphabet of Sidon and Tyre was known there,' &c., &c.

478 a 6 ἐκ τῶν ᾀσμάτων (Josephus) is corrupted in some MSS. of Eusebius into γραμμάτων, which contradicts the whole meaning of the passage.

b 5 Φερεκύδην. See 470 d 1, note.

479 a 1 Θουκυδίδης. 'When we know the careless way in which facts are now reported and recorded by very incompetent persons, often upon very indifferent hearsay testimony, and compare with such records the pains that Thucydides took to ascertain the chief events of a war with which he was contemporary, in which he took a share as a commander, the opportunities which his means allowed, his great abilities, and serious earnest character, it is a fair conclusion that we have a more exact history of a long eventful period by Thucydides than we have of any period in modern history, equally long and equally eventful' (G. Long, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*).

a 7 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Josephus. For this ἐξετασθῆναι is found in the MSS. of Eusebius, which damages both the construction and the sense.

b 7 ὀλίγῳ πρότερον. Peisistratus first usurped the government B.C. 560. The legislation of Draco was in B.C. 621: the date of his birth is uncertain.

480 a 2 Διοδώρου. Cf. 18 d 5, note.

8] b 5 On Musaeus see note on 500 d.

Μελάμποδα. Of Melampus and his descendants there is a long account in Hom. *Od.* xv. 225–55. Cf. Hdt. ii. 49 'Melampus, who was a wise man, and had acquired the art of divination, having become acquainted with the worship of Bacchus through knowledge derived from Egypt, introduced it into Greece with a few slight changes, at the same time that he brought in various other practices.' Cf. Hdt. ix. 34, and Rawlinson's note.

c 1 τὸν μαθηματικόν. Eudoxus of Cnidus, about B.C. 366, whose *Phaenomena* formed the basis of the poem of Aratus, was a pupil of Plato, with whom he went to Egypt and, according to Strabo, 806, remained there thirteen years. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* xi. 8. 9; Diog. L. iii. 86–91; Strab. 119; Cic. *De Divinat.* ii. 42.

c 2 Οἰνοπίδην. 'It is known from Diodorus Siculus, Aelian, Plutarch, Sextus Empiricus, Stobaeus, and others that Oenopides was a Chian, about contemporary with Anaxagoras, that he travelled to Egypt, and there conversed with priests and astronomers, and derived thence such knowledge of geometry and astronomy, that he was said to have discovered or at least to have published as his own some facts of no little importance in each of these sciences.' Forster, note on Plat. *Erast.* 132 A, where Oenopides is mentioned in the text with Anaxagoras: see below 482 b 3. Cf. Plut. *Plac. philos.* ii. 12 'Pythagoras is said to have been the first to discover the obliquity of the zodiac, which Oenopides of Chios claims as his own discovery.'

c 7 Ὀρφέα. Cf. 18 a 2.

d 1 Ὀσίριδος. Cf. 27 c 3, d 2.

d 4 τῶν εὐσεβῶν λειμῶνας. Cf. Masp. i. 180 'The cemeteries of the inhabitants of Busiris and of Mendes were called Sokhît Ialû, the Meadow of Reeds, and Sokhît Hotpû, the Meadow of Rest.'

d 5 εἰδωλοποιίας. The soul or double of a man survived as long as any portion of the body remained, but dwelt with it in the tomb; hence the practice of embalming and mummies. By day the double remained concealed within the tomb. It went forth by night, because its organs needed nourishment: it prowled about fields and villages, picking up and greedily devouring whatever it might find. This ravenous spectre had a precise and definite shape, naked, or clothed with the garments which it had worn on earth, and emitting a pale light to which

it owed the name of *Luminous*—Khû. Masp. i. 114, 252 ff. Compare 683–9, on the fate of the soul, funerals, tombs, and the worship of the dead among the Chaldeans.

d 7 ψυχοπομπόν. Hermes is identified with Thoth; cf. 31 d 10. Diog. L. viii. 31 relates that according to the Pythagoreans 'the soul when driven out of the body wanders over the earth in the air in the likeness of the body: and that Hermes is the guardian of the souls, and therefore is called Πομπαῖος and Πυλαῖος and Χθόνιος.'

d 9 προτομήν. The MSS. of Eusebius have περιτομήν, except I which has κεφαλήν. 'Without doubt we should restore προτομήν from Diodorus' (Gaisford). προτομή is applied to the face of an animal, as πρόσωπον to that of man (L. and S. *Lex.*). Cf. 46 b, 49 c 'the god whom they call Anubis has the head of a dog.' Verg. *Aen.* viii. 698 'latrator Anubis.' See the representations in Maspero i. 180, of the jackal Anubis receiving the mummy of Osiris at the door of the tomb.

481 a 2 ἡρώων. Hom. *Od.* xxiv. 1. Diodorus has μνηστήρων rightly.

a 3 προβάς. In the passage omitted by Eusebius Diodorus quotes Homer's description of the abode of the shades (*Od.* xxiv. 13):

αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἴδωλα καμόντων.

b 3 Μάρου. In Diodorus the name is Μάρρος. Of the labyrinth G. W. (Birch, i. 63) says 'others affirm it to have been the palace of Motherus or the sepulchre of Moeris. . . . Possibly the praenomen Maeura or Ma-kher-ra may have suggested the names of the classical authorities.'

b 6 πρόπυλον. The temple of Hephaestus, or Phtah, the most ancient in Memphis, is said by Herodotus, ii. 99, to have been built by Menes, the first king of Egypt. Cambyses 'entered the temple and made great sport of the image,' which was the figure of a deformed pigmy (iii. 37), as represented in Rawlinson's Hdt. ii. 434. Cf. Strab. 807. 'By πρόπυλον must not be understood a gateway or door opening into the temple, but an entire building in the form of a separate vestibule or porch, through which it was necessary to pass in order to reach the entrance to the temple itself' (Bähr, note to Hdt. ii. 101, in which he quotes Letronne *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypt* and other authorities).

b 7 Δαίδαλον ἀρχιτεκτονῆσαι. G. W. ibid. 'The most wonderful of all buildings either in Egypt or in any part of the world. This was the famous labyrinth, from whose model that of Crete was afterwards copied by Daedalus.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 590–2; Pausan. 793; Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Daedalus.'

c 6 Τηλεμάχῳ. The dative after γενομένην is admissible, but Τηλεμάχου the reading in Diodorus and adopted by Dindorf gives a more direct construction. This story is quoted from Diodorus by Justin Martyr, or the author of the treatise *Cohort. ad Gent.* 28 E.

d 9 χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης. For the epithet cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 64; v. 427. Aphrodite was identified with Hathor, who was worshipped at Momemphis under the form of a cow. See Hdt. ii. 40, 41. Ps.-Justin *Cohort. ad Gent.* 28 quotes the same account from Diodorus.

d 11 τὴν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐκδημίαν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* i. 423

> Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
> χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἕποντο·
> δωδεκάτῃ δέ τοι αὖτις ἐλεύσεται Οὔλυμπόνδε.

482 a 5 κατεστεμμένον (Eusebius) a more appropriate term than κατεστρωμένον (Diodorus).

a 7 Πυθαγόραν τε. The three subjects here mentioned seem to answer to the three books of which Diogenes Laertius speaks (viii. 5) 'Until the time of Philolaus there were no means of learning any doctrine of Pythagoras: but he alone published the three celebrated books which Plato ordered to be bought for a hundred minae.' These books are said to have supplied Plato with some materials for the *Timaeus*, and Jowett (*Introd. to the Timaeus*, 525) remarks that we are led by Plato himself to regard that dialogue as 'framed after some Pythagorean model.' On the Ἱερὸς Λόγος of Pythagoras see the long and learned note of Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 311 f.

b 1 ψυχῆς μεταβολήν. Zeller, ibid. 481 'Of all the Pythagorean doctrines none is better known, and none can be traced with greater certainty to the founder of the School than that of the transmigration of souls. . . . Aristotle describes it as a Pythagorean fable, and Plato unmistakeably copied his mythical descriptions of the soul after death from the Pythagoreans.'

b 3 Οἰνοπίδην. See 480 c 2.

b 6 Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 38 D *τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν αὐτῷ εἰληχότας δύναμιν*, with the notes of Archer-Hind and Cook Wilson (*On the Interpretation of Plato's Timaeus*, 129). See Sir J. Herschel's *Astronomy*, 303 The planets all have this in common, 'that the *general direction* of their motions (i. e. of their real motions) is the same with that of the sun, viz. from *west to east*, that is to say, the contrary to that in which both they and the stars appear to be carried by the diurnal motion of the heavens.'

c 4 Τηλεκλέα. Herodotus (iii. 60), in describing three remarkable works at Samos, says: 'The third is a temple, the largest of all the temples known to us, whereof Rhoecus son of Phileus, a Samian, was first architect'; the silver bowl sent by Croesus to Delphi 'is said by the Delphians to be a work of Theodore the Samian, and I think that they say true, for assuredly it is the work of no common artist (i. 51).' In iii. 41 the famous ring of Polycrates, 'an emerald set in gold,' is said to have been 'the workmanship of Theodore son of Telecles a Samian.' Cf. Pausan. iii. 12; viii. 14; x. 38. The name Τηλεκλέα (Diod.) is corrupted into Τηλεκρέα in the MSS. of Eusebius.

c 6 *τοῦ Πυθίου ξόανον*. Cf. Athenag. xvii Ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἔργον Θεοδώρου καὶ Τηλεκλέους.

c 9 Οὐ δεῖ δὴ κ.τ.λ. This passage is quoted by Aucher in *Eusebii Chronicon* 3, note.

ἀλογίας ἡμῶν κατηγορεῖν. Cf. Demosth. 515 *εἰ παρανόμων ἢ παραπρεσβείας ἤ τινος ἄλλης τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἤμελλον αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν*.

d 9 ὁμοδοξοῦντες. The question concerning the relative antiquity and agreement between Christianity and the doctrines of heathen philosophers, especially Plato, was discussed by many of the Christian Fathers. See Ps.-Justin, *Hort. ad Gr.* xiv; Theoph. *ad Autoly.* iii. 4, 26, 29; Tertull. *Apologet.* 47; *c. Marcion.* i. 10; Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 419; Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 1–6. Fabricius, *Delect. Argument.* 304–7, gives lists of writers on both sides.

9] **483 b** 1. A large portion of this ninth chapter appears to consist of extracts from the *Chronicon*, an earlier work of Eusebius. The *Chronicon* was translated into Latin by Jerome, and in Schoene's edition many passages from this and the following chapters of the *Praep. Evang.* are placed in a parallel column

opposite to Jerome's translation of *Eusebii Praefatio*, with which they agree almost word for word.

c 6 *Δαρείου μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον*. As the first Olympiad began in July B.C. 776, the second year of Darius, Ol. 65. 1, corresponds to B.C. 520. These are the dates adopted by Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*

c 8 Τιβερίου δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον = Ol. 201. 4. The interval therefore is, as Eusebius states, 548 years.

484 b 3 *Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν*. The date of the capture of Troy was B.C. 1183 (Clinton, *F. H. Epit.* 65).

Λαβδὼν τοῦ κριτοῦ. By Labdon is meant Abdon, who judged Israel before Samson (Judges xii. 13); Abdon B.C. 1168, and Samson B.C. 1161.

b 9 *Κέκροπα*. Apollod. *Biblioth.* iii. 14. 8 *Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων, συμφυὲς ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος*. The younger Cecrops, son of Erechtheus, was six generations later.

c 3 *κατακλυσμός*. The flood of Deucalion is placed by Eratosthenes about B.C. 1433. See Clinton, 65.

c 4 *Φαέθοντος*. On the conflagration of Phaethon cp. Eurip. *Hippol.* 740; Plat. *Tim.* 22 C; Ovid, *Metam.* ii. *passim*; Hor. *Od.* iv. 11. 25.

Erichthonius is placed by Clinton about 300 years before the capture of Troy. *F. H.* 42.

c 7 Κάδμου. Cadmus is placed by Eratosthenes about B.C. 1313. Cf. Clinton, *F. H.* 65.

d 3 *τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ζωῆς Ἀβραάμ*. On the years of Abraham see C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, No. 2, 187, and the same author's article on the *Chronology of the O. T.* in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* i. 398, which should be consulted on all points of Biblical chronology.

d 4 *ἔτη φε'*. In like manner Clinton, *F. H.* 118, places the Exodus 505 years after the birth of Abraham.

d 6 *ἐπὶ Νίνου*. According to the fabulous account of Ctesias the Assyrian empire was founded by Ninus about B.C. 2182, or some 1000 years before the capture of Troy (Clinton, *F. H.* 101, 114).

d 9 *ὁ μάγος*. Zoroaster may be regarded as the founder of the Magian religion, but his date is quite uncertain; according

to Justin the historian he was king of Bactriana, and conquered by Ninus (Clinton, 114).

d 14 *Χρονικοῖς Κανόσιν.* The work is described by Eusebius himself as 'chronological tables, to which is prefixed an epitome of universal history drawn from various sources.' 'The context of a second passage, where Eusebius refers to his Chronicle (*Praep. Ev.* x. 9), accounts very clearly for the interest which Christians felt in the study of comparative chronology. If their heathen opponents contrasted the antiquity of their rites with the novelty of the Christian religion, the Christian apologists retorted by proving that the most celebrated Grecian legislators and philosophers were very much junior to the Hebrew legislator, and to the prophets who had beforehand testified of Christ, and who had taught a religion of which the Christian was the legitimate continuation' (Dr. G. Salmon, Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*).

485 a 3 *συσκευήν.* See 31 a 1, note.

a 7 *ἀναμφηρίστως.* Clem. Al. 387 *δειχθήσεται ἀναμφηρίστως πάσης σοφίας ἀρχαιοτάτη ἡ κατὰ Ἑβραίους φιλοσοφία.* Clement there treats the same subject as Eusebius in this chapter, namely, the comparative chronology of Hebrews and Greeks.

b 2 *Σαγχουνιάθων.* On Sanchoniathon cf. 30 d 6, 31 a, b, c, where see the notes.

486 a 8 *Ἴναχος.* Clinton, *F. H.* 14 'Inachus the father of Phoroneus was the highest term in Grecian history. Africanus makes him a little older than Moses. Eusebius has placed Moses 300 years below him, but agrees with Africanus in placing Inachus 700 years before the fall of Troy.'

b 8 *Τριόπα.* Triopas, or Triops, was according to Apollodorus (i. 7. 4) a son of Canace and Poseidon, and according to Pausanias (ii. 22. 2) the father of Pelasgus. See Clinton, 16.

c 2 *ὁ ἐπὶ Ὠγύγου.* In the reign of Ogyges the first king of Thebes the overflow of the lake Copais, caused by the influx of the Cephissus and other streams, inundated Boeotia and part of Attica. See *Dict. Class. Geogr.*, 'Boeotia,' 410 b.

c 3 *Ἰώ.* Io, like Isis, was supposed to be the goddess of the moon: cf. Hdt. i. 2; ii. 41 *τὸ γὰρ Ἴσιος ἄγαλμα ἐὸν γυναικήϊον βούκερών ἐστι, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι.*

487 a 2 *οἱ ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν.* Clinton, *F. H.* 156 'There are

two accounts of the age of Pythagoras, differing from each other nearly forty years. By one computation he was thirty-one years of age in B.C. 539, by another he was near seventy. The latter calculation is founded upon Eratosthenes and Antiochus; the former computation is founded upon Aristoxenus and Iamblichus. According to Aristoxenus he was forty years of age when he quitted the court of Polycrates of Samos; according to Iamblichus he was fifty-seven in B.C. 513, which places his birth at B.C. 570.' Democritus was much later.

a 6 χιλίοις πεντακοσίοις. This interval is nearly 500 years too long.

c 3 τὰς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἱστορίας παραθέντες. Much light is thrown upon the method adopted by Africanus and Eusebius in their *Chronicles* by a passage quoted by Routh (*Rell. Sacr.* ii. 425) from Scaliger's *Prolegomena in Chronica Eusebii*, f. 3:

'Neither Eusebius nor Africanus undertook to write without being previously provided with some Hebrew transaction which fell upon a certain date of Grecian history, λαβόμενος, as Africanus says, μιᾶς πράξεως Ἑβραϊκῆς ὁμοχρόνου πράξει ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἱστορηθείσῃ.'

To obtain a foundation for his work Africanus had first to ascertain an interval; as one terminus (τὸ ἀφ' οὗ) he took the Exodus, as the other (τὸ ἐφ' ὅ) the first year of Cyrus, Ol. 55. 1. But the interval chosen by Eusebius was the seventy years of the Captivity; the *a quo*, the capture of Zedekiah, the *ad quem*, the second year of Darius Hystaspes.

10] d 5 The whole of Chapter X is taken from the third book of the *Chronicon* of Julius Africanus, as we learn from the heading of the chapter and from 491 b 5. Africanus, a man of great learning and influence, went on an embassy to the Emperor Heliogabalus (A.D. 218–222), and persuaded him to permit the rebuilding of Nicopolis or Emmaus, not the Emmaus of Luke xxiv, but a city about twenty miles north-west of Jerusalem. 'Of this city it is probable that Africanus was not only an inhabitant, but also its Bishop' (Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* ii. 222). Routh has edited the extant Fragments of his works, (1) an Epistle to Origen *On the Story of Susanna*, (2) an Epistle to Aristides *On the Genealogies of our Saviour in the Gospels*, and (3) the *Chronicon* in five Books. These Fragments, with Routh's Commentaries upon them, occupy

more than half of Volume II of the *Reliquiae Sacrae*: the text there given has been both corrected and enlarged by extracts from the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncellus and from other works, especially from the MS. of Eusebius in the library of St. John's College, Oxford. Cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 31, and Hieronym. *De Viris illustr.* 63.

Μέχρι μὲν τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων. This statement is also found in Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gr.* 12 οὐδὲν Ἕλλησι πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀκριβὲς ἱστόρηται.

d 7 ἠκρίβωνται πολλοῖς. Routh conjectures ἠκρίβουν τὰ πολλά, but without any support from MSS.

488 b 2 ἀφαιρῶν τε καὶ προστιθείς. Africanus finding that the date of the Exodus was fixed by most historians as contemporary with Inachus, 1200 years before the first Olympiad, took that date as the foundation of his Chronology 'ad quod praeterita tempora et a quo sequentia deduceret, κατὰ προσθαφαίρεσιν, ut ipse loquitur, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν εἰς τὰ προηγούμενα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρόσθεσιν εἰς τὰ ἑπόμενα' (Scaliger, ibid.).

c 1 Ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη νε'. B.C. 559. 'Cyrus began to reign in Persia within Ol. 55. 1.' Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* 155; cf. 100 fin. But both the *Cylinder of Cyrus* and the *Annals of Nabonidus* show that the reign of Cyrus, dating from his conquest of Astyages, did not begin till B.C. 549.

c 2 Θαλλοῦ. Thallus is connected with Castor again 489 a, and seems to have been a contemporary writer.

c 3 Κάστορος. On Castor see 489 a.

c 5 τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει. Routh, 426 'I am afraid these calculations do not rest on true support.' The dates are in fact very much confused. Africanus fixes the return from the Captivity under Zerubbabel at the beginning of the reign of Cyrus *in Persia* (B.C. 559), instead of his capture of Babylon, B.C. 538. It is also very uncertain from what date the commencement of the seventy years of the Captivity should be calculated.

d 6 '⟨Τὰ⟩ δὲ πρὸ τούτων pro τὰς δὲ πρὸ τούτων scribi sequentia postulant' (Routh).

d 9 Φορωνέως. Aristid. *Apolog.* ii 'The rest of the family was descended from Inachus and Phoroneus.' Cf. Clinton, *F. H.* 15 'By all testimonies Phoroneus was an aboriginal chief of the

predominant tribe of the Pelasgians. His subjects were Pelasgians and his successors Pelasgians till the coming of Danaus. The ancient chronologers attempted to arrange the events recorded in their early traditions according to the reigns of this Pelasgian dynasty which ruled at Argos. Tatian has supplied the synchronisms, which are also given by Clemens Alexandrinus.'

489 a 3 ⟨οἱ τὰ⟩. For ταῦτα γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἱστοροῦντες Viger would prefer ταῦτα γὰρ ἱστοροῦσιν, and Routh adopts ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἱστοροῦντες from the *Cohort. ad Gent.* 9 καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱστοροῦντες, a passage which Africanus has here adopted almost word for word. Philochorus (B. C. 306–260) was a voluminous writer on Athenian history and other subjects. There is a long catalogue of his works in Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

a 4 τὰς Ἀτθίδας. Thucydides, i. 97, mentions the *Attic History* (ἡ Ἀττικὴ συγγραφή) of Hellanicus, in which he had described the origin and establishment of the power of Athens. On *Atthis* or *Atthides* as the name of a work on Athenian history cf. Donaldson, *Gk. Lit.* i. 231.

Κάστωρ. 'Castor wrote a work on Chronology in six Books, extending from Ninus to Ol. 181. He was son-in-law to Deiotarus, and probably was put to death B. C. 45' (Clinton, who often refers to his Chronology). Cf. Donaldson, ibid. ii. 110.

a 5 ὁ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας. Ps.-Just. ibid. ὁ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας ἐπιτεμών.

a 6 καί τινες. Routh's conjecture οἵτινες leaves the sentence without a finite verb.

c 2 κατὰ ἀνάλυσιν. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* viii. 918 'Now there is a difference between demonstration (ἀπόδειξις) and analysis, for in this latter each of the points to be proved (ἀποδεικνυμένων) is proved by some things also requiring proof, until, after these have been proved by others, we run back to things certain in themselves or to things evident to sense and understanding; which is called analysis. But demonstration is when the point in question reaches us from the first premisses through all the intermediate steps.'

c 5 ὃς ἔκτισεν Ἐλευσῖνα. According to Pausan. 93 Eleusis was so named after its founder Eleusis, said by some to be a son of Hermes, but by others of Ogyges.

c 7 Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα. The passage of Africanus here passed over

by Eusebius is supplied by Routh from Syncellus (64 b ed. Paris).

c 8 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τούτου χρόνους. Cf. Routh, 431 'Although other well-known writers besides Africanus asserted that Moses lived about these times (of Ogyges and Inachus), yet most of the more recent chronologers have been convinced by Eusebius (in the *Chronicon*) that the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt was about 200 years later.'

d 3 ἔτη κε'. For 'twenty-five' (κε') 'we must read twenty-seven (κζ') to make up the sum 1237.' According to Clement of Alexandria Joshua ruled after the death of Moses twenty-seven years, of which 'he rested in the good land twenty-five years.' Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* v. 1. 29) says that after the death of Moses Joshua was their leader for twenty-five years (Routh).

490 a 7 Φιλόχορος. Cf. 489 a 3.

b 6 'Απίων. Cf. 496 d 4.

b 8 'Αμώσιος. Cf. *Auth. and Arch.* 172 'From a tomb at El Kab we have definite information as to the expulsion of the Hyksos. Here the high admiral Aahmes, son of Abana, recounts how the city of Avaris was taken and the Hyksos were finally subdued by Aahmes I, the founder of the eighteenth Dynasty.' In the inscription Avaris is called Het-Wart, pronounced Hawari in the Graeco-Roman period, and Amosis, or Aahmes I, Nebpehti-ra.

On the attempts to mix up the account of the sojourn of the Israelites and their Exodus with the history of the Shepherds see Rawlinson, Hdt. ii. 355. The similarity of the names Aahmes, Amosis, Amasis added to the confusion.

c 1 Μέμνηται δὲ καὶ 'Ηρόδοτος. Cf. Hdt. ii. 162, where there is no mention of Amosis or the Jews, but of Amasis who lived about a thousand years later.

c 3 τρόπῳ δέ τινι. Cf. Hdt. ii. 104 'The Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the only nations who have practised circumcision from the earliest times. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine confess that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians.' 'Herodotus apparently alludes to the Jews. Palestin and Philistin are the same name' (G. W.), note. Cf. Josh. v. 5. 7; John vii. 22.

c 4 'Ασσυρίους. 'Herodotus is justified in calling the Jews Syrians' (not Assyrians, as in Eusebius [Africanus]) as they were

comprehended under that name, and they were ordered to 'speak and say before the Lord God: A Syrian ready to perish was my father,' &c. Deut. xxvi. 5 (G. W.).

d 2 *κατακλυσμοί.* With this catalogue compare what Eusebius himself has said above, 484 c.

d 3 *Σπαρτοί.* The men sprung from the dragon's teeth, sown by Cadmus. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 105 'Spargit humi iussos, mortalia semina, dentes.' Pausan. ix. 5.

d 6 *ἀποικία.* The migration of the Ionians from Attica to the west coast of Asia Minor, where they founded twelve cities, is recorded in Hdt. i. 142 sq., Strab. 633, and Pausan. 524.

491 a 4 *Ὠγύγου.* There was a flood in Boeotia in the time of Ogyges, caused by the overflowing of the lake Copais. Another flood is mentioned by Pausanias (ix. 756) 'The Boeotians say that there were formerly other inhabited towns near the lake, called Athens and Eleusis: and that in winter time the lake overflowed and buried them.'

a 8 *τῷ Τρικαράνῳ.* Cf. Pausan. 490. Anaximenes and Lampsacus 'wrote histories of the *Antiquities of Greece*, and of the exploits of Philip the son of Amyntas and of Alexander afterwards. . . . Anaximenes seems also to have punished an enemy very cleverly but also very spitefully. He had a natural turn for sophistry and for imitating the arguments of sophists. And as he had a quarrel with Theopompus the son of Damasistratus, he wrote a book upon the Athenians which was at the same time an abusive treatise against the Lacedaemonians and Thebans. And as it was a very accurate imitation of his style, he wrote the name of Theopompus on the title of the book, and sent it about to the various cities: and though he had written it himself, yet the enmity against Theopompus was greatly increased throughout all Greece.'

b 3 *πλάσσειν . . . μετέπλαττε,* a punning explanation of the legend.

b 5 *ὁ Ἀφρικανός.* On Africanus, and the help which Eusebius derived from his Chronicle, see C. H. Turner, *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* No. 2, 194.

11] **c** 1 *Νῦν δέ.* The whole chapter consists of extracts from Tatian's *Address to the Greeks*, of which the original title is Τατιανοῦ πρὸς Ἕλληνας. Eusebius has copied out the whole of 31.

except a few words at the end, and 36–41 entire. The same treatise had been previously used by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 378) in a passage quoted below by Eusebius, 496 d 1. Cf. Harnack, *Texte u. Unt.* i. 10.

d 8 ὁ Ῥηγῖνος. Nothing is known of Theagenes of Rhegium beyond what is here stated.

d 9 Stesimbrotus, of Thasos (Plat. *Ion* 530 C; Strab. x. 472), lived in the time of Pericles, and wrote a book entitled, *Of Themistocles, and Thucydides, and Pericles* (Athen. xiii. 589), besides the commentary on Homer here mentioned.

Ἀντίμαχος. Cf. 467 a 5.

d 10 Διονύσιος, 'of Olynthus,' is otherwise unknown.

492 a 1 Ἔφορος. Cf. 464 b 6, note.

a 2 Μεγακλείδης is mentioned by Athenaeus (xii. 513) as censuring the poets who followed Homer and Hesiod for their treatment of the myths concerning Heracles.

Χαμαιλέων. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 351. Zeller, *Outlines*, 64, speaking of Chamaeleon and other pupils of Theophrastus, says, 'they are rather scholars and men of literature than philosophers.'

a 3 Zenodotus of Ephesus (*circ.* B. C. 280) was the first superintendent of the famous library at Alexandria, especially distinguished by his works on Homer and other Epic poets. One of his Homeric criticisms is mentioned by Athenaeus (i. 12, aliter 21), who refers to him also in x. 412 a and elsewhere. Suidas calls him the first editor (διορθωτής) of the Homeric poems.

Aristophanes of Byzantium (B. C. 200 *circ.*), one of the most famous of the Alexandrian grammarians, pupil of Zenodotus and Eratosthenes, and teacher of the still more celebrated Aristarchus. For a full account of these learned men the reader is referred to Smith's *Dictionary of Gk. and R. Biography*, or to Donaldson, *Hist. of Lit. of Greece*, i. 309 ff.

On Callimachus see Donaldson, i. 260, but the name is here given in error by Eusebius, or his copyists, for Callistratus, a well-known pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium.

a 4 Crates, founder of a school of grammar at Pergamus in opposition to the Alexandrian grammarians. His chief work was a commentary on Homer in which he protested against the critical method of Aristarchus. Sent as ambassador to Rome by Attalus (B. C. 175 *circ.*), he introduced the study of grammar at Rome.

Eratosthenes, B.C. 276–196, the great astronomer who discovered the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the magnitude of the earth, was also eminent as a grammarian and historian, and the first founder of scientific chronology.

Ἀρίσταρχος, 'the most celebrated grammarian and critic in all antiquity,' devoted his life to correcting and commenting on the texts of all the chief poets of Greece, especially of Homer.

On Apollodorus see 498 d 4.

b 4 *ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα*, omitted by Schwartz in his text of Tatian, seems to have been rightly preserved in Eusebius. On Philochorus see above 489 a, and for a full account of his works see Donaldson, i. 232 ff.

b 5 Ἀρχίππου. The name Ἀρξίππου, in Gaisford's text, is of questionable formation, and is certainly a corruption of Ἀρχίππου. He was the archon eponymus of Ol. 114. 4.

c 3 Ἀρχιλόχῳ. At B.C. 687, Ol. 23. 2, Clinton writes: 'The earliest notice of Archilochus is at B.C. 708, the latest at B.C. 665. He might have been eminent forty-five years.' On Archilochus and his poetry compare the interesting sketch in the late G. S. Farnell's *Greek Lyric Poetry*.

d 5 *μὴ μόνον ὕστερος*. 'I would rather retain the negative *μή*, and strike out the adverb *μόνον*' (Viger). The sentence would then run thus: 'Let it be granted however that Homer was not later than the Trojan war, but let him be supposed to have lived,' &c. There is however no authority in the MSS. for omitting *μόνον*, and the reading *μὴ μόνον ὕστερος* is approved by Schwartz. It must be understood as: 'not only not later.' Though *μὴ ὅπως* is thus used (Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3. 10 *μὴ ὅπως ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι ἐδύνασθε*), I can find no example of *μὴ μόνον* in this sense.

493 a 1 *διηγήσεις*. Schwartz reading *διηγήσεις ἢ * ** supposes that there is here a lacuna in the MSS., which he would supply thus; *ἢ τὸν ἐξαπατᾶν πειρώμενον τὰς περὶ τῶν δοξῶν μακρολογίας.* The addition is unnecessary, and not very intelligibly expressed.

Βηρωσσός. Cf. 413 d. Schwartz gives the name Βηρωσός, not Βηρωσσός.

a 3 *μετὰ Σέλευκον*, Eus. codd., *μετ' αὐτόν* (sc. Ἀλεξάνδρον), Schwartz. The order is, Alexander, Seleucus Nicator, Antiochus I (Soter), Antiochus II, Θεός. See Schwartz, *Index auctorum*,

'Berosus'; 'Eusebius suo arbitrio τῷ μετὰ Σέλευκον τρίτῳ correxit, cum Berosi dedicationem ad Antiochum II Θεόν referret. Quod si recte fecit, certe Berosus libros suos alteri Antiocho tum dedicasse censendus est cum ille regnum cum patre commune obtinuit i.e. ante a. 261.'

a 4 ἀφηγεῖταί τινος αὐτῶν ὄνομα Ναβουχοδονόσορ. I cannot find that ἀφηγεῖσθαι, in the sense of 'mentioning,' ever governs a genitive: otherwise we should translate, 'mentions one of them Nabuchodonosor by name.'

b 2 καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον Ἰόβας, ὃς . . . If ὃς be omitted, as in Tatian, τεκμήριον is in apposition to the following sentence. Iobas seems to be unknown except from this passage.

b 6 Theodotus is named by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 23, but without any description.

Hypsicrates is known only from this passage.

Μῶχος. See 415 d 8. Strab. 757 εἰ δὲ δεῖ Ποσειδωνίῳ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα παλαιόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς Σιδωνίου Μώχου πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων γενομένου.

b 7 Λαῖτος. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 387 'as is said by Menander of Pergamus, and Laetus in his *Phoenician History.*'

c 3 In the Odyssey Menelaus twice mentions his visit to Phoenicia, L. iv. 83

'From Cyprus to the far Phoenician coast
(Sidon the capital) I stretch'd my toil
Through regions fatten'd with the flows of Nile.'

Ibid. 618

'A pledge the sceptred power of Sidon gave,
When to his realm I plough'd the orient wave' (Pope).

Herodotus, ii. 116, gives a different account of the arrival of Menelaus and Helen in Egypt, which he had heard from the priests. In *Il.* vi. 290 Homer makes Paris visit Sidon on his way to Troy

'Rich garments, by Sidonian women wrought,
Whom godlike Paris had from Sidon brought' (Derby).

c 4 Εἵραμον. The name of the king of Tyre is given as Cheiram by Tatian, as in 2 Sam. v. 11 (Sept.), where it first occurs. Cf. 447 c 1. There is no mention of this marriage in the Bible, but Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 336) relates that 'Eiram gave his daughter to Solomon about the time of the

arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia, after the capture of Troy, as is said by Menander of Pergamus, and Laetus in *The Phoenician History.*'

c 7 **Μένανδρος.** This Menander of Pergamus is probably the same as 'Menander of Ephesus,' of whom Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 18) says that 'he wrote the transactions which occurred among the Greeks and Barbarians in the reign of each of the kings.' Josephus then adds a considerable fragment from the work of Menander concerning Hiram and his successors.

d 2 **Πτολεμαῖος.** The account of Ptolemaeus of Mendes in Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 328 is taken almost word for word from this passage of Tatian.

d 5 **Μωσέως ἡγουμένου.** Cf. 490 b 8, note; Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 16, quoted below, 501 d 9.

d 7 **ὁ γραμματικός.** Cf. 496 d 4, note.

d 10 **ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις.** It is not known whether this was a separate work, or only a chronological table appended to the historical work mentioned above, d 3.

494 a 4 **Ἀργείων βασιλεῖς.** The various accounts of the early Pelasgic kings of Argos, and of the later dynasty of Danaus and his successors, are very fully discussed by Clinton in the first part of the *Fast. Hell. Epit.* 15 ff.

Ἴναχος, 'the father of Phoroneus was the highest term in Grecian history' (Clinton).

Φορωνεύς. 'In the Pelasgic branch of the nation Phoroneus is in the eighteenth generation before the Trojan war' (idem).

a 6 'Danaus is in the ninth, Deucalion in the eighth, Cadmus in the seventh generation before that epoch' (idem).

Περσεύς. A second Sthenelaus is inserted between Perseus and Eurystheus in Tatian.

b 7 **κατὰ Ἴναχον.** 'Africanus makes him a little older than Moses. Eusebius has placed Moses 300 years below him, but agrees with Africanus in placing Inachus 700 years before the fall of Troy' (Clinton).

c 5 **κατακλυσμὸς ὁ πρῶτος.** Cf. 489 b 2. Clinton 14 'Africanus according to computations derived from the accounts of Philochorus, Hellanicus, Castor, and others placed the flood of Ogyges and the 55th year of the reign of Phoroneus at B.C. 1796, or 1020 years before the Olympiad of Coroebus, B.C. 776.'

c 6 κατὰ δὲ Φόρβαντα. Clinton, 15 'The ancient chronologers attempted to arrange the events recorded in their early traditions according to the reigns of this Pelasgic dynasty which ruled at Argos. Tatian has supplied the synchronisms, which are also given by Clemens Alexandrinus.' Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 379.

d 1 διφυής. Cf. 494 d 11, 498 b 4; Aristoph. *Vespae*, 348 ὦ Κέκροψ ἥρως ἄναξ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν Δρακοντίδη. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 555 'Virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis.' Cecrops was half man, half serpent. Apollod. iii. 14. 1 Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων συμφυὲς ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος, καὶ τὴν γῆν πρότερον λεγομένην Ἀκτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κεκροπίαν.

d 2 ἐπομβρία. Clinton, 36 'The flood of Deucalion is placed by Aristotle near Dodona. It was generally however placed in Thessaly.'

d 3 Ἀμφικτύονος. Amphictyon was a son of Pyrrha and Deucalion, who became king of Attica after Cranaus. Cf. Apollod. i. 7. 2. 6.

d 4 Δαρδανίας κτίσις. Dardania was a district of Mysia adjacent to Troy. Strab. 592 'The poet gives two names to these parts, at one time speaking thus

"Dardanians next,
Anchises' valiant son Aeneas led,"

where he calls them Dardanians; but at another time Dardans

"Trojans, and Lycians, and ye Dardans, fam'd
In close encounter."

And here probably was founded what in old times was called by the poet "Dardania"

"By Dardanus, of cloud-compelling Jove
Begotten, was Dardania peopled first,
(Ere sacred Ilium, populous city of men,
Was founded on the plain; as yet they dwelt
On spring-abounding Ida's lowest spurs)";

for now there is not even a vestige of a city preserved there.' These passages are quoted from Homer, *Il.* ii. 819, xv. 425, xx. 215, in Lord Derby's translation. The lines in brackets are added to Strabo's quotation.

495 a 7 παραχαράττειν. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 332 C δεῖ κἀμὲ νόμισμα παρακόψαι, καὶ παραχαράξαι τὸ βαρβαρικῇ θέσει κατεσκευασμένον Ἑλληνικῇ πολιτείᾳ.

b 2 παραβραβεύσωσι. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 535 C οἱ παραβραβεύοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι. Col. ii. 18 μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω, '*let no man rob you of your prize*' (R. V.).

b 5 ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποφηναμένους τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ δειχθήσεται. The work here promised is not extant, and it is doubtful whether Tatian means that he had already written it, or only designed to write it.

b 6 τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον, a phrase which I have not found elsewhere. Tatian has τὸ δὲ συνέχον, for which see the note on 338 a 4, and Polyb. ii. 12. 3, 52. 4.

c 1 Λίνου. Cf. G. S. Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 13 'The *Linos-song* is said to be of Phoenician origin, and to have derived its name from the words ai li nu, "woe is us," which probably formed part of the refrain of the song. The Greeks, misunderstanding this, came to regard Linus as the name of a youth whose untimely fate at the hands of Apollo is bewailed, or sometimes as the inventor of the mournful dirge bearing what was supposed to be his name.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 570; Hesiod, *Fr.* i.

Φιλάμμωνος. Cf. Pausan. 362 The river Balyra in Messenia 'was so called, they say, because Thamyris threw away his lyre there on account of his blindness: he was the son of Philammon and of the nymph Argiope. And Argiope lived for a while at Parnassus, but when she became pregnant removed to the Odrysae, because Philammon would not take her home to wife. And this is why they call Thamyris an Odrysian and a Thracian.'

c 2 On Musaeus see 462 d, note 6 a.

On Demodocus see Hom. *Od.* iii. 267, viii. 62, xiii. 27; and on Phemius *Od.* i. 154, xvii. 263, xxii. 330.

Epimenides is supposed to be the Cretan 'prophet' referred to by St. Paul, Tit. i. 12. See 226 c 6.

c 3 Ἀρισταίου. On Aristaeus, or Aristeas, see Hdt. iv. 13. 14 'Aristeas also, son of Caÿstrobius, a native of Proconnesus, says in the course of his poem that, rapt in Bacchic fury, he went as far as the Issedones. Beyond them dwelt the Arimaspi, men with one eye; still farther, the gold-guarding griffins.' The story of the sudden death and subsequent reappearance of Aristeas, narrated in c. 14, may possibly be based, as Canon Rawlinson

suggests, on 'the alternate appearance and disappearance of an enterprising traveller.'

c 4 Ἀσβόλου. Cf. Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 184 (describing the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithae as depicted on the shield)

Κένταυροι δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἠγερέθοντο
ἀμφὶ μέγαν Πετραῖον ἰδ' Ἄσβολον οἰωνιστήν.

Asbolus therefore is regarded as skilful in augury.

c 5 ⟨Βάκιδος⟩. For Ἰσάτιδος, a name otherwise unknown, Schwartz edits Βάκιδος. The Boeotian prophet, whose metrical oracles were so famous, could hardly be omitted in such a list. His predictions are quoted by Herodotus, viii. 20. 77, ix. 43, and mentioned with great respect by Cicero, *Div.* i. 18, in connexion with Epimenides and the Erythraean Sibyl. Cf. Pausan. iv. 27. 2, x. 12. 11; Aristoph. *Av.* 899–916; *Pax,* 1009–15.

Δρύμωνός τε is thought by Schwartz to be corrupt. No ancient poet of this name is known, but only a Pythagorean mentioned by Iamblichus. Cf. Fabric., *Bibl. Gr.* i. 6.

Εὔκλου. Cf. Pausan. 828 χρησμολόγους δὲ ἄνδρας Κύπριόν τε Εὔκλουν καὶ Ἀθηναῖον Μουσαῖον. In 858 Euclus is said to have foretold the birth of Homer in Cyprus:

'In sea-girt Cyprus shall a mighty bard
Of fair Themisto in the field be born,
Whose fame from wealthy Salamis shall spread,
When far from Cyprus wafted o'er the sea
He first great Hellas' countless woes shall sing
In verse immortal that can ne'er grow old.'

c 6 τοῦ Σαμίου. Of Horus the Samian I can find no mention elsewhere. Cf. Fabric., i. 13.

⟨Προναπίδου.⟩ Cf. Diod. Sic. iii. 67 'Linus, it is said, wrote in the Pelasgian script the deeds of the first Dionysius, and the rest of the mythological time, and left them behind in his memoirs. And in like manner the Pelasgic alphabet was used by Orpheus and by Pronapides the teacher of Homer and a poet of genius.'

c 7 Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος. Cf. Theocr. xxiv. 103

γράμματα μὲν τὸν παῖδα γέρων Λίνος ἐξεδίδαξεν.

Apollod. ii. 4. 9 ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τῇ κιθάρᾳ πληγεὶς ἀπέθανεν. In Athen. iv. 164 there is an amusing fragment of the *Linus,* a comedy of Alexis on Hercules' choice of a book to read.

d 2 Τληπολέμου. Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 657.

d 3 ἄλλως τε καί. An additional proof that Moses was earlier than Orpheus as a writer is this, that the writings attributed to Orpheus were said to be the work of Onomacritus, who lived as late as Ol. 50. On ἄλλως τε καί see Viger, *De Idiot. Gr.* 378 and 778.

d 4 Ὀνομακρίτου. See Müller, *Hist. Gk. Lit.* 235 'The Orphic poet of whom we know the most is Onomacritus. . . . He collected the oracles of Musaeus for the Pisistratids; in which work the poet Lasus is said (according to Herodotus) to have detected him in a forgery.' Cf. Hdt. vii. 6; Pausan. 53.

d 8 πλείονα. Viger conjectures πλείονας, 'quasi dicat Amphionem tam antiquum esse, ut alium praeterea φιλομαθῆ neminem quaeri patiatur.' But the change is unnecessary. The great antiquity of Amphion made it impossible to collect any further particulars (πλείονα) concerning him.

d 9 Δημόδοκος. Cf. Hom. *Od.* viii. 43 καλέσασθε δὲ θεῖον ἀοιδὸν | Δημόδοκον κ.τ.λ.

Φήμιος. Hom. *Od.* i. 154

κῆρυξ δ' ἐν χερσὶν κίθαριν περικαλλέα θῆκε
Φημίῳ, ὅς ῥ' ἤειδε παρὰ μνηστῆρσιν ἀνάγκῃ.

496 a 2 σφόδρα. After this word Schwartz marks a lacuna, which one of his friends, V. de Wilamowitz, supplies by ἐπιμελῶς τὰ κατεπείγοντα.

a 8 On Lycurgus see note on 222 b, and compare Rawlinson's note on Hdt. i. 65 with Pausan. iii. 2. The dates of Lycurgus and other early kings of Sparta cannot be fixed with any accuracy: see Clinton, *F. H.* 202.

b 2 Δράκων. Clinton, *F. H.* 90; B.C. 621, Ol. 39. 4 'Legislation of Draco.'

b 3 Σόλων. The archonship and legislation of Solon are placed by Clinton (92) in B.C. 594, Ol. 46. 3.

Πυθαγόρας. 'Pythagoras flourished in Ol. 62, at the time of Polycrates of Samos' (Clinton, *F. H.* 157).

b 4 Τὰς δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδας. Cf. Arethae *Schol.* ad loc. Tatiani: καὶ μὴν Πίνδαρος ὁ λυρικὸς οὕτως φησίν· '"Ητοι Ὀλύμπια μὲν ἔστησεν Ἡρακλῆς.' πῶς οὖν Ἡρακλῆς μιᾷ γενεᾷ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν προύχων, ὁ κατὰ Πίνδαρον τὰ Ὀλύμπια στήσας, ὕστερον εὑρεθήσεται τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ν' ἔτεσιν, εἴγε αὐτὸς ἔστησεν τὰ Ὀλύμπια; Pind. *Ol.* ii. 3.

c 8 ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ποίησις. This is rendered by Viger 'res ab eo creatae.' But ποίησις has properly an active sense; and for the meaning of κατὰ Θεόν compare 2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη, and Rom. viii. 27 κατὰ Θεὸν ἐντυγχάνει.

c 10 ἀνεξαρνήτου. Just. M. *Dial.* 30 ἀνεξαρνήτους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ.

12] d 2 Κασσιανῷ. Cassianus (Julius) is described by Clement (*Strom.* iii. 552) as the founder of Docetism, and author of a treatise Περὶ ἐγκρατείας. Dr. G. Salmon (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.*) says that 'The coincidences between Tatian and Cassian seem too close to be accidental, but we have not data to determine their relative priority.'

d 3 ὑπόμνημα. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 734 γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεύς, and 735 γραφὴ ὑπομνηστική.

d 4 ὁ Πλειστονίκης. Apion was called by Tiberius 'cymbalum mundi,' probably from his boastful vanity. He was a bitter enemy of the Jews, and tried to excite Caligula against them. His work against the Jews was answered by Josephus in the *Contra Apionem.* His surname Pleistoneices is thought to describe his quarrelsome character. But Suidas calls him a son of Pleistoneices, and both in Clement and Eusebius the name is spelt Pleistonices.

497 a 4 τὸν Μενδήσιον. Cf. 490 e 5.

a 5 'Αούαριν. On Abaris, or Avaris, see 501 c.

b 6 ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις. 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus employed twenty-two years in collecting his materials and in preparing his history, and completed it in B.C. 7. . . . He had been dead some years before A.D. 18' (Clinton, *F. H.* 417). Dion. Hal. i. 28 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δαναὸν ὁρμηθέντας ὁμοίως ἐκεῖθεν συνοικίσαι τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην σχεδὸν τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι πόλεων Ἄργος.

b 8 διφυοῦς. Cf. 494 d 1, note, 498 b 4.

b 9 ὁ Τατιανός. Clement borrows largely from Tatian throughout the passage.

c 1 Τούτων δὲ ἄλλα πεντήκοντα. Clement adds δυοῖν, which is omitted in my text by oversight. If for πεντήκοντα we put the numeral letter ν', we get a satisfactory reading which accounts for the variations ἄλλαιν δυοῖν O, and ἄλλων δυοῖν I.

d 3 Αἰγιαλέως. Pausan. ii. 5. 5 (123) 'The people of Sicyon, who are neighbours to the Corinthians on this side, say of their

own country, that Aegialeus an autochthon was the first man therein, and that the part of Peloponnesus which is still called Aegialus was named after him as being the king. . . . And the son of Aegialeus they say was Europs, and the son of Europs Telchis, and the son of Telchis Apis.'

d 4 Κρητός. We can hardly be wrong in adding the name 'Cres' to the examples given by Clinton (*F. H.* 3) of the names of races or clans converted into the names of individuals, such as 'the brothers *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Car* in Herodotus.'

d 6 Φορωνίδος. See 488 d 9, note. Phoronis was a name of Io as daughter or sister, of Phoroneus. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 668

> 'Nec superum rector mala tanta Phoronidis ultra
> Ferre potest.'

d 9 τῶν τῇδε τῇ πόλει. 'Ex glossemate fluxit quod habet Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 138 (380 Pott) et unus de Platonis codicibus τῇδε τῇ πόλει.' The true reading in Plato τῶν τῇδε means 'the men of these parts,' i. e. Greeks: cf. *Phaedr.* 247 C οὔτε τις . . . τῶν τῇδε ποιητής.

περὶ Φορωνέως τε. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 22 A, Solon's account of his conversation with the Egyptian priests.

d 10 τὸν κατακλυσμόν. The flood meant is that of Deucalion and Pyrrha, as in 488 d 8.

498 a 1 Φόρβαντα. Pausan. ii. 145 'To Argos were born Pirasus and Phorbas, and to Phorbas Triopas, and to Triopas Iasus and Agenor, . . . and Crotopus the son of Agenor received the kingdom after Iasus, and the son of Crotopus was Sthenelas.' The whole passage 497 d 10–498 b 6 is taken word for word rom Tatian, except the quotation from Homer.

a 5 Δαναοῦ. Pausan. l. c. 'Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor son of Sthenelas, and ended the kingdom of the descendants of Agenor.'

a 10 ⟨τῆς Εὐρώπης⟩. Apollod. iii. 1. 1. 5 ὡς δὲ πᾶσαν ποιούμενοι ζήτησιν εὑρεῖν ἦσαν Εὐρώπην ἀδύνατοι, τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδὴν ἀπογνόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ κατῴκησαν.

a 11 Λυγκέα. Pausan. ibid. 'And the events which followed are equally known to all the world, the violence of the daughters of Danaus towards their husbands, and how on the death of Danaus Lynceus succeeded to the government.'

Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 33

'Una de multis face nuptiali
Digna periurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax et in omne virgo
Nobilis aevum.

b 3 Ἀκρίσιον. The story of Acrisius, Danae, and Perseus is told at much length by Apollod. *Biblioth.* ii. 4. 1. 1–4. 3; Hor. *Od.* iii. 16; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 607, v. 236; Soph. *Antig.* 947.

b 4 ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ. Cf. Apollod. iii. 15. 1 γήμας δὲ Ἐρεχθεὺς Πραξιθέαν . . . ἔσχε παῖδας μὲν Κέκροπα Πάνδωρον, κ.τ.λ., and see note on 494 d 1.

c 2 Ἀγίας. The name in Clement is Αἰγίας, but Ἀγίας in Athen. iii. 86 Ἀγίας δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

μηνὸς Πανέμου. Panemus was the last month of the Lacedaemonian year corresponding to September. As the days of the last decade were counted backwards, ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος was the twenty-third or twenty-second day of the month, according as the month was full or hollow, that is, consisting of thirty or twenty-nine days.

c 7 τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. Cf. Pausan. iii. 278, x. 862. *The little Iliad* was by some attributed to Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, one of the earlier and most prolific of the Cyclic poets, about B.C. 765. He is mentioned by Pausan. ii. 119 as the author of Genealogical Poems, but without any mention of *The little Iliad.*

d 1 Τληπολέμου. Cf. 495 d 2.

υἱὸς Ἡρακλέους. Clinton, *F. H.* 6 'Three arguments establish that Hercules was a real person. First, his acts were recorded by . . . Achaeans and Aeolians and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people (the Dorians). Secondly, his descendants in many branches remained in many states to the historical times. His son Tlepolemus, and his grandson and great-grandson Cleodaeus and Aristomachus, are acknowledged to be real persons. . . . Lastly and especially, Hercules is authenticated by the testimonies in the Iliad and Odyssey.' Note: 'Hercules is called a man—ἀνήρ—in *Il.* v. 396. His death is mentioned in *Il.* xviii. 117 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα.'

d 4 Apollodorus, an Athenian grammarian and pupil of Aristarchus, the author of the *Bibliotheca*, an extant work on Greek

Mythology, wrote many other works, besides the *Chronicle* in iambic verse, comprising the history from the capture of Troy down to his own time, B. C. 143; Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*; Donaldson, l. c. i. 321.

499 b 3 Ἴσιδι. 'I have supplied the name Isis from Clement, which was wanting in Eusebius: for Isis is the same whom in the next line he asserts to have been named Io' (Viger).

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τὴν Ἰώ φασι. Clem. Ἶσιν δὲ τὴν καὶ Ἰώ φασιν, κ.τ.λ. But neither reading gives a perfect construction.

c 1 Λέων. Leon the Egyptian is very frequently mentioned by St. Augustine as a priest of high rank at the time when Alexander was in Egypt, and as having explained to Alexander that the gods of Greece were originally men. Cf. Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, viii. 5, &c.

c 4 Ἀρίστιππος. Diog. L. ii. 8 says there were four persons named Aristippus, (1) the well-known disciple of Socrates, (2) another who wrote about Arcadia, (3) the grandson of (1) ὁ μητροδίδακτος, and (4) a Neo-Platonist. The second is evidently meant here.

c 5 Aristeas, 'an Argive, who invited Pyrrhus to Argos, B. C. 272, as his rival Aristippus was supported by Antigonus Gonatas (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 30).' Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

c 7 ἐν τρίτῳ Νομίμων. This is probably the book to which Clement refers, *Protrept.* 56 Νυμφόδωρος ἐν Νομίμοις βαρβαρικοῖς.

c 8 ἐν τῷ ναῷ. Cf. Wiedemann, 189 'The tombs of the sacred bulls of Memphis, at least from the middle of the eighteenth Dynasty, i. e. from about 1500 B. C. onward, were discovered by Mariette in 1851. The gigantic and generally monolithic sarcophagi (σοροί), weighing on an average fifty-eight tons each, stand singly in separate rooms.'

d 2 Σάραπιν. Cf. G. W. (Birch, iii. 89) 'Hap-asar, or Asar-hapi, Sarapis [Hieroglyphical name of Apis in the Apis tablets at Saqquára (Memphis). He is called Apis-Osiris in the legends there].' For various derivations of the name see Plut. *Mor.* 362 B; Wiedemann, 191.

Ἆπις δὲ τρίτος ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου. Apollod. ii. 1. 1. 4 Ἆπις . . . ὀνομάσας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἀπίαν . . . ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάραπις. In these statements concerning Apis, son of Phoroneus, king of Argos, there is an evident confusion between Grecian and Egyptian mythologies.

d 3 Τιτυόν. Cf. Lucret. iii. 996 seq.; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 595; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 457.

d 7 Ἐν χρόνῳ, Pind. *Fr.* 114, which is known only from this passage of Clement.

d 10 μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. Cf. Apollod. iii. 10. 4 'Apollo slew the Cyclopes who made the thunderbolts for Zeus; and Zeus would have cast him down to Tartarus, but at the entreaty of Latona ordered him to serve a mortal for one year.' Cf. Callimach. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 47 seqq.

d 11 Ζῆθος. Zethus and Amphion were twin sons of Zeus by Antiope, who was imprisoned by her uncle Lycus and his wife Dirce, but released and avenged by her sons, who tied Dirce to the bull and dragged her about till she was killed, and then threw her into the fountain called from her Dirce. They then built the walls of Thebes. Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 2

'Movit Amphion lapides canendo.'

Zethus despised the lyre, hence (Hor. *Epist.* i. 18. 41)

'Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque
Zethi dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur
Moribus Amphion.'

The Farnese bull is part of the sculpture representing the death of Dirce: this and other parts of the story are mentioned in the fifteenth fragment of the *Antiope* of Euripides, quoted by Longinus: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου Δίρκης (Εὐριπίδης) Εἰ δέ που τύχοι | πέριξ ἑλίξας . . . εἷλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν | γυναῖκα, πέτραν, δρῦν. The imperfect metre shows that there is some omission.

d 12 Φημονόην. Pausan. x. 809 says that Phemonoe was the first and most famous priestess of Apollo, and the first who recited the oracles in hexameters. Cf. Strab. 419.

13] 500 d 3 Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν. Cf. Viger 'Supplendus et corrigendus hic locus ex Josepho.' Cf. Masp. ii. 51 'At this juncture, so runs the Egyptian record, "there came to us a king named Timaios. Under this king, then, I know not wherefore, the god caused to blow upon us a baleful wind, and in the face of all probability bands from the east, people of ignoble race, came upon us unawares, attacked the country, and subdued it easily and without fighting."' Ibid. note 2 'Fruin emended [illegible] Τίμαιος in the text of Manetho into Ἀμενεμαῖος or Ἀμενεμῆς

(*Manethonis Sebennytae Reliq.* 53–5), and Lepsius first identified this new Amenemes with the last Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, Amenemhâait, then with the third king of the thirteenth, Ra-Amenemhâit (*Königsbuch* 24).... We know too little of Manetho's style to be able to decide *a priori* whether the phrase Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν τοῦ Τίμαιος ὄνομα is or is not in harmony with manner of relating historical facts; the phrase is correct, and that should be enough to deter us from altering it, at any rate in the present state of knowledge.'

d 5 ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι. G. W., Rawlinson's *Herodotus, App.* ii. 8. 17 'These invaders constituted the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties of Manetho; and the statement that the seventeenth was composed of an equal number of shepherds and Theban kings is evidently erroneous. . . . It is not easy to determine what race of people they were; and they have been variously pronounced to be Assyrians, Scythians, Cushites (or Ethiopians) of Asia, Phoenicians, or Arabians. Manetho calls them Phoenicians, and shows them not to have been from Assyria, when he says they took precautions against "the increasing power of the Assyrians," and the character of "Shepherds" accords far better with that of the people of Arabia.' Cf. Ermann, 41.

d 6 ῥᾳδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον. Cf. Masp. ii. 51, note 3 'The apparent contradiction between the terms in which Manetho explains the conquest of Egypt (ῥᾳδίως κ.τ.λ.) has been noticed and explained by Fruin, *Manethonis Sebennytae Reliq.* 59. Padre di Cara (*Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto*, 293 et seq.) sees in it a proof that the Hyksôs had not been guilty of the atrocities of which the Egyptians accused them.'

d 10 Σώς, ποιμήν ἐστι. Masp. ii. 54 'They, the Egyptians, had already given the Bedouin the opprobrious epithet of Shaûsû—pillagers or robbers—which aptly described them: and they subsequently applied the same name to the intruders—Hiq Shaûsû—from which the Greeks derived their word Hyksôs or Hykoussôs, for this people. But we are without any clue to their real name, language, or origin.' Ibid. note 4 'As a matter of fact, the word *Hyku* means "prince" in the classical language of Egypt, or as Manetho styles it, the *sacred language*, i. e. in the idiom of the old religious, historical, and literary texts, which in later ages the populace no longer understood. Shôs, on the contrary, belongs

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to the spoken language of the later time, and does not occur in the ancient inscriptions, so that Manetho's explanation is valueless; there is but one material fact to be retained from his evidence, and that is the name Hyk-Shôs, or Hyku-Shôs, given by its inventors to the alien kings.' . . . 56 'In spite of the facts we possess, the problem is still unsolved, and the origin of the Hyksôs is as mysterious as ever.'

501 b 4 Μισφραγμούθωσις. The name in Josephus is Alisphragmuthosis. See Masp. ii. 76, who observes (note 1) that some Egyptologists 'consider Manetho's account to be a romance in which facts and names are jumbled together without any regard to truth.'

b 6 ἀρουρῶν. According to Hdt. ii. 168 'The *arura* is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits, the Egyptian cubit being the same length as the Samian,' i. e. rather more than twenty and a half inches. The *arura* 'was a little more than three-fourths of an English acre; and was only a land measure' (Rawlinson). In the passage before us *arura* must be a measure of length, probably the side of the square, a hundred Egyptian cubits. This would give a circumference of enormous extent.

b 7 τείχει τε μεγάλῳ. Masp. ii. 52 'On the ruins of the ancient town of Hâwârit-Avaris, in the Sethroite nome—a place connected by tradition with the myth of Osiris and Typhon—Salatis (king of the Hyksôs) constructed an immense entrenched camp, capable of sheltering 240,000 men.' Cf. *Auth. and Arch.* 170, 172. Amenothes, the son and successor of *Âhmosis* (Aahmes), was succeeded by his son Thûtmosis I, a copy of whose royal proclamation, preserved in the Gizeh Museum, is given by Maspero, ibid. 104. The narrative in Josephus is full of confusion.

c 8 μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι τεσσάρων. Their number is represented as exactly half the number of the besiegers. Masp. ii. 85 relates how Âhmosis built for himself a great tomb at El-Kab, a fortress on the Nile south of Thebes, and recorded the chief actions of his life on its walls. According to this inscription, 'The army to which Egypt really owed its deliverance was not the undisciplined rabble of later tradition but, on the contrary, consisted of troops similar to those which subsequently invaded Syria, some 15,000 to 20,000 in number, fully equipped and ably officered, supported moreover by a fleet ready to transfer them

across the canals and arms of the river in a vigorous condition and ready for the battle.' The whole account of the Hyksôs should be read in Maspero.

d 10 *ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι.* This is an instance of the confusion referred to in the note on 490 b 8.

14] 502 c 1 *ἐπισωρεύειν.* Athen. iii. 123 *μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ τούτοις ἐπισωρεύειν τινά.*

d 1 *Ἑβραίων.* See 304 c 4, note.

d 2 *τὸ παρώνυμον.* Plut. *Mor.* 560 D *παρωνύμῳ χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος.*

d 7 *ἔτεσι λ'.* The duration of Joshua's leadership is not mentioned. 'As regards the chronology there are no materials in the Book of Judges from which to construct an accurate reckoning of the number of years between the death of Joshua and the commencement of Eli's judgeship' (Speaker's Comm. ii. 118).

d 8 *ἀλλόφυλοι.* Judges iii. 8 '*The children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years.*'

Γοθονιήλ is the form in the Septuagint for עָתְנִיאֵל, *Othniel.*

ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα. Judges iii. 11 '*and the land had rest forty years.*'

d 9 *Ἐγλώμ.* Judges iii. 14.

d 10 *Ἀώδ*, Sept., Heb. אֵהוּד, '*Ehud.*' Cf. Judges iii. 30 '*And the land had rest fourscore years.*'

ἀλλόφυλοι. Judges iv. 3 Jabin and Sisera the captain of his host '*twenty years mightily oppressed the children of Israel.*'

503 a 1 *ἔτη μ'.* Judges v. 31 '*The land had rest forty years,*' after the defeat and death of Sisera.

Μαδιηναῖοι. Ibid. vi. 1.

a 2 *Γεδεών.* Ibid. viii. 28 '*The country was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon.*'

a 4 *Ἐσβών.* Judges xii. 8 *Ibzan* of Bethlehem.

Αἰαλών, *Elon*, Judges xii. 11.

a 5 *ἀλλόφυλοι.* Judges xiii. 1. The Philistines are usually so described in LXX.

Ἡλεὶ ἱερεύς. 1 Sam. i. 9.

b 8 *ἡ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς* = 776 B.C.

c 1 *Ῥώμην ἔκτισε*, 753 B.C.

c 8 *τοῦ ἱεροῦ.* 'The month *Ab*, in which the Temple was destroyed, was in July 587.' Clinton, *F. H.* 127.

d 14 *περὶ τροπῶν ἡλίου.* 'The solar tropics' are what we call the summer and winter solstices, when the sun begins to turn from the most northerly point of the ecliptic towards the south, and the reverse.

504 b 2 *οὐ γὰρ μόνον.* The passage is repeated 750 b 6. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 3. 9 Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος . . . ἀπείρους εἶναί φησι τὰς ἀρχάς· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ, καθάπερ ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ οὕτω γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαί φησι συγκρίσει καὶ διακρίσει μόνον, ἄλλως δ' οὔτε γίγνεσθαι οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαμένειν ἀΐδια.

b 4 *τὰ πράγματα ὁμοῦ πεφυρμένα.* Cf. Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* Proleg. 166, 280 (Plut. *Epit.* i. 3) ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως· ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ †διῇρε καὶ διεκόσμησε. A similar statement is found in Simplicius, *De Coelo* 154 and in Diog. L. ii. 6, but Eusebius seems to have altered the words, while retaining the right sense.

c 2 "*σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος.*" 'We may distinguish in him,' says Schlegel, 'a twofold personage: the *poet* whose works were dedicated to a religious solemnity, who stood under the patronage of religion, and therefore was bound in his turn to honour it; and the would-be-philosopher *sophist*, who studied to overlay those fabulous marvels of religion from which he derived the subjects of his plays with his own sceptical and liberalizing opinions.' Paley, *Preface to Euripides*, xxi, gives his own opinion, which is much more favourable, at some length, and concludes as follows: 'Euripides, however, was certainly no atheist. He believed in the Providence, the Justice, the Omnipotence, the absolute Will of a supreme Being. . . . He was no scoffer at religion in the abstract as Aristophanes was. His object seems to have been to lead men to a higher and sublimer contemplation and worship of the one great Mind, or Being, or Intelligence, who is the author and creator of all existing things. He finely describes Him (Fragm. 960) as τὸν πάνθ' ὁρῶντα καὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρώμενον.'

c 11 *Ἡράκλειτος.* Cf. Cic. *De Fin.* ii. 5. 15 'Heraclitus cognomento qui σκοτεινός perhibetur

"quia de natura nimis obscure memoravit."'

Madvig following Muretus sees here a quotation from some old Latin poet, perhaps Lucilius; 'quia' is to be taken as one syllable. The nickname is first found in Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, 5 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ σκοτεινῷ λεγόμενον Ἡρακλείτῳ.

d 1 *Παρμενίδης.* Cf. Plut. *Adv. Colotem*, 1126 D 'Zeno the

pupil of Parmenides, having made an attack upon the tyrant Demylus and failed in the attempt, maintained the doctrine of Parmenides like gold in the fire unalloyed and approved, and showed by his deeds that to a great man disgrace is terrible, but pain is feared only by children and women and men with women's souls: for he bit through his tongue and spat it at the tyrant.'

d 2 Melissus is usually placed after Zeno by about twenty years. Zeno flourished B.C. 464, according to Clinton. See 724 c 4, notes.

d 12 ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ ἀρξάμενοι. Thales was about fifty years earlier than Cyrus, and was eighty years old when Cyrus began to reign in Persia, Ol. 55. 1, but lived ten or fifteen years longer.

505 b 4 μικρῷ θᾶττον Ἀλεξάνδρου. Plato was born in May B.C. 427, and died in May B.C. 347. Alexander was born in B.C. 356, and died in B.C. 323. Therefore μικρῷ θᾶττον means that Plato was partly contemporary with Alexander, dying only twenty-four years before him.

b 5 Αὐγούστου δὲ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ. The name is given first in its Latin form, then translated into Greek.

BOOK XI

507 d 4 εὐγλωττίαν. Aristoph. *Eq.* 837 ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐγλωττίας.

508 a 2 νέους ὁμοῦ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν. Viger suggests τήν τε φρόνησιν: but though such a combination of different cases is unusual, the explanation of it is sufficiently clear. The dative expresses a special limitation of νέους, while ἡλικίαν is the usual accusative of cognate signification.

b 3 μόνῳ . . . ἀντὶ πάντων . . . Πλάτωνι. Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 191 'Nec enim posset idem Demosthenes dicere quod dixisse Antimachum, clarum poetam, ferunt, qui cum, convocatis auditoribus, legeret eis magnum illud quod novistis volumen suum et eum legentem omnes praeter Platonem reliquissent, "Legam," inquit, "nihilominus: Plato enim mihi unus instar est omnium." Merito ille et recte.' Cf. 467 a, note on Antimachus.

γνώμονι. Cf. Plut. *Amatorius*, 751 B εὖγε, νὴ Δία, ἔφη, τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐμνήσθης, καὶ χρηστέον αὐτῷ γνώμονι τοῦ ἐρωτικοῦ ἀνδρός: 968 F ἀλώπεκα ποιοῦνται γνώμονα τῆς τοῦ πάγου στερρότητος.

c 2 ἐπιτυχῶς. Cf. Plat. *Phil.* 38 D ἐπιτυχῶς εἰπών.

c 6 προησμενικέναι. Cf. Polyb. vi. 8. 3 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀσμενίζοντες τὴν ἐπιτροπήν.

1] d 1 εἰς τρία διελόντος μέρη. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 135 'The division of philosophy into Dialectics, Physics and Ethics (cf. 51) is found in fact though not in form in Plato.' Ibid. 'Out of the Socratic dialectic grows his doctrine of ideas; out of the ethical principles of his Master a detailed ethics and politics; and both are supplemented by a philosophy of Nature, which, though inferior in importance to the other branches, yet fills up the most remarkable deficiencies in the Socratic philosophy in harmony with his whole point of view.'

d 3 τὸν φυσικὸν διελομένου . . . τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων κατανόησιν. Cf. 509 c 2, where τοῦ δευτέρου, i. e. τοῦ φυσικοῦ τόπου (b 2), is made to include τὴν περὶ τῶν θείων γνῶσιν . . . αὐτῶν τε τῶν πρώτων, καὶ τῶν αἰτίων.

509 a 3 On Atticus see 794 c 1, and Zeller, *Outlines*, 298 'Atticus (who), like Numenius, Cronius, the well-known opponent of Christianity, Celsus, and no doubt Severus also, belongs to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. . . . Part of these Platonists at any rate would not hear of the displacing of the genuine Platonism by foreign elements.'

a 5 διὰ τῶν 'Αριστοτέλους. On the relation of Aristotle's doctrines to those of Plato see Zeller, *Socratic Schools*, 50 'There is this difference between Aristotle and Plato, that whereas Plato separates the conception from the appearance, regarding it as independent—as an ἰδέα, Aristotle places it *in* things themselves, without, however, implying that form stands in need of matter to become actual, since it is in itself actual. Aristotle will not remove the idea out of the phenomenal world, because in a state of separation it cannot serve as a connecting link between individual things, nor yet be the cause and substance of things.' Cf. *Outlines*, 180, and see 526 b 5, note.

2] c 4 ἱστορίαν. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 96 A ταύτης τῆς σοφίας, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν. 'Ιστορία here has its proper sense of 'inquiry,' 'research,' = 'study of nature.'

c 8 Πενθέως μέλη. Pentheus, grandson of Cadmus, and his successor in the kingdom of Thebes, tried to check the orgies of Bacchus, and was torn in pieces by the furious Bacchantes—the subject of the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

d 5 On Pittacus see Diog. L. i. 74 ff., and on Periander son of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, cf. Hdt. v. 92, 95

510 a 1 ἀρτιτελής. The word occurs in Polyb. vi. 18, where it has been perhaps needlessly replaced by Casaubon's conjecture, αὐτοτελής. In Plat. *Phaedr.* 251 A ἀρτιτελής is equivalent to νεοτελής, which occurs a few lines before, and means 'newly impressed with the divine ideas,' which have not yet had time to fade. In both words there is an evident allusion to initiation into the mysteries. Cf. Iambl. ap. Stob. *Eclog. Phys.* ii. 912 οἵ τε γὰρ νεοτελεῖς καὶ πολυθεάμονες τῶν ὄντων, οἵ τε συνοπαδοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν θεῶν, οἵ τε παντελεῖς ἐμφύονται πρώτως εἰς τὰ σώματα (Ast).

a 2 κατάπεμπτος seems to be used only by Atticus.

a 9 Ἀριστοκλῆς. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 296 'If this distinguished Peripatetic assumed that the divine spirit (νοῦς) inhabited the entire corporeal world, and operated in it, and that it became an individual human spirit wherever it found an organism adapted to receive it, yet he treated the Deity, after the Stoic manner, as the soul of the world, which was also the view taken by the Peripatetics, according to his contemporary Athenagoras.'

Aristocles was a native of Messene, flourishing about A. D. 200 (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*): but others assign a much earlier date. Eusebius quotes several other passages from his writings; see 756 b 1.

3] c 3 ἴλιγγον. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* iii. 407 C κεφαλῆς τινας ἀεὶ διατάσεις καὶ ἰλίγγους ὑποπτεύουσα. *Legg.* x. 892 E.

c 5 πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρί. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 666 A διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐ χρὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν εἴς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, where Plato applies the saying, not to Socrates, but to giving wine to young boys. The proverb is quoted by many later writers, e. g. by Plut. *Praecept. Coniug.* 143 F, as a caution to jealous wives against listening to gossiping neighbours.

d 7 κυνισμούς. Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 33 τὸ σκῶμμα καὶ τὸν ἴαμβον καὶ κυνισμὸν καὶ τὸν Εὔπολιν καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην.

ἀτυφίας. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 582 B Σωκράτους ἀνδρὸς ἀτυφίᾳ καὶ ἀφελείᾳ μάλιστα δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἐξανθρωπίσαντος. Ibid. 29 B.

511 a 1 ἐκαλινδοῦντο. An evident allusion to Diogenes and his tub.

a 4 ἀνθρωπείων. Here and throughout the passage, Gaisford keeps the form ἀνθρωπίνων, though his MSS. have ἀνθρωπείων. It is difficult to draw any distinction in *meaning* between the two

Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 33

> 'Una de multis face nuptiali
> Digna periurum fuit in parentem
> Splendide mendax et in omne virgo
> Nobilis aevum.

b 3 Ἀκρίσιον. The story of Acrisius, Danae, and Perseus is told at much length by Apollod. *Biblioth.* ii. 4. 1. 1–4. 3; Hor. *Od.* iii. 16; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 607, v. 236; Soph. *Antig.* 947.

b 4 ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ. Cf. Apollod. iii. 15. 1 γήμας δὲ Ἐρεχθεὺς Πραξιθέαν . . . ἔσχε παῖδας μὲν Κέκροπα Πάνδωρον, κ.τ.λ., and see note on 494 d 1.

c 2 Ἀγίας. The name in Clement is Αἰγίας, but Ἀγίας in Athen. iii. 86 Ἀγίας δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

μηνὸς Πανέμου. Panemus was the last month of the Lacedaemonian year corresponding to September. As the days of the last decade were counted backwards, ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος was the twenty-third or twenty-second day of the month, according as the month was full or hollow, that is, consisting of thirty or twenty-nine days.

c 7 τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. Cf. Pausan. iii. 278, x. 862. *The little Iliad* was by some attributed to Cinaethon of Lacedaemon, one of the earlier and most prolific of the Cyclic poets, about B.C. 765. He is mentioned by Pausan. ii. 119 as the author of Genealogical Poems, but without any mention of *The little Iliad.*

d 1 Τληπολέμου. Cf. 495 d 2.

υἱὸς Ἡρακλέους. Clinton, *F.H.* 6 'Three arguments establish that Hercules was a real person. First, his acts were recorded by . . . Achaeans and Aeolians and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people (the Dorians). Secondly, his descendants in many branches remained in many states to the historical times. His son Tlepolemus, and his grandson and great-grandson Cleodaeus and Aristomachus, are acknowledged to be real persons. . . . Lastly and especially, Hercules is authenticated by the testimonies in the Iliad and Odyssey.' Note: 'Hercules is called a man—ἀνήρ—in *Il.* v. 396. His death is mentioned in *Il.* xviii. 117 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα.'

d 4 Apollodorus, an Athenian grammarian and pupil of Aristarchus, the author of the *Bibliotheca*, an extant work on Greek

Mythology, wrote many other works, besides the *Chronicle* in iambic verse, comprising the history from the capture of Troy down to his own time, B. C. 143; Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*; Donaldson, l. c. i. 321.

499 b 3 Ἴσιδι. 'I have supplied the name Isis from Clement, which was wanting in Eusebius: for Isis is the same whom in the next line he asserts to have been named Io' (Viger).

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τὴν Ἰώ φασι. Clem. Ἶσιν δὲ τὴν καὶ Ἰώ φασιν, κ.τ.λ. But neither reading gives a perfect construction.

c 1 Λέων. Leon the Egyptian is very frequently mentioned by St. Augustine as a priest of high rank at the time when Alexander was in Egypt, and as having explained to Alexander that the gods of Greece were originally men. Cf. Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, viii. 5, &c.

c 4 Ἀρίστιππος. Diog. L. ii. 8 says there were four persons named Aristippus, (1) the well-known disciple of Socrates, (2) another who wrote about Arcadia, (3) the grandson of (1) ὁ μητροδίδακτος, and (4) a Neo-Platonist. The second is evidently meant here.

c 5 Aristeas, 'an Argive, who invited Pyrrhus to Argos, B. C. 272, as his rival Aristippus was supported by Antigonus Gonatas (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 30).' Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*

c 7 ἐν τρίτῳ Νομίμων. This is probably the book to which Clement refers, *Protrept.* 56 Νυμφόδωρος ἐν Νομίμοις βαρβαρικοῖς.

c 8 ἐν τῷ ναῷ. Cf. Wiedemann, 189 'The tombs of the sacred bulls of Memphis, at least from the middle of the eighteenth Dynasty, i. e. from about 1500 B. C. onward, were discovered by Mariette in 1851. The gigantic and generally monolithic sarcophagi (σοροί), weighing on an average fifty-eight tons each, stand singly in separate rooms.'

d 2 Σάραπιν. Cf. G. W. (Birch, iii. 89) 'Hap-asar, or Asar-hapi, Sarapis [Hieroglyphical name of Apis in the Apis tablets at Saqquára (Memphis). He is called Apis-Osiris in the legends there].' For various derivations of the name see Plut. *Mor.* 362 B; Wiedemann, 191.

Ἆπις δὲ τρίτος ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου. Apollod. ii. 1. 1. 4 Ἆπις . . . ὀνομάσας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἀπίαν . . . ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάραπις. In these statements concerning Apis, son of Phoroneus, king of Argos, there is an evident confusion between Grecian and Egyptian mythologies.

d 3 Τιτυόν. Cf. Lucret. iii. 996 seq.; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 595; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 457.

d 7 Ἐν χρόνῳ, Pind. *Fr.* 114, which is known only from this passage of Clement.

d 10 μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. Cf. Apollod. iii. 10. 4 'Apollo slew the Cyclopes who made the thunderbolts for Zeus; and Zeus would have cast him down to Tartarus, but at the entreaty of Latona ordered him to serve a mortal for one year.' Cf. Callimach. *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 47 seqq.

d 11 Ζῆθος. Zethus and Amphion were twin sons of Zeus by Antiope, who was imprisoned by her uncle Lycus and his wife Dirce, but released and avenged by her sons, who tied Dirce to the bull and dragged her about till she was killed, and then threw her into the fountain called from her Dirce. They then built the walls of Thebes. Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 2

'Movit Amphion lapides canendo.'

Zethus despised the lyre, hence (Hor. *Epist.* i. 18. 41)

'Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque
Zethi dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur
Moribus Amphion.'

The Farnese bull is part of the sculpture representing the death of Dirce: this and other parts of the story are mentioned in the fifteenth fragment of the *Antiope* of Euripides, quoted by Longinus: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου Δίρκης (Εὐριπίδης) Εἰ δέ που τύχοι | πέριξ ἑλίξας . . . εἷλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν | γυναῖκα, πέτραν, δρῦν. The imperfect metre shows that there is some omission.

d 12 Φημονόην. Pausan. x. 809 says that Phemonoe was the first and most famous priestess of Apollo, and the first who recited the oracles in hexameters. Cf. Strab. 419.

13] 500 d 3 Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν. Cf. Viger 'Supplendus et corrigendus hic locus ex Josepho.' Cf. Masp. ii. 51 'At this juncture, so runs the Egyptian record, "there came to us a king named Timaios. Under this king, then, I know not wherefore, the god caused to blow upon us a baleful wind, and in the face of all probability bands from the east, people of ignoble race, came upon us unawares, attacked the country, and subdued it easily and without fighting."' Ibid. note 2 'Fruin emended ἡμῖν Τίμαιος in the text of Manetho into Ἀμενεμαῖος or Ἀμενεμῆς

(*Manethonis Sebennytae Reliq.* 53–5), and Lepsius first identified this new Amenemes with the last Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, Amenemhâait, then with the third king of the thirteenth, Ra-Amenemhâit (*Königsbuch* 24).... We know too little of Manetho's style to be able to decide *a priori* whether the phrase Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν τοῦ Τίμαιος ὄνομα is or is not in harmony with manner of relating historical facts; the phrase is correct, and that should be enough to deter us from altering it, at any rate in the present state of knowledge.'

d 5 ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι. G. W., Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, *App.* ii. 8. 17 'These invaders constituted the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties of Manetho; and the statement that the seventeenth was composed of an equal number of shepherds and Theban kings is evidently erroneous. . . . It is not easy to determine what race of people they were; and they have been variously pronounced to be Assyrians, Scythians, Cushites (or Ethiopians) of Asia, Phoenicians, or Arabians. Manetho calls them Phoenicians, and shows them not to have been from Assyria, when he says they took precautions against "the increasing power of the Assyrians," and the character of "Shepherds" accords far better with that of the people of Arabia.' Cf. Ermann, 41.

d 6 ῥᾳδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον. Cf. Masp. ii. 51, note 3 'The apparent contradiction between the terms in which Manetho explains the conquest of Egypt (ῥᾳδίως κ.τ.λ.) has been noticed and explained by Fruin, *Manethonis Sebennytae Reliq.* 59. Padre di Cara (*Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto*, 293 et seq.) sees in it a proof that the Hyksôs had not been guilty of the atrocities of which the Egyptians accused them.'

d 10 Σώς, ποιμήν ἐστι. Masp. ii. 54 'They, the Egyptians, had already given the Bedouin the opprobrious epithet of Shaûsû—pillagers or robbers—which aptly described them: and they subsequently applied the same name to the intruders—Hiq Shaûsû—from which the Greeks derived their word Hyksôs or Hykoussôs, for this people. But we are without any clue to their real name, language, or origin.' Ibid. note 4 'As a matter of fact, the word *Hyku* means "prince" in the classical language of Egypt, or as Manetho styles it, the *sacred language*, i. e. in the idiom of the old religious, historical, and literary texts, which in later ages the populace no longer understood. Shôs, on the contrary, belongs

to the spoken language of the later time, and does not occur in the ancient inscriptions, so that Manetho's explanation is valueless; there is but one material fact to be retained from his evidence, and that is the name Hyk-Shôs, or Hyku-Shôs, given by its inventors to the alien kings.' . . . 56 'In spite of the facts we possess, the problem is still unsolved, and the origin of the Hyksôs is as mysterious as ever.'

501 b 4 *Μισφραγμούθωσις*. The name in Josephus is Alisphragmuthosis. See Masp. ii. 76, who observes (note 1) that some Egyptologists 'consider Manetho's account to be a romance in which facts and names are jumbled together without any regard to truth.'

b 6 *ἀρουρῶν*. According to Hdt. ii. 168 'The *arura* is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits, the Egyptian cubit being the same length as the Samian,' i. e. rather more than twenty and a half inches. The *arura* 'was a little more than three-fourths of an English acre; and was only a land measure' (Rawlinson). In the passage before us *arura* must be a measure of length, probably the side of the square, a hundred Egyptian cubits. This would give a circumference of enormous extent.

b 7 *τείχει τε μεγάλῳ*. Masp. ii. 52 'On the ruins of the ancient town of Hâwârit-Avaris, in the Sethroite nome—a place connected by tradition with the myth of Osiris and Typhon—Salatis (king of the Hyksôs) constructed an immense entrenched camp, capable of sheltering 240,000 men.' Cf. *Auth. and Arch.* 170, 172. Amenothes, the son and successor of *Âhmosis* (Aahmes), was succeeded by his son Thûtmosis I, a copy of whose royal proclamation, preserved in the Gizeh Museum, is given by Maspero, ibid. 104. The narrative in Josephus is full of confusion.

c 8 *μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι τεσσάρων*. Their number is represented as exactly half the number of the besiegers. Masp. ii. 85 relates how Âhmosis built for himself a great tomb at El-Kab, a fortress on the Nile south of Thebes, and recorded the chief actions of his life on its walls. According to this inscription, 'The army to which Egypt really owed its deliverance was not the undisciplined rabble of later tradition but, on the contrary, consisted of troops similar to those which subsequently invaded Syria, some 15,000 to 20,000 in number, fully equipped and ably officered, supported moreover by a fleet ready to transfer them

across the canals and arms of the river in a vigorous condition and ready for the battle.' The whole account of the Hyksôs should be read in Maspero.

d 10 ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι. This is an instance of the confusion referred to in the note on 490 b 8.

14] **502** c 1 ἐπισωρεύειν. Athen. iii. 123 μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ τούτοις ἐπισωρεύειν τινά.

d 1 Ἑβραίων. See 304 c 4, note.

d 2 τὸ παρώνυμον. Plut. *Mor.* 560 D παρωνύμῳ χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος.

d 7 ἔτεσι λ'. The duration of Joshua's leadership is not mentioned. 'As regards the chronology there are no materials in the Book of Judges from which to construct an accurate reckoning of the number of years between the death of Joshua and the commencement of Eli's judgeship' (Speaker's Comm. ii. 118).

d 8 ἀλλόφυλοι. Judges iii. 8 '*The children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years.*'

Γοθονιήλ is the form in the Septuagint for עָתְנִיאֵל, *Othniel.*

ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα. Judges iii. 11 '*and the land had rest forty years.*'

d 9 Ἐγλώμ. Judges iii. 14.

d 10 Ἀώδ, Sept., Heb. אֵהוּד, '*Ehud.*' Cf. Judges iii. 30 '*And the land had rest fourscore years.*'

ἀλλόφυλοι. Judges iv. 3 Jabin and Sisera the captain of his host '*twenty years mightily oppressed the children of Israel.*'

503 a 1 ἔτη μ'. Judges v. 31 '*The land had rest forty years,*' after the defeat and death of Sisera.

Μαδιηναῖοι. Ibid. vi. 1.

a 2 Γεδεών. Ibid. viii. 28 '*The country was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon.*'

a 4 Ἐσβών. Judges xii. 8 *Ibzan* of Bethlehem.

Αἰαλών, *Elon*, Judges xii. 11.

a 5 ἀλλόφυλοι. Judges xiii. 1. The Philistines are usually so described in LXX.

Ἠλεὶ ἱερεύς. 1 Sam. i. 9.

b 8 ἡ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς = 776 B.C.

c 1 Ῥώμην ἔκτισε, 753 B.C.

c 8 τοῦ ἱεροῦ. 'The month *Ab*, in which the Temple was destroyed, was in July 587.' Clinton, *F. H.* 127.

d 14 *περὶ τροπῶν ἡλίου.* 'The solar tropics' are what we call the summer and winter solstices, when the sun begins to turn from the most northerly point of the ecliptic towards the south, and the reverse.

504 b 2 *οὐ γὰρ μόνον.* The passage is repeated 750 b 6. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 3. 9 Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος . . . ἀπείρους εἶναί φησι τὰς ἀρχάς· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ, καθάπερ ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ οὕτω γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαί φησι συγκρίσει καὶ διακρίσει μόνον, ἄλλως δ' οὔτε γίγνεσθαι οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαμένειν ἀΐδια.

b 4 *τὰ πράγματα ὁμοῦ πεφυρμένα.* Cf. Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* Proleg. 166, 280 (Plut. *Epit.* i. 3) ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως· ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ †διῆρε καὶ διεκόσμησε. A similar statement is found in Simplicius, *De Coelo* 154 and in Diog. L. ii. 6, but Eusebius seems to have altered the words, while retaining the right sense.

c 2 "*σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος.*" 'We may distinguish in him,' says Schlegel, 'a twofold personage: the *poet* whose works were dedicated to a religious solemnity, who stood under the patronage of religion, and therefore was bound in his turn to honour it; and the would-be-philosopher *sophist*, who studied to overlay those fabulous marvels of religion from which he derived the subjects of his plays with his own sceptical and liberalizing opinions.' Paley, *Preface to Euripides*, xxi, gives his own opinion, which is much more favourable, at some length, and concludes as follows: 'Euripides, however, was certainly no atheist. He believed in the Providence, the Justice, the Omnipotence, the absolute Will of a supreme Being. . . . He was no scoffer at religion in the abstract as Aristophanes was. His object seems to have been to lead men to a higher and sublimer contemplation and worship of the one great Mind, or Being, or Intelligence, who is the author and creator of all existing things. He finely describes Him (Fragm. 960) as τὸν πάνθ' ὁρῶντα καὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρώμενον.'

c 11 *Ἡράκλειτος.* Cf. Cic. *De Fin.* ii. 5. 15 'Heraclitus cognomento qui σκοτεινός perhibetur

"quia de natura nimis obscure memoravit."'

Madvig following Muretus sees here a quotation from some old Latin poet, perhaps Lucilius; 'quia' is to be taken as one syllable. The nickname is first found in Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, 5 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ σκοτεινῷ λεγόμενον Ἡρακλείτῳ.

d 1 *Παρμενίδης.* Cf. Plut. *Adv. Colotem*, 1126 D 'Zeno the

pupil of Parmenides, having made an attack upon the tyrant Demylus and failed in the attempt, maintained the doctrine of Parmenides like gold in the fire unalloyed and approved, and showed by his deeds that to a great man disgrace is terrible, but pain is feared only by children and women and men with women's souls: for he bit through his tongue and spat it at the tyrant.'

d 2 Melissus is usually placed after Zeno by about twenty years. Zeno flourished B.C. 464, according to Clinton. See 724 c 4, notes.

d 12 *ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ ἀρξάμενοι.* Thales was about fifty years earlier than Cyrus, and was eighty years old when Cyrus began to reign in Persia, Ol. 55. 1, but lived ten or fifteen years longer.

505 b 4 *μικρῷ θᾶττον Ἀλεξάνδρου.* Plato was born in May B.C. 427, and died in May B.C. 347. Alexander was born in B.C. 356, and died in B.C. 323. Therefore *μικρῷ θᾶττον* means that Plato was partly contemporary with Alexander, dying only twenty-four years before him.

b 5 *Αὐγούστου δὲ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ.* The name is given first in its Latin form, then translated into Greek.

BOOK XI

507 d 4 *εὐγλωττίαν.* Aristoph. *Eq.* 837 *ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐγλωττίας.*

508 a 2 *νέους ὁμοῦ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν.* Viger suggests *τήν τε φρόνησιν*: but though such a combination of different cases is unusual, the explanation of it is sufficiently clear. The dative expresses a special limitation of *νέους*, while *ἡλικίαν* is the usual accusative of cognate signification.

b 3 *μόνῳ . . . ἀντὶ πάντων . . . Πλάτωνι.* Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 191 'Nec enim posset idem Demosthenes dicere quod dixisse Antimachum, clarum poetam, ferunt, qui cum, convocatis auditoribus, legeret eis magnum illud quod novistis volumen suum et eum legentem omnes praeter Platonem reliquissent, "Legam," inquit, "nihilominus: Plato enim mihi unus instar est omnium." Merito ille et recte.' Cf. 467 a, note on Antimachus.

γνώμονι. Cf. Plut. *Amatorius*, 751 B *εὖγε, νὴ Δία, ἔφη, τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐμνήσθης, καὶ χρηστέον αὐτῷ γνώμονι τοῦ ἐρωτικοῦ ἀνδρός*: 968 F *ἀλώπεκα ποιοῦνται γνώμονα τῆς τοῦ πάγου στερρότητος.*

c 2 *ἐπιτυχῶς.* Cf. Plat. *Phil.* 38 D *ἐπιτυχῶς εἰπών.*

c 6 *προησμενικέναι.* Cf. Polyb. vi. 8. 3 *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀσμενίζοντες τὴν ἐπιτροπήν.*

1] **d** 1 *εἰς τρία διελόντος μέρη.* Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 135 'The division of philosophy into Dialectics, Physics and Ethics (cf. 51) is found in fact though not in form in Plato.' Ibid. 'Out of the Socratic dialectic grows his doctrine of ideas; out of the ethical principles of his Master a detailed ethics and politics; and both are supplemented by a philosophy of Nature, which, though inferior in importance to the other branches, yet fills up the most remarkable deficiencies in the Socratic philosophy in harmony with his whole point of view.'

d 3 *τὸν φυσικὸν διελομένου . . . τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων κατανόησιν.* Cf. 509 c 2, where *τοῦ δευτέρου*, i. e. *τοῦ φυσικοῦ τόπου* (b 2), is made to include *τὴν περὶ τῶν θείων γνῶσιν . . . αὐτῶν τε τῶν πρώτων, καὶ τῶν αἰτίων.*

509 a 3 On Atticus see 794 c 1, and Zeller, *Outlines*, 298 'Atticus (who), like Numenius, Cronius, the well-known opponent of Christianity, Celsus, and no doubt Severus also, belongs to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. . . . Part of these Platonists at any rate would not hear of the displacing of the genuine Platonism by foreign elements.'

a 5 *διὰ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους.* On the relation of Aristotle's doctrines to those of Plato see Zeller, *Socratic Schools*, 50 'There is this difference between Aristotle and Plato, that whereas Plato separates the conception from the appearance, regarding it as independent—as an *ἰδέα*, Aristotle places it *in* things themselves, without, however, implying that form stands in need of matter to become actual, since it is in itself actual. Aristotle will not remove the idea out of the phenomenal world, because in a state of separation it cannot serve as a connecting link between individual things, nor yet be the cause and substance of things.' Cf. *Outlines*, 180, and see 526 b 5, note.

2] **c** 4 *ἱστορίαν.* Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 96 A *ταύτης τῆς σοφίας, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν.* Ἱστορία here has its proper sense of 'inquiry,' 'research,' = 'study of nature.'

c 8 *Πενθέως μέλη.* Pentheus, grandson of Cadmus, and his successor in the kingdom of Thebes, tried to check the orgies of Bacchus, and was torn in pieces by the furious Bacchantes—the subject of the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

d 5 On Pittacus see Diog. L. i. 74 ff., and on Periander son of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, cf. Hdt. v. 92, 95

510 a 1 ἀρτιτελής. The word occurs in Polyb. vi. 18, where it has been perhaps needlessly replaced by Casaubon's conjecture, αὐτοτελής. In Plat. *Phaedr.* 251 A ἀρτιτελής is equivalent to νεοτελής, which occurs a few lines before, and means 'newly impressed with the divine ideas,' which have not yet had time to fade. In both words there is an evident allusion to initiation into the mysteries. Cf. Iambl. ap. Stob. *Eclog. Phys.* ii. 912 οἵ τε γὰρ νεοτελεῖς καὶ πολυθεάμονες τῶν ὄντων, οἵ τε συνοπαδοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν θεῶν, οἵ τε παντελεῖς ἐμφύονται πρώτως εἰς τὰ σώματα (Ast).

a 2 κατάπεμπτος seems to be used only by Atticus.

a 9 Ἀριστοκλῆς. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 296 'If this distinguished Peripatetic assumed that the divine spirit (νοῦς) inhabited the entire corporeal world, and operated in it, and that it became an individual human spirit wherever it found an organism adapted to receive it, yet he treated the Deity, after the Stoic manner, as the soul of the world, which was also the view taken by the Peripatetics, according to his contemporary Athenagoras.'

Aristocles was a native of Messene, flourishing about A. D. 200 (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*): but others assign a much earlier date. Eusebius quotes several other passages from his writings; see 756 b 1.

3] c 3 ἴλιγγον. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* iii. 407 C κεφαλῆς τινας ἀεὶ διατάσεις καὶ ἰλίγγους ὑποπτεύουσα. *Legg.* x. 892 E.

c 5 πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρί. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 666 A διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐ χρὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν εἴς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, where Plato applies the saying, not to Socrates, but to giving wine to young boys. The proverb is quoted by many later writers, e. g. by Plut. *Praecept. Coniug.* 143 F, as a caution to jealous wives against listening to gossiping neighbours.

d 7 κυνισμούς. Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 33 τὸ σκῶμμα καὶ τὸν ἴαμβον καὶ κυνισμὸν καὶ τὸν Εὔπολιν καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην.

ἀτυφίας. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 582 B Σωκράτους ἀνδρὸς ἀτυφίᾳ καὶ ἀφελείᾳ μάλιστα δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἐξανθρωπίσαντος. Ibid. 29 B.

511 a 1 ἐκαλινδοῦντο. An evident allusion to Diogenes and his tub.

a 4 ἀνθρωπείων. Here and throughout the passage, Gaisford keeps the form ἀνθρωπίνων, though his MSS. have ἀνθρωπείων. It is difficult to draw any distinction in *meaning* between the two

forms, but in *usage* ἀνθρώπειος is said to be Attic, ἀνθρώπινος Hellenic (Moeris ap. Goeller, *Thuc.* i. 22, note; Ast ad Plat. *Alcib.* i. 103). Perhaps ἀνθρώπινος is the more expressive of human weakness? Here ἀνθρώπειος seems to be preferable, as corresponding more closely in form to θείων.

b 6 ὁ μουσικός. Aristoxenus of Tarentum, trained in the science of music first by his father, and afterwards by the Pythagoreans, became a disciple of Aristotle, whom he rivalled in the number if not in the quality of his writings. He is mentioned 791 c 2 as the author of a *Life of Plato.* He taught that the soul was a kind of 'harmony' of the body (cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 86 B, 88 D; Aristot. *De Anima,* i. 4. 1; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 10. 18). From his knowledge of music he was called pre-eminently ὁ μουσικός.

4] **512 a** 1 For ἡγήσαντο, the reading of the best MSS., IO, Gaisford, and the other editors have ἠγάσαντο, which is followed in my translation, but is without good authority, and gives a less simple construction.

a 2 τὴν τριγένειαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Cf. Sext. Empir. 163. 26 (Bekker) αὐτῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων τινὲς μὲν τρία γένη φασὶν εἶναι ἀγαθῶν, ὡς οἱ Περιπατητικοί. τούτων γὰρ τὰ μὲν εἶναι περὶ ψυχὴν ὡς τὰς ἀρετάς, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα ὡς ὑγίειαν καὶ τὰ ἐοικότα, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὡς φίλους, πλοῦτον, τὰ παραπλήσια. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς τριγένειαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοί φασιν εἶναι ἀγαθῶν. See 758 c 7.

a 3 κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην. Aristotle states the ordinary classification without adopting it as his own. *Eth. Nic.* i. 8. 2 'To apply our principle (δή), goods have been divided into three kinds, the one kind being called external goods, and the others goods of the soul and goods of the body; and we call those that have to do with the soul most distinctively and most especially goods (τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν κυριώτατα λέγομεν καὶ μάλιστα ἀγαθά). This classification is attributed by Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Ethicos,* xi. 51, to the Platonists and Peripatetics; but in the *Eudemian Ethics,* ii. 1. 1, it is spoken of as a popular division, καθάπερ διαιρούμεθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις. Accordingly here Aristotle calls it "an ancient division that is admitted by the philosophers"' (Grant).

a 6 ἐποχήν, a technical term of the Sceptics. Cf. Diog. L. ix. 107 τέλος δὲ οἱ Σκεπτικοί φασι τὴν ἐποχήν, ᾗ σκιᾶς τρόπον ἐπακολουθεῖ ἡ ἀταραξία. Cf. 758 d 3 δεῖν ἀδοξάστους καὶ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀκραδάντους εἶναι.

b 3 *πάροχος*, a public victualler ('parochus publicus,' Cic. *Att.* xiii. 2. 2), whose duty it was to provide necessaries for official persons travelling in the Roman provinces. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 45

'Proxima Campano ponti quae villula tectum
Praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.'

c 4 *ἀνθρωπογονίαν*. Cf. Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 8 *τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν.*

5] 513 b 8 *ᾠδῶν τε καὶ ἐπῳδῶν*. The Song of Moses at the Red Sea may probably be taken as an example of what is here meant by an *Epode*: 'Although without any regular strophical division, it has the chorus, "*Sing ye to Jehovah, for He hath triumphed gloriously*," &c. It was sung evidently in antiphonal measure, chorus anwering to chorus, and voice to voice.' Perowne, *The Book of Psalms*, Introd. xvi.

c 1 *εὐεπείας*. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* (Schanz) 267 C *ὀνομάτων τε Λικυμνιείων [ἃ ἐκείνῳ ἐδωρήσατο] προσεποίησεν εὐέπειαν.*

c 2 *εὐφραδοῦς*. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xix. 352 *ὡς σὺ μάλ' εὐφραδέως πεπνυμένα πάντ' ἀγορεύεις.*

ἐξ ἔτι νηπίας . . . ἡλικίας. On the careful instruction of Jewish children see Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 230; Schürer, ii. 1. 324.

c 4 *δευτερωταί*. See note on 574 a 4.

d 5 *δέξασθαί τε στροφὰς λόγων* (Prov. i. 3; LXX) '*To receive instruction in wise dealing*' (R. V.).

514 a 4 *ἐντεύξεως* means 'intercourse,' 'conversation,' 'discourse,' very commonly in Polybius. Cf. Aristot. *Top.* i. 2. 1 *πρὸς τὰς ἐντεύξεις, πρὸς τὰς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμας.*

a 6 *φιλοκάλως γένοιτο ἐν πείρᾳ*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 9 *τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.*

a 7 *λογικωτάτους*. See the next note, *λογικὴν εἶναι πραγματείαν.*

b 5 *ἑξάμετρα*. Cf. Neumann, *Iulianus Imp. contra Christianos*, 203 *καίτοι βούλεται ὁ μοχθηρὸς Εὐσέβιος εἶναί τινα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑξάμετρα, καὶ φιλοτιμεῖται λογικὴν εἶναι πραγματείαν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ἧς τοὔνομα ἀκήκοε παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.* Lowth, *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, Lect. iii 'In these however' (Greek and Latin) 'the rhythm or quantity remains; each retains its peculiar numbers, and the versification is distinct: but the state of the Hebrew is far more unfavourable, which, destitute of vowel sounds, has remained altogether silent (if I may use the expres-

sion), incapable of utterance, upwards of two thousand years. Thus not so much as the number of syllables of which each word consisted could with any certainty be defined, much less the length or quantity of the syllable.' Driver, *Literature of O. T.* vii. 399 'In ancient Hebrew poetry though there was always *rhythm*, there was (so far as has yet been discovered) no *metre* in the strict sense of the term; and rhyme appears to have been as accidental as it was with the classical Latin poets.' There is much interesting information in the same chapter on the *parallelism of clauses*, and other characteristics of Hebrew poetry.

6] **d** 7 *φύσει τε ἀλλ' οὐ θέσει.* For the meaning of *θέσις*, 'hypothesis,' a proposition assumed as the basis of an argument, see Aristot. *Top.* i. 11. 4–6. As contrasted with *φύσις* it denotes what is conventional or arbitrary.

516 b 3 *'Αδάμ.* Heb. אָדָם, 'Adam,' pr. n., אָדֹם, 'red.'

b 5 *'Αδὰμ ἡ γῆ καλεῖται.* Gen. ii. 7. Heb. אֲדָמָה, 'earth.'

c 3 *'Ενώς.* Heb. אֱנוֹשׁ, 'Enosh,' first used in Gen. vi. 4. See above, 307 a–c, and notes there.

c 6 *ἐπιλήσμων.* Is it possible that Eusebius makes *ἄνους* represent *'Ενώς*? Or does he derive *'Ενώς* from נָשָׁה, 'forget,' an etymology not generally accepted?

517 b 1 *ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπε.* Cf. Jowett's Introduction to the *Cratylus*, 168 ff., where these absurd etymologies are clearly shown to be part of the irony and satirical humour of the Dialogue. On p. 177 he gives the following paraphrase of our passage: 'And now I bethink me of a very new and ingenious notion which occurs to me, and, if I do not mind, I shall be wiser than I ought to be by to-morrow's dawn. My notion is that we may put in and pull out letters at pleasure and alter the accents (as for example, Διὰ φίλος may be turned into Δίφιλος), and we may make words into sentences, and sentences into words. The name *ἄνθρωπος* is a case in point, for a letter has been omitted, and the accent changed; the original meaning ὁ *ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπεν*—"he who looks up at what he sees."' Cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 84

'Pronaque quum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, caelumque tueri
Iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.'

b 2 *τὸν ἄνδρα ΕΙΣ καλοῦσι.* Heb. אִישׁ, 'a man'; אֵשׁ, 'fire.'

On אִישׁ see note on 307 a. Eusebius is unfortunately misled by the Socratic irony of the *Cratylus* to try his own hand at Hebrew etymology.

b 7 ΕΣΣΑ. Heb. אִשָּׁה, 'a woman.'

b 9 *τὴν ἄνω ῥοήν*. Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 413 E. 'If one takes away the δ from the name *ἀνδρεία*, the name *ἀνρεία* signifies the thing itself. . . . For otherwise manliness (*ἀνδρεία*) would not be commended. Also *ἀρρέν* (male) and *ἀνήρ* man have a certain resemblance to this—*τῇ ἄνω ῥοῇ*, the upward flux.' By the 'upward' is meant the 'right' flow of things.

c 2 "*στερέωμα*." Cf. Gen. i. 6. Heb. רָקִיעַ, from the root רָקַע, 'to spread out,' as by beating with a hammer. Eusebius in this case forms his etymology from the Greek (*στερέωμα*, LXX), not from the Hebrew.

c 5 Plat. *Crat.* 396 C *ἡ δὲ αὖ ἐς τὸ ἄνω ὄψις καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα καλεῖσθαι, οὐρανία, ὁρῶσα τὰ ἄνω . . . καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ ὀρθῶς τὸ ὄνομα κεῖσθαι.*

d 6 *θέειν*. Cf. Hdt. ii. 52 *θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμοσάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κοσμωθέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον.* This derivation is as purely fanciful as Plato's *θέειν*. 'After all it is difficult to believe that *θεός* is not in some way connected with its synonyms *deva* (Sanskrit), *deus*' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

d 13 *Ἕκτορα*. Plat. *Crat.* 393 A 'This name also seems to me to be very similar to Astyanax, and these are both like Greek names: for a king (*ἄναξ*) and a holder (*ἕκτωρ*) signify nearly the same thing, so that both the names are proper to a king; for a man is surely the holder of that of which he is the king; for he evidently rules, and possesses, and holds it.'

518 a 1 *Ἀγαμέμνονα*. Plat. *Crat.* 395 A 'The name Agamemnon therefore means that this man was admirable for his persistence (*ἀγαστὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμονήν*).'

a 3 *Ὀρέστην*. Plat. *Crat.* 394 E *τὸ ὀρεινὸν ἐνδεικνύμενος τῷ ὀνόματι.*

a 5 *Ἀτρέα*. Ibid. 395 B 'In every way the name is rightly given to him, whether in reference to stubbornness (*τὸ ἀτειρές*), or fearlessness (*τὸ ἄτρεστον*), or destructiveness (*τὸ ἀτηρόν*).'

a 6 *Πέλοπα*. Ibid. 'According to the tradition concerning him in regard to the murder of Myrtilus, that he was not able to forebode or foresee any of the distant consequences to his whole race,

with how great misfortune he was lading it; but he saw only what was near and immediate, that is πέλας.'

a 7 Τάνταλον. Plat. *Crat.* 395 E 'Both the many dreadful misfortunes which happened to him while yet living, of which the end was the entire overthrow of his country, and after his death the stone suspended (ταλαντεία) over his head in Hades, in wonderful accordance with his name. And it is exactly as if some one, wishing to call him most miserable (ταλάντατον), were to disguise the name and call him Tantalus instead.'

b 5 "Κάϊν ζῆλος." A different interpretation is given in Gen. iv. 1 '*she conceived and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man with the help of the Lord*' (R. V. marg. Heb. *Kanah*, 'to get'). Eusebius derives the name קַיִן from קָנָא instead of קָנָה.

b 8 "πένθος." The Heb. הֶבֶל means 'breath,' 'vanity.'

c 2 'Αβραάμ. On the names 'Abram' and 'Abraham' see note on 420 d 6.

c 6 πατέρα μετέωρον. Gen. xvii. 5. The etymology of the new name is still a matter of conjecture; Eusebius has taken his explanation from Philo Jud. 103, Mangey, ἑρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἄβραμ πατὴρ μετέωρος. 'Probably the right meaning of the name is "Ram (the lofty one) is father"' (Ryle, Hastings' *Dict. Bibl.*).

d 7 ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα. Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 397 B. Socrates is speaking of the names of eternal essences (τὰ ἀεὶ ὄντα καὶ πεφυκότα).

519 a 2 Γέλως. Cf. Philo Jud. 104 γέλως γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη διερμηνεύεται οὗτος.

a 7 ἀσκητήν. The word is taken from Philo Jud. 869 M., where Jacob is described as ὁ ἀσκητὴς καὶ τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους διαθλῶν. The same allegorical gloss is put upon the simple language of Scripture by Philo, 125 M.

a 8 Πτερνιστής. Gen. xxvii. 36 ἐπτέρνικεν γάρ με ἤδη δεύτερον τοῦτο, '*He hath supplanted me these two times.*'

a 9 Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ὁρῶν θεόν. Gen. xxxii. 28. *Israel.* 'That is, *He who striveth with God*,' or '*God striveth*' (margin, R. V.). The explanation is added: '*for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed.*' Eusebius has taken his explanation of the name from Philo J. 369 M., ὅρασιν γὰρ Θεοῦ μηνύει τὸ ὄνομα.

b 6 Αὐτίκα, 'to go no further.' The meaning of αὐτίκα is illustrated by numerous examples in Ruhnken, *Tim. Lex.* and compared with the Latin *continuo, ne longe abeam*, and the French

d'abord. Cf. Dr. J. B. Mayor, Clem. Al. *Strom*. vii. Append. A, 363 'The word *αὐτίκα* properly means "on the instant," as *αὐτοῦ* means "on the spot." Hence it is employed like *εὐθύς* to introduce a sudden thought with the force of "to go no further."'

τῶν πρώτων τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχείων. Literally, 'of the first elements of grammar.' See below, 519 d.

d 6 *διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων*. Cf. Philo J. *De Vit. Mosis*, 152 M. 'And a golden leaf was wrought like a crown, having four carvings of a Name, which only those who have ears and tongue purified by wisdom may lawfully hear or utter among holy men, and no one else anywhere at all. And the sacred writer (*θεολόγος*) says that the Name is of four letters (*Τετραγράμματον*); making them perhaps symbols of the primary numbers one, two, three, four.' Josephus (*A. I.* ii. 12. 4), referring to the announcement of the name of the LORD in Exod. xxxiv. 6, says: 'And God shows him His own name, which had not previously been known to men: concerning which it is not lawful for me to speak.'

For a full account of the many theories concerning the Name see Smith, *Dict. Bibl.* 'Jehovah': and on the attempt to identify the Pythagorean *Tetractys* with the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* see Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 4. 15 f.; Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Phil.* i. 428; Deissmann, 322 ff.

d 10–**520 a** 4 *Καὶ τῶν—μέλη*. This section is omitted in one family of the MSS. BO (CFG).

520 a 1 *Ἑπτά με φωνήεντα*. The source of the epigram is to be found in the magical formulae used by the Egyptians to coerce their gods. An example is given by Wiedemann, 267, from a *Nostrum of Agathocles for producing dreams*, found in a Greek Gnostic Papyrus in Leyden Museum, 'Hear me, for I shall speak the great name, Thoth! whom each god honours and each daemon fears, by whose command every messenger performs his mission. Thy name answers to the seven (vowels) α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω, iauôêeaô oueê ôia. I named thy glorious name, the name for all needs.' We thus see that the 'wise Greek' to whom Eusebius ascribes the epigram was probably Agathocles the Greek historian mentioned by Athenaeus, i. (30) and ix. (375), and by Cicero, *De Divin.* i. 24 as narrating a dream of Hamilcar. This mention of a dream clearly identifies the his-

torian with the author of the *Nostrum of Agathocles for producing dreams*; he is also mentioned as a Babylonian by the Scholiast on Hesiod, *Theog*. 485. Cf. Masp. i. 282 on 'the books of magic written by Thot'; Erman, 352 ff. In Irenaeus, i. 14. 7 we find the power of the seven vowels thus expounded: 'The first heaven utters α, the next ε, the third η, the fourth, which is the middle of the seven, ι, the fifth ο, the sixth υ, the seventh, which is the fourth from the middle, shouts out ω, as the *Sigê* of Marcus, which talks much nonsense, but speaks not a word of truth, persistently affirms. And these powers, she says, being all combined with one another, sound out the glory of Him by whom they were sent forth.' Cf. Hippol. vi. 43.

Θεὸν μέγαν. Cf. F. Jacobs, *Animadv. in Epigrammata Anthol. Graeca*, iii. 2. 34, Ep. cclxxx., 'Servavit hoc epigr. Eusebius in *P. E.* xi. 6, 520, de Iudaeornm Deo illud interpretatus. De Sarapide agi primus docuit Jos. Scaliger ad calcem Libri *De Emend. Temporum*, 38; cujus sententiam secutus H. Valesius in not. ad Socratis *Hist. Eccl.* v. 17 et in *Emendatt.* L. i. 2, 4 sqq. monuit praeterea prius epigr. distichon non solum nomen Sarapidis septem literis significare, sed simul ad eum ritum respici, quo hic deus septem vocalibus (*γράμματα φωνήεντα* appellantur) subinde repetitis coli solebat.' The seven vowels do not form the name of Serapis, but the formula is as likely to have been used in his case as in that of Thot.

Further light is thrown on the subject by a passage quoted from Kenyon, *Pap. Lond.* xlvi. 466–82 by Deissman, 327 *θεὸς θεῶν, ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων ὁ ἀπλάνητος αἰὼν ιαωουηι, εἰσάκουσόν μου τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν δυνάστην τῶν θεῶν, ὑψιβρεμέτα Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ τύραννε, αδαιναι* (*sic*) *κύριε ιαωουηε . . . βαρουχ αδωναι ελωαι ιαβρααμ βαρβαρανω ναυσιφ ὑψηλόφρονε*.

a 3 *πάντων χέλυς ἄφθιτος*. 'Hoc ad septem planetas eorumque harmoniam referendum. Macrob. I. *Saturn.* 19 fin. "Ut lyra Apollinis chordarum septem tota caelestium sphaerarum motus praestat intelligi, quibus solem moderatorem natura constituit," Deus conversionis caelestis cantum moderatur. Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* xix. 3. 363 *ἀλλ' ἡγοῦ τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἁρμονίαν τινὰ εἶναι ὀργάνου μουσικοῦ, καὶ τεχνίτην μὲν τὸν θεόν, τὴν δὲ ἁρμονίαν ταύτην ἀρξαμένην παρ' αὐτοῦ, δι' ἀέρος ἰοῦσαν καὶ γῆς, ἐμπεσοῦσαν μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους φύσεις συντάττειν τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς πόλεμον ὡς κορυφαία*

ἁρμονία ἐμπεσοῦσα εἰς πολυφωνίαν χοροῦ συντάττει τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ θόρυβον' (F. Jacobs, ibid.).

a 7 ὁπηνίκα παρὰ βαρβάρων, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 474 b 1.

b 5 τὸ παρωνύμιον εἴληφε. Cf. 304 c 4; Gen. xiv. 13 'Abram the Hebrew.' LXX. Ἄβραμ τῷ περάτῃ. Eusebius, following the LXX, adopts this derivation of the name from עֵבֶר, 'the country on the other side' of the river, namely the Euphrates. But 'according to analogy, this expression (Heb. עִבְרִי, Ivri) can only refer to Abram's tribal or national extraction, that is, to his descent from עֵבֶר, Eber.' Smith, *Dict. Bibl.* Cf. Gen. x. 21 '*Shem*, the father of all the children of Eber.' Eusebius, as usual, follows the explanation of the name given by Philo J., *Migrat. Abr.* 4, 439 M. 'For the name Hebrew is interpreted περάτης.' The allegorical interpretation of passing over from the things that are seen to things invisible is also taken from the same passage of Philo, where Gen. xl. 15, '*For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon,*' receives the following interpretation: 'He boasted of being of the race of the Hebrews, who were accustomed to rise up from the objects of sense and remove to those of the mind, for "the Hebrew" is by interpretation "one who passes over," because he boasted that "here he had done nothing."'

c 4 πανηγεμόνι. Cf. Eus. *Vit. Constant.* xi. τὸ σέβας τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ καὶ πανηγεμόνος θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων.

c 6 διαβεβηκότας. Cf. Wyttenb. ad Plut. *Mor.* 31 E διαβεβηκότα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου. 'Εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην. Iliad A 498, O 152, et alibi. Chrysippus hac interpretatione fortasse spectavit statuam Iovis διαβεβηκότος, de quo genere consulatur P. Wesselingius ad Diod. Sic. i. 111 (τὰ σκέλη διαβεβηκότα) et 319 (Δαίδαλος . . . πρῶτος δὲ ὀμματώσας καὶ διαβεβηκότα τὰ σκέλη ποιήσας): certe frequens illud εὖ διαβάς in firmo statu pugnantium. . . . Iliad M 458 et alibi . . . Simili forma, significatione diversa Hebraicos ex origine verbi διαβεβηκότας τῇ διανοίᾳ, *progredientes cogitatione et mente* appellat Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* ix. (*immo* xi.) 520 D, Origenes *Adv. Celsum*, iii. 492 B, Phaedonem et Polemonem ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον διαβεβηκέναι ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.' Cf. 574 c 8.

7] **521 b** 7 πεφυσιολόγητο. Cf. Ps.-Plut. *De Placit. Philos.* 894 F παραπλησίως δὲ φυσιολογεῖται τὰ καλούμενα παρήλια.

c 6 πεντακισχίλιαι, LXX, 1 Kings iv. 32 (28) ff., 'a thousand and five' (Heb.).

d 3 παρὰ πάντων. Before these words Viger inserts ἐλάμβανε δῶρα, but apparently without any authority of MSS. either in the original passages, 1 Kings iv. 34, or in Eusebius.

d 6 Αὐτὸς γάρ. Wisdom of Solomon vii. 17. The author speaking in the person of Solomon makes this claim of wisdom for him.

d 10 πνευμάτων βίας. 'Violences of winds' (R. V.), or *spirits*, margin.

διαλογισμούς, 'thoughts' or 'reasonings' (Deane, *The Book of Wisdom*).

522 a 1 κρυπτὰ καὶ ἐμφανῆ. ἀφανῆ, Eusebius; ἐμφανῆ, LXX, '*either secret or manifest*' (R. V.).

a 3 ῥευστήν, 'flowing away.' Plut. *Mor.* 522 B ὀλισθηρὰν καὶ ῥευστὴν εἰς ἅπαντα τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην ποιοῦντες.

b 6 Ἄρκτου, καὶ Πλειάδος. Cf. Job ix. 9 *Which maketh the Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades*; xxxviii. 31 *Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? . . .*; 32 *Or canst thou guide the Bear with her train?* The Heb. עָשׁ, 'Ash,' and עַיִשׁ, 'Aish,' rendered 'Arcturus' in A. V., are now generally believed to be identical, and to represent the Great Bear. The Hebrew corresponding to 'Orion' is כְּסִיל, meaning, according to Oriental versions, 'Giant.' 'Pleiades' is the rendering of כִּימָה, 'a crowd.' See Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades. Compare, in Lord Derby's admirable translation, Homer's description of the Shield of Achilles, *Il.* xviii. 487

'Thereon were figur'd earth, and sky, and sea,
The ever-circling sun, and full-orb'd moon,
And all the signs that crown the vault of Heaven;
Pleiads and Hyads, and Orion's might,
And Arctos, call'd the Wain, who wheels on high
His circling course, and on Orion waits;
Sole star that never bathes in th' ocean wave.'

b 7 Ἀρκτούρου. 'Arcturus' and 'Arctophylax' both mean the 'Bear-keeper,' a bright star in the forehead of Boötes, 'the Ploughman.' Compare Hom. *Od.* v. 272

Πληϊάδας τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὀψὲ δύοντα Βοώτην,
Ἄρκτον θ' ἣν καὶ ἅμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,

Ἠ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει,
Οἴη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.

Compare Hesiod, *Opp.* 609, 615; Verg. *Aen.* iii. 515 sqq.; *Georg.* i. 138; Ps.-Anacreon. iii. 2.

c 5 τῶν διανοίᾳ μόνῃ ληπτῶν, a good definition of τῶν νοητῶν.

d 6 ἀπηυτομάτισται. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 717 B τοῦτο . . . ἔοικεν . . . ἀπαυτοματίσαι.

523 a 5 μνεῖσθαι. μεμνῆσθαι coniec. Vig., 'μνῆσαι pro μνῆσθαι' (Heinich.). Neither change is for the better.

a 6 ἐποπτείας. Cf. 30 b 1. The word is proper to the mysteries.

8] c 2 τηνικάδε . . . καθ' ὃν . . ., scil. χρόνον. 'χρόνον was often omitted in the phrases τὸν ἀεί, τὸν ἔμπροσθεν, τὸν ὕστερον.' Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 436. Cf. Soph. *El.* 1075, Schol. τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς· ἀεὶ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς μόρον στενάχουσα· ἢ τὸν ἀεὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.

τὰς διατριβὰς πεποιημένος. The time of Plato's visit to Egypt is variously stated. According to Diogenes L. iii. 8, after the death of Socrates he retired first to Megara, then to Cyrene, thence to Italy, and afterwards to Egypt. But Cicero (*Rep.* i. 10. 16) says that he first went to Egypt.

c 4 ἐπεχωρίαζον. Luc. *Pseud.* 19 οὐδ' ἐπιχωριάζεις αὐτοῖς.

9] d 1 ἱεροφαντίαις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 621 C δᾳδουχίας καὶ ἱεροφαντίας μιμούμενοι, a passage referring to the initiation of the Mysteries by Alcibiades. Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vii. 63 'Orpheus, Hierophant and Poet at once, after his explanation (ἱεροφαντίαν) of the orgies, and the theology of the idols, introduces a palinode of truth.' *Strom.* iv. 564 'being initiated into the minor mysteries before the greater, so that there may be no obstacle to the truly divine declaration of sacred things (τῇ θείᾳ ὄντως ἱεροφαντίᾳ).'

524 a 4 ὃ λαλήσει. Eccles. i. 9. The LXX read ὃς λαλήσει, but ὃ λαλήσει, the reading of the best MSS. of Eusebius, is supported by the Vetus Lat. as stated by Jerome.

b 10 τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστόν. Eusebius has here abridged the text of Plato: τὸ δ' αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστόν, while not essentially altering the meaning, which according to the fuller reading is as follows: 'the other (may be comprehended) by opinion with unreasoning sensation, being the object of opinion, coming and going, but never *being*.' This construction

is followed by Cic. *Timaeus* ii. where for 'quod affert opinionem' Stephanus suggests 'quod affert opinio.'

The other construction is adopted by Proclus: τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὂν ἐστὶ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτόν. τὸ δὲ γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὂν δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστόν.

d 5 Ταῦτα γάρ. In Plato's text, *Tim.* 37 E, the clause ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μέρη χρόνου refers to what has gone before, 'days and nights and months and years.' And this is followed by καὶ τό τε ἦν τό τε ἔσται χρόνου γεγονότα εἴδη, 'and so are *was* and *shall be*, being generated modes of time': or, with the reading γεγονότος, 'modes of generated time.'

525 a 2 τὸ παράπαν. The MSS. of Eusebius connect τὸ παράπαν with ἔσεσθαι, but in Plato it is connected by τε with the following clause: 'nor be subject at all to any of the conditions,' &c.

a 6 Plato adds: 'and that the non-existent *is* non-existent, none of which are accurate expressions,' apparently meaning that the use of εἶναι as applied to what is not really 'being' but 'becoming' is inappropriate.

10] **526 b** 2 τοῦ ὄντος ὀνόματος. 'Vocem ὄντος libenter expunxerim' (Heinichen). But ὄντος is better taken as the name 'being.' Cf. b 1 εἶναι ὄνομα οὐσίαν καὶ ὄν.

b 5 ἰδέᾳ. Cf. Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* 882 D '*Idea* is a bodiless substance (οὐσία), which of itself hath no subsistence, but giveth form and figure (εἰκονίζουσα) to shapeless matter, and becometh the cause that bringeth them into show and evidence. Socrates and Plato supposed that these be substances separate and distinct from matter, howbeit subsisting in the thoughts and imaginations of God, that is to say, of mind and understanding. Aristotle admitteth verily these forms (εἴδη) and *ideas*, howbeit not separate from matter, as being patterns of all that God hath made' (Holland's translation). Cf. Grant, *Aristotle's Ethics*, i. 160 ff., and 509 a 5, note.

c 4 εἶπον. 'Numenius ipse? an alii? Posterius hoc malui, quod addiderit, quae audierat ea se, quantum meminisse potuit, retulisse' (Viger). But εἶπον, 'I said,' may refer to b 1 ἐὰν φῶ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου εἶναι ὄνομα οὐσίαν καὶ ὄν, and τὰ λεχθέντα to what was said in answer.

c 6 λόγον. 'Legi mallem τὸν λόγον. Ipsammet porro Platonis orationem intelligit, ut ex sequentibus manifeste constat' (Viger).

Without the article, for which there is no authority, λόγον may mean 'a reason' or 'an explanation.'

d 1 Τί τὸ ὂν ἀεί, quoted above, 524 b 8.

527 a 8 Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 411 Νουμήνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος φιλόσοφος ἄντικρυς γράφει· Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωϋσῆς ἀττικίζων; 'Dio Chrysostomus quoque, rhetor quidem sed qui ad Stoicam potissimum philosophiam prope accederet, vaticinationem respuit *Or.* x. 149 (cf. xi. 157) τί δέ; νομίζεις τὸν Ἀπόλλων ἀττικίζειν ἢ δωρίζειν;' (Saarmann, *Annot. ad Oenomai Fr.* 36).

b 8 Ps. cii. 28. The introductory words, τὰ μὲν ὁρατὰ πάντα τραπείη ἄν ποτε καὶ μεταβληθείη, are not part of the direct quotation, but a free paraphrase of the preceding verses 26, 27.

c 1 ὡς ἐν προτάσει. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 408 C ἐρωτήσεις, οἷον ἐν σχολῇ προτάσεις, Εἰ γαμητέον, Εἰ πλευτέον, Εἰ δανειστέον. Athen. vi. 234 ἐφιλοτιμήσαντο γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τὰς τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ ἀπολύσασθαι προτάσεις.

c 5 The letter ε, anciently called εἶ (Plat. *Crat.* 426 C οὐ γὰρ ἦτα ἐχρώμεθα ἀλλὰ εἶ τὸ παλαιόν), carved in wood, was conspicuous among the offerings at Delphi.

11] **d** 1 Οὔτε οὖν ἀριθμόν. The following quotation is from Plut., *On the* Eἶ *at Delphi*, 391 F. 'Totum hunc locum exhibuit Eus. *Praep. Evang.* xi. 11, unde complures bonas lectiones Plutarcho restituimus' (Wyttenbach).

ἀριθμόν. One explanation was that five of the Wise Men, Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias, Pittacus, wishing to imply that Cleobulus and Periander had no right to the same title, dedicated the Eἶ as the symbol for *five* (ε′). Cf. Plut. 385 E.

τάξιν. Another explanation was that ε was the *second* vowel in *order* (τάξει) and the Sun (Apollo) anciently second to the Moon. Ibid. 386 B.

σύνδεσμον. A third meaning assigned was the 'conjunction' εἰ, 'if.' Plut. 386 C 'For as the Delphians suppose, and as Nicander the priest said, speaking for them, it is the vehicle and form of the communication with the god, and it holds the leading rank in the questions of those who from time to time consult the Oracle, and inquire *If* they shall be victorious, *If* they shall marry, &c. The god, wise as he is, dismissed the logicians who think that nothing comes out of the particle *if*.'

d 2 *τῶν ἐλλιπῶν μορίων.* The conjunctions are called 'defective particles' because they express no independent or substantial thought, but only the relation or connexion in which two or more notions or thoughts stand to each other in the mind. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 327.

d 6 ΤΟ ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ. Plut. 385 D 'Look also at these inscriptions, the "Know thyself," and the "No extreme"—two of the maxims of the Wise Men.'

ΧΑΙΡΕ. He means that self-knowledge is essential to a man's welfare, being equivalent to 'Be temperate.' The passage is taken from Plat. *Charmid.* 164 D 'For my part I am inclined to say that temperance is the very same thing as self-knowledge, and I agree with him who dedicated the inscription of this nature at Delphi. For it seems to me that this inscription is so dedicated as being a salutation by the god of those who enter, instead of 'Hail,' as if this salutation 'Hail' were not right, and that we ought instead of this to exhort one another to 'be temperate.' . . . 'This, however, like a prophet, he expresses rather as a riddle; for "Know thyself" and "Be temperate" are the same, as the inscriptions and I say.'

528 a 7 *τὴν ἄγαν ἐνάργειαν*, 'the extreme lucidity.' This is the reading in Plutarch, and is, perhaps, more suitable to the sense of the passage than *ἐνέργειαν*, 'actuality,' which is substituted for it in the MSS. of Eusebius. The two words are often interchanged.

b 2 Ποταμῷ κ.τ.λ. 'Heracleitus somewhere says that all things move, and nothing is at rest, and comparing existing things to the stream of a river, he says that "you cannot step twice into the same river."' In the *Theaetetus* (181 A) Plato calls those who hold this notion of a continual flux *τοὺς ῥέοντας*, 'the flowing philosophers,' and presently he speaks of *οἱ τοῦ ὅλου στασιῶται*, 'those who make the universe stand still' (Plat. *Crat.* 402 A). Cf. Bywater, *Heracleiti Rell.* xli, who gives the following references: Aristot. *Metaph.* iv. 5 (iii. 5. 18); Plut. *Qu. nat.* 912 A; idem *De Sera Num. Vind.* 559 C; i id. *De* EI, 392B.

b 3 *κατὰ ἕξιν*, 'in a permanent state,' or 'in the same condition.' Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philos.* ii. 11, note. 'The words, *οὐδὲ* . . . *κατὰ ἕξιν*, appear to me to be an explanatory addition of Plutarch. Heracleitus can scarcely have spoken of *θνητὴ οὐσία*, and we can

hardly help seeing in κατὰ ἕξιν (which Schuster, 91, finds a difficulty) the Aristotelian Stoic form of expression.' See Zeller, *Stoics*, 208, on ἕξις.

c 1 εἶτα βρέφος. Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* xxiv. 69 (quoted by Wyttenbach), 'We are dying daily: for every day some part of life is taken away; and even while we are growing, life is decreasing. We have lost our infancy, our boyhood next, and then our youth: all past time, even up to yesterday, has perished: this very day which we are passing we share with death. Just as it is not the last drop that exhausts the water-clock, but all that has flowed away before: so the last hour, in which we cease to be, is not alone in working death, but is alone in completing it. We have come to it then, but have been long coming.' See also *Epist.* lviii. 483; cf. Philo Jud. *De Josepho*, 544 D.

c 5 πυρὸς θάνατος. Cf. Heracl. *Rell.* (Bywater) *Fr.* xxxv. Plutarch adds to the quotation, καὶ ἀέρος θάνατος ὕδατι γένεσις.

d 1 εἰς τὸν αὔριον. It seems necessary to supply ἀποθνήσκει from Plutarch, instead of repeating τέθνηκεν, which is found in D.

d 8 οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου μεταβάλλει. Wyttenbach (*Plut.* 392 E): Plutarch perhaps wrote οὐδ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου αὐτοῦ μεταβάλλει, which he renders, 'Sed ex illo ipso *esse* deiicitur alius ex alio mutationibus factus.'

529 a 5 Οὗ (= τοῦ χρόνου), the partitive genitive. ἐξ οὗ I. 'Melius abesset praepositio ἐξ, ut apud Plutarch. expungitur' (Viger). Cf. 529 c 6 οὗ πρότερον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ὕστερον = 'in whom is no "before" or "after."'

b 1 ἐκδυόμενος. Wyttenbach reads ἄγαν ἐκδυόμενος, for which he suggests ἅμα καὶ λεγόμενος, which is certainly no improvement. With ἄγαν ἐκδυόμενος, we may translate 'from this again our reason *slips quite away* and loses it.' Cf. Plut. *Alcib.* II. 147 E τοῦτο καὶ ἐκδεδυκέναι αὖ καὶ οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως δοκεῖν (Schanz).

b 2 ὥσπερ αὐγὴ βουλομένοις ἰδεῖν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης διϊστάμενον. The sense is destroyed by the punctuation as shown by Wyttenbach, Gaisford, and Dindorf—ὥσπερ αὐγή, βουλομένοις ἰδεῖν, ἐξ ἀ. δ.

b 5 συννέμησιν. The form may be defended by διανεμήσεως, Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, vii. 7, but we should perhaps read συννόμησιν, for which compare Plut. *Mor.* 1065 E θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄστυ κοινὸν ξυννομησομένων μετὰ δίκης καὶ ἀρετῆς.

c 2 ἐγκλίσεις, 'inflexions,' a grammatical term applicable to the changes of form denoting persons, voices, moods, and (as here) tenses.

c 6 οὗ, genitive partitive as at 529 a 5, 'in whom, &c.'

c 8 τὸ κατ' αὐτό. With this reading ὁ Θεός must still be the subject, as in my translation. But with τὸ κατ' αὐτόν I, or τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον Plutarch, the meaning will be 'and only that which corresponds to Him is real "being."'

d 2 πανηγυρικῶς, 'quo modo ex omnis generis hominibus solennes conventus conflantur' (Wytt.). This reference to the *promiscuous* nature of the public festivals is more appropriate here than any allusion to 'pomp' or 'magnificence,' such as is sometimes found in the word. Cf. Isocr. 288 b; Polyb. v. 34. 3.

d 3 ἑτερότης. The unity of 'being' excludes all difference or otherness, for this is a departure from 'being' towards 'not-being.' Cf. Aristot. *Metam.* iii. 2 διαφορὰ γάρ τις ἡ ἐναντιότης, ἡ δὲ διαφορὰ ἑτερότης. Plut. 1025 A ἑτερότητος ἅμα καὶ ταυτότητος ἐφαπτόμενον. 1083 E ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἑτερότητα καὶ διαφορὰν οὐδεὶς διεῖλεν. For the word '*otherness*' compare Taylor's translation of Iambl. *On the Mysteries*, iii 'Knowledge is in a certain respect separated (from its object) by *otherness*.' In the footnote Taylor quotes from Damascius, ἑτερότητος μὴ οὔσης μηδὲ γνῶσις ἔσται.

12] 530 a 1 τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας. See 519 d 5.

a 4 ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἐπιστολῇ. Plat. *Epist.* vii. 341. This epistle, professing to have been addressed by Plato to the friends of Dion of Syracuse, is supposed to have been composed by one of Plato's pupils.

a 6 The subject to which ῥητόν refers may be learned from *Epist.* ii. 312, where Plato is supposed to write to Dionysius the younger thus: 'You say, according to what Archidemus tells me, that I did not give you any adequate demonstration concerning the nature of the First Cause (τοῦ πρώτου). I must however explain it to you in enigmas, that if anything should happen to my tablet in the remote parts either of sea or land, any one who reads may learn nothing.'

These passages seem hardly to justify what Brandis says of the groundlessness of 'the Neo-Platonic assumption of a secret doctrine, of which not even the passages brought forward out of the insititious Platonic letters (vii. 341 e; ii. 314 c) contain

any evidence' (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* 'Plato,' 398 b). The history of Plato's visits to Dionysius is told by Plutarch in the *Life of Dion.*

b 1 Ἐσημειώθη, Ps. iv. 7 (Sept.) 'lift thou up,' R. V. The form of the Hebrew verb is doubly anomalous, נְסָה for נְשָׂא.

13] **c** 3 ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι. Zeller, *Outlines*, 49 'Plato's own religion is that philosophic monotheism, in which the Deity coincides with the idea of good, the belief in providence with the conviction that the world is the work of reason and the copy of the idea, while divine worship is one with virtue and knowledge. His more popular utterances about God or the gods are conceived in the same sense.' Cf. Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gent.* xx.

531 a 2 ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος. Schol. Ruhnk. in *Legg.* iv. 715 Θεὸν μὲν τὸν δημιουργὸν σαφῶς, παλαιὸν δὲ λόγον λέγει τὸν Ὀρφικόν, ὅς ἐστιν οὗτος:

> Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
> Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

See the notes on 100 b 2.

ἀρχήν. The same scholiast continues; 'And he is the "beginning" as efficient cause, the "end" as final cause, and the "middle" as equally present to all, though all may partake of him in various ways.'

a 3 εὐθείᾳ. Idem: 'Also by εὐθείᾳ he signifies what is done according to justice and desert, and without deviation, and as it were by one rule; while the word περιπορευόμενος indicates that which is done eternally, that which is always in the same mode and the same conditions; for in things sensible the circumference has this quality.' The circle is the common figure of eternity.

a 4 περιπορευόμενος. The Scholion in Bekker's Aristot. *De Mundo*, vii. 7, though corrupt and scarcely intelligible, clearly points to a geometrical explanation. γῆ μὲν ὡς κέντρον τῷ οὐρανίῳ κατὰ γεωμετρικὴν ἐπιστημονικωτάτη ἀπόδοσις περιεχομένη καὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐναντιωτάτη θέσει κατὰ διάμετρα ἑστηκυῖα λαμβάνει μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἕδραν τῷ ἀεικινήτου τῆς ἀξίας καὶ οὐρανοῦ περιδινήσεως. God as occupying the beginning, middle, and end of all things may be compared to a diameter which 'passes straight through the cosmical sphere, and is at the same time by its revolution carried round the circumference.' This interpretation is confirmed by an earlier passage in the same treatise, Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, vi. 13 (Θεὸν) αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω χώρας ἱδρῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ

... i. 12; Job i. 16, or the repetition may be intended, ... thought, to emphasize the extraordinary character of ...

... Κυρίῳ μου. Ps. cx. 1. Eusebius may here be excused ... owing that the second Hebrew word (אֲדֹנִי) translated ... by the Seventy is a common title of courtesy towards ..., not limited to God as אֲדֹנָי is. The ambiguous use of ... the LXX for many Hebrew words of different meaning, ... for אָדוֹן, אֲדֹנָי, and יְהוָֹה, has been a fruitful source of ... retation.

... 533 b 3 Philo Jud. *De Linguarum Confus.* xx. 419 M. ... reads τοῦ τὸ ὂν ἰδεῖν, where Philo has simply τοῦτον ... erring to ὁ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἄτρεπτος Θεός, in the preceding ...

... ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραήλ. Cf. 519 a Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ὁρῶν Θεόν.

... ἀρετάς, Eusebius; ἀρχάς, Philo.

... Ἀνατολή. Zach. vi. 12 Sept. The Hebrew צֶמַח means ...,' or 'bud.' Zachariah is called a companion of Moses, ... ing one of 'the goodly fellowship of the Prophets.'

... 9 θείαν ἰδέαν φοροῦντα, ἱκανῶς (Eusebius). The reading of ... θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνος, 'who differs not from the divine ...' has been altered in Eusebius, but the sense is the same.

534 a 5 Περὶ τοῦ τὸ χεῖρον. Eusebius here gives a wrong ... rence: the quotations are taken from the treatise *On the ... fusion of Tongues*, as is mentioned above.

b 3 ἐν τῷ Ἐπινομίδι. This is changed in the MSS. of Eusebius to ἐν τῷ Ἐπιμενίδῃ, with the evident purpose of avoiding a supposed false concord. The true explanation ἐν τῷ Ἐπινομίδι (λόγῳ) is confirmed by the forms of quotation in the contents of Bk. xiii. Thus 4 ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Ἐπινομίδος, for which we find in 18 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπινομίδος. Cf. Soph. *Fr.* 327 Grammaticus Bekkeri, 373. 5 'Ἀκουστά. ὡς ἐν τῇ (cod. τῷ) Κρεούσῃ,' sc. δράματι. Soph. *Fr.* 567 ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ τῷ δράματι.

[16] b 5 Καὶ τιμάς. The 'Epinomis,' or 'Appendix to the Laws,' is thought to be the work of some pupil of Plato, not of the Master himself. In the passage quoted (986 C) the author is referring to the powers and prerogatives of the heavenly bodies regarded as deities.

c 2 ὃν ἔταξε λόγος. Compare Caesar Morgan, *On the Trinity of*

Plato, 4 'It is to be observed that the word λόγος, ὃς ἔταξε κόσμον, has not even an article prefixed to it; which, I conceive, it would have had, if it had been intended to express a person.' This conclusion is not affected by the inaccuracy of the quotation.

c 5 τῇ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν. The sixth of the Epistles ascribed to Plato is addressed to Hermeias, the dynast of Atarneus and Assos, and friend of Aristotle, and to Erastus and Coriscus, both of the neighbouring city of Scepsis, and pupils of Plato.

d 4 τὸν τῶν πάντων Θεόν. Caesar Morgan, ibid. 50 'The author here appears to me to express himself according to the system of a Creator and a creation. I conceive that τὸν τῶν πάντων Θεόν corresponds with τὸ πάντων αἴτιον and βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ. in the *Philebus* (28 d), the Universe or the soul of the Universe. According to this interpretation αἰτίου πατέρα κύριον must mean the eternal self-existent Being, the Creator of the Universe (?), who is called in the Timaeus δημιουργός (?), and πατήρ.' But τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ means 'the Father of the Demiurge.'

d 5 τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου πατέρα. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 710, who says that Plato 'appears to exhibit the Father and the Son somehow or other (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως) from the Hebrew Scriptures.' Eusebius adopts the interpretation more confidently. See Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 4. 23 (vol. ii. 75. 311 ff., 314).

535 a 6 Πλωτῖνος. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 328 'The real founder of the Neo-Platonic School was Plotinus. This eminent thinker was born in 204–205 A. D. at Lycopolis in Egypt. For eleven years he enjoyed the teaching of Ammonius (Saccas). In A. D. 244–245 he went to Rome, and there founded a School, over which he presided till his death. He was universally revered for his character, and held in high respect by the Emperor Gallienus and his consort Salonina. He died in Campania in 270 A. D. His writings were published after his death by Porphyrius in six Enneads.'

17| b 1 Κόσμον αἰσθητὸν κ.τ.λ. This sentence is introduced by the words Ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε, and is intended to show the excellence of Mind by its superiority even to Soul, excellent as that also is.

b 5 παρ' ⟨αὐτῷ⟩ ἀΐδια. With Creuzer's conjecture αὑτῷ, or αὐτῷ as in his text, the meaning is that while phenomena are transient, the Ideas are permanent both in the intelligible world and

in man's own mind: this thought is more fully expressed in *Enn.* v. 9. 13 εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ λέγοιτο, συμπεριλαμβανομένων καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ, πάντα ἐνταῦθα ὅσα κἀκεῖ. But παρ' αὐτῶν, the reading preserved by Eusebius, expresses more exactly the meaning of Plotinus in the present passage. 'His whole point here is νοῦς κρείττων ψυχῆς. I should translate "and there let him see all intelligible things, and things which are of themselves immortal in their own understanding and life." Eternity belongs to Mind as Time to Soul (*Enn.* iv. 4. 15 αἰὼν μὲν περὶ νοῦν, χρόνος δὲ περὶ ψυχήν).' For this good correction I am indebted to the Rev. W. R. Inge.

c 7 γενομένη. Eusebius leaves the sentence unfinished; in Plotinus it runs thus: καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς γεγενημένη ἐκεῖνο ὁριστὴν ἔχει, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀόριστον παρ' αὐτῆς.

c 9 περίλαμψιν. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 931 A οὐδὲ σύλλαμψιν ἀλλὰ περίλαμψιν αὐτῆς ὄντα φωτισμόν.

d 1 φῶς. For this Plotinus has ὥσπερ, 'the brightness running as it were around him.' But Creuzer would adopt φῶς in Plotinus.

d 7 ὧν ἀπολαύει ὑποστάντων ὅ τι πλησίον, 'and they subsist and are enjoyed by whatever is near.' The meaning seems to be that the perfume is part of the substance, as in d 3 δίδωσιν αὐτῶν ἐξηρτημένην ὑπόστασιν.

d 8 ὅ τι πλησίον. The reading in Plotinus, ὁ πλησίον, is better.

536 a 8 πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν. The reading of the passage is uncertain. In Plotinus Creuzer adopts ποθεῖ δὲ πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν τὸ γεννηθέν, which gives the meaning, 'Everything which begets desires and loves that which is begotten.'

b 2 ἑτερότητι. Cf. 529 d 3. The 'otherness' here consists in its being numerically different.

b 6 τὰ Πλάτωνος τριττά. See the passage quoted below (541 c 9) from Epist. ii. 312 E. The text in Plotinus, and here, is confused; as given by Gaisford and Dindorf it differs from the text of the original passage in Plato, which is perfectly clear, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον πέρι τὰ τρίτα. In each clause περί stands after its case, but does not suffer *anastrophe* in the former clause (Chandler § 910) because δέ intervenes.

c 2 τὴν ψυχήν. The ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος is the third member of this trinity. Cudworth, ii. 318 ff. 'Thus Proclus affirmeth of

Numenius the Pythagorean: 'Ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶ Θεός.'

τῷ κρατῆρι ἐκείνῳ. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 41 D 'Thus he spake, and again poured the remains of the elements into that former cup in which he was previously mingling the soul of the universe, and mingled them partly in the same way, but no longer unalloyed and unchangeable, but of a second and third quality.'

c 3 πατέρα φησὶ τἀγαθόν. Cf. Jowett, *Introduction to Philebus*, 11 'To Plato the idea of God or mind is both personal and impersonal. . . . Hence, without any reconciliation or even remark, in the Republic he speaks at one time of God or gods, and at another time of the good.' Cf. Fairbairn, *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 154 'The Deity is not divine to us because He is almighty . . . but because we conceive Him as the impersonated ideal of the Absolute Good.'

d 2 πρεσβεύων. For the transitive sense compare Aesch. *Eum.* 1

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν.

18] d 4 περὶ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου. On the unity of God see Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* viii, and on the Son of God cap. x ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ.

537 b 1 τῇ ὕλῃ δυάδι οὔσῃ. The Pythagoreans 'maintained that the causes of sensible phenomena can lie neither in what is sensibly perceptible, nor in anything corporeal, nor even in mathematical figures, but only in Unity and indeterminate Duality. . . . They therefore regarded Unity as efficient cause, and Duality as passive matter' (Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 387).

c 9 ἐν διεξόδῳ. The word is variously applied to military evolutions (Plat. *Legg.* 813 E), to the passing from one action to another (Plut. *Mor.* 158 D σύμπας ὁ βίος, εἴ γε διαγωγή τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πράξεων ἔχουσα διέξοδον ὧν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς χρεία καὶ παρασκευὴ τὰς πλείστας παρακαλεῖ), to the passage through life according to the Stoic definition (Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Eth.* ii. 201 λογικῆς ζωῆς διέξοδον), to a treatise or description passing from one detail to another (Plut. *De Placitis Philos.* 874 D ἡ φυσικὴ διέξοδος). In Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 635 it is applied to the Son of God, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς . . . καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει καὶ διέξοδον, 'the Son is capable of manifestation and description.' In our passage of Eusebius the

connexion with κάτω . . . πεμπομένου points to the transmission of 'mind' from the divine Demiurge to man. Cf. Plotin. 189 A, 351 A.

d 2 βιώσκεσθαι. Cf. Aristot. *Meteor.* i. 14. 3 ἕτεροι δὲ τόποι βιώσκονται καὶ ἔνυδροι γίγνονται κατὰ μέρος.

κηδεύοντος. 'Legendum videtur κηδεύοντος, ut MSS. infra p. seq. 538 b 2' (Gaisford): with this reading, which Dindorf adopts, τὰ σώματα is to be understood as repeated after κηδεύοντος. But in both passages cod. I has κηδεύοντα in the sense 'allying themselves to the radiations of God.' Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 634 ὥστε κηδεύσας καλοῖς | γαμβροῖσι χαίρων σώζεται πικρὸν λέχος. Demosth. 1372. 25 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κηδεύσειεν αὐτῷ.

d 3 εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περιωπήν. Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 272 E ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης οἷον πηδαλίων οἴακος ἀφέμενος εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη, 'The Pilot retired to His own place of outlook, and then the world was turned upside down again by fate and innate desire.' Hesychius: Περιωπή· ἄποψις, τόπος ὑψηλὸς ὅθεν ἐστὶ περισκοπῆσαι ἀκρώρεια. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 831 with Hort's note. The word seems to occur first in Homer, *Il.* xiv. 8 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐλθὼν τάχα εἴσομαι ἐς περιωπήν: *Od.* x. 146 καρπαλίμως παρὰ νηὸς ἀνήϊον ἐς περιωπήν. In both these passages it means 'a place of outlook,' as the Scholiast on the former passage explains it: Τόπον ὑψηλόν, ἐξ οὗ περιωπίσασθαι καὶ περιβλέψαι ἔστι πάντα. So in Lucian, *Sympos.* 11 ἐκ περιωπῆς, 'from a place of observation.'

538 c 2 μάλιστά ἐστιν. 'Quid si ἔχει? nisi forte hic etiam subintelligas ἀναφερόμενος' (Viger). A good alternative would be to read ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον with cod. O.

d 1 νόμισμα κοῖλον, ἐπίσημον. Cf. Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 25 κοῖλος ἄργυρος, 'unstamped silver,' 'bullion.'

539 c 7 Κυβερνήτης. Cf. 537 d 3, note.

540 a 6 Ἀμέλιος. Gentilianus Amelius (Porphyr. *Vit. Plotini,* i. 20) is chiefly known as a pupil of Plotinus, with whom he remained twenty-four years (ib. i. 3 e), diligently taking notes from his lectures, from which he afterwards composed about a hundred books. Porphyry (vii. c) says that he wished to be called Amerius (Indivisible) rather than Amelius (Negligent). Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 240.

19] b 3 Cf. W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, Lect. ii, p. 47, note 1 'There is also a very interesting passage in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xi. 19) Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ

γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε. This is so near to the words of St. John's prologue as to suggest that the Apostle, writing at Ephesus, is here referring deliberately to the lofty doctrine of the great Ephesian idealist, whom Justin claims as a Christian before Christ, and whom Clement quotes several times with respect.' Cf. Justin. M. *Apol.* i. 46 Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν λόγον ὄντα οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε. Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς. Bywater, *Heracl. Rell. Fr.* 11, gives quotations of the passage from Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5; Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* vii. 32; Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 716, and other authors.

b 4 ὁ βάρβαρος, evidently St. John.

c 5 τὸ μεγαλεῖον, 'the majesty.' Cf. Polyb. viii. 3. 1 τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῶν πράξεων.

d 2 γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 B 'with forehead bold and bare' (Jowett).

541 a 4 τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κ.τ.λ. Col. i. 15. The latter clauses are misplaced, and inaccurately quoted.

a 7 οὐσιώσεως. Cf. 314 b 2, note.

20] **c** 6 ἤ πόντου ἢ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς. Ficinus omits ἐν πτυχαῖς in his translation, 'si quid huic tabellae vel mari vel terra contingat.' Viger refers it to the leaves of the tablet, as in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 98 κἀν δέλτου πτυχαῖς, a very usual meaning, but the order of the words and the extreme rarity in prose of the 'genitivus loci' point rather to the connexion with γῆς. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 1631 ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς; *Phoen.* 84 οὐρανοῦ ναίων πτυχάς; Soph. *Oed. T.* 1026 εὑρὼν ναπαίαις ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς.

c 9 δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα. For the construction see 536 b 6, note. The passage is rightly rendered by Ficinus: 'circa secundum secunda: tertia circa tertium.' The same passage is quoted as from Celsus by Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 18.

21] **542 b** 4 Λέγωμεν. Plat. *Tim.* 29 D, quoted by Irenaeus, iii. 25. 5. The passage seems to have been overlooked at first by Jowett, *Introduction to the Republic*, 172 'There is no mention of the idea of good in the *Timaeus*, nor of the divine Creator of the world in the *Republic*: and we are naturally led to ask in what relation they stand to one another? Is God above or below the idea of

good? Or is the idea of good another mode of conceiving God? The latter seems to be the truer answer.' See the next note.

b 5 Ἀγαθὸς ἦν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 508 B. Jowett, ibid. 181 'The idea of good is a cause as well as an idea, and in this point of view may be compared with the Creator of the *Timaeus*, who out of His goodness created all things.' It is evident that there is but a short step from 'the idea of good,' which is to Plato one of 'the truest and most real of all things' (Jowett), and which is also 'a cause,' to the Creator who 'was good,' and 'out of His goodness made all things to be as like to Himself as possible.'

c 1 φάναι. On the use of the infinitive for the imperative, common in Attic writers, see Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* 546, and compare Plat. *Rep.* 473 A φάναι ἡμᾶς ἐξευρηκέναι, with Stallbaum's note.

d 2 τὸ εἶναί τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. In Plato's earlier view the 'existence' (τὸ εἶναι) of the individual consisted in participation in its own proper essence (τῆς οὐσίας μετέχειν, *Phaed.* 101), that is in partaking of the 'idea,' which alone had true being. Plato's own criticism of this theory is given in the *Parmenides*, and the transition to thè theory of universal or abstract notions is especially marked in the question of Socrates (*Parmen.* 132), 'But may not the ideas be thoughts only, and have no proper existence except in our minds, Parmenides?'

d 3 ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας. Cf. Damascius in Ritter and Pr. 570 περὶ τῶν ὑπερθειοτάτων ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἄλλως οὔτε ἐννοεῖν οὔτε ὀνομάζειν ἢ οὕτως ὡς ἀναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἀνεχόντων τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ζωῆς καὶ οὐσίας πραγμάτων. Zeller, *Outlines*, 354 'Damascius, the pupil of Marinus, Ammonius, and Isidorus, who was head of the School of Athens about 520–530 A. D., an admirer and intellectual kinsman of Iamblichus, endeavours in vain in his work on the ultimate sources (περὶ ἀρχῶν) to find the means of transition from the primal essence—of the inconceivability of which he cannot speak strongly enough—to the intelligible by the insertion of a second and third unity.'

d 10 ὁμοούσια. This use of the word ὁμοούσιος by Eusebius some ten years before the Council of Nicaea is noticeable. See his letter to his own diocese in Athan. *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 241 καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινας λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγ-

c 2 ἐγκλίσεις, 'inflexions,' a grammatical term applicable to the changes of form denoting persons, voices, moods, and (as here) tenses.

c 6 οὗ, genitive partitive as at 529 a 5, 'in whom, &c.'

c 8 τὸ κατ' αὐτό. With this reading ὁ Θεός must still be the subject, as in my translation. But with τὸ κατ' αὐτόν I, or τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον Plutarch, the meaning will be 'and only that which corresponds to Him is real "being."'

d 2 πανηγυρικῶς, 'quo modo ex omnis generis hominibus solennes conventus conflantur' (Wytt.). This reference to the *promiscuous* nature of the public festivals is more appropriate here than any allusion to 'pomp' or 'magnificence,' such as is sometimes found in the word. Cf. Isocr. 288 b; Polyb. v. 34. 3.

d 3 ἑτερότης. The unity of 'being' excludes all difference or otherness, for this is a departure from 'being' towards 'not-being.' Cf. Aristot. *Metam.* iii. 2 διαφορὰ γάρ τις ἡ ἐναντιότης, ἡ δὲ διαφορὰ ἑτερότης. Plut. 1025 A ἑτερότητος ἅμα καὶ ταυτότητος ἐφαπτόμενον. 1083 E ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἑτερότητα καὶ διαφορὰν οὐδεὶς διεῖλεν. For the word '*otherness*' compare Taylor's translation of Iambl. *On the Mysteries*, iii 'Knowledge is in a certain respect separated (from its object) by *otherness*.' In the footnote Taylor quotes from Damascius, ἑτερότητος μὴ οὔσης μηδὲ γνῶσις ἔσται.

12] **530 a** 1 τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας. See 519 d 5.

a 4 ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἐπιστολῇ. Plat. *Epist.* vii. 341. This epistle, professing to have been addressed by Plato to the friends of Dion of Syracuse, is supposed to have been composed by one of Plato's pupils.

a 6 The subject to which ῥητόν refers may be learned from *Epist.* ii. 312, where Plato is supposed to write to Dionysius the younger thus: 'You say, according to what Archidemus tells me, that I did not give you any adequate demonstration concerning the nature of the First Cause (τοῦ πρώτου). I must however explain it to you in enigmas, that if anything should happen to my tablet in the remote parts either of sea or land, any one who reads may learn nothing.'

These passages seem hardly to justify what Brandis says of the groundlessness of 'the Neo-Platonic assumption of a secret doctrine, of which not even the passages brought forward out of the insititious Platonic letters (vii. 341 e; ii. 314 c) contain

any evidence' (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* 'Plato,' 398 b). The history of Plato's visits to Dionysius is told by Plutarch in the *Life of Dion.*

b 1 Ἐσημειώθη, Ps. iv. 7 (Sept.) 'lift thou up,' R. V. The form of the Hebrew verb is doubly anomalous, נְסָה for נְשָׂא.

13] **c** 3 ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι. Zeller, *Outlines*, 49 'Plato's own religion is that philosophic monotheism, in which the Deity coincides with the idea of good, the belief in providence with the conviction that the world is the work of reason and the copy of the idea, while divine worship is one with virtue and knowledge. His more popular utterances about God or the gods are conceived in the same sense.' Cf. Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gent.* xx.

531 a 2 ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος. Schol. Ruhnk. in *Legg.* iv. 715 Θεὸν μὲν τὸν δημιουργὸν σαφῶς, παλαιὸν δὲ λόγον λέγει τὸν Ὀρφικόν, ὅς ἐστιν οὗτος :

Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

See the notes on 100 b 2.

ἀρχήν. The same scholiast continues; 'And he is the "beginning" as efficient cause, the "end" as final cause, and the "middle" as equally present to all, though all may partake of him in various ways.'

a 3 εὐθείᾳ. Idem: 'Also by εὐθείᾳ he signifies what is done according to justice and desert, and without deviation, and as it were by one rule; while the word περιπορευόμενος indicates that which is done eternally, that which is always in the same mode and the same conditions; for in things sensible the circumference has this quality.' The circle is the common figure of eternity.

a 4 περιπορευόμενος. The Scholion in Bekker's Aristot. *De Mundo*, vii. 7, though corrupt and scarcely intelligible, clearly points to a geometrical explanation. γῇ μὲν ὡς κέντρον τῷ οὐρανίῳ κατὰ γεωμετρικὴν ἐπιστημονικωτάτη ἀπόδοσις περιεχομένη καὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐναντιωτάτῃ θέσει κατὰ διάμετρα ἑστηκυῖα λαμβάνει μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἕδραν τῷ ἀεικινήτου τῆς ἀξίας καὶ οὐρανοῦ περιδινήσεως. God as occupying the beginning, middle, and end of all things may be compared to a diameter which 'passes straight through the cosmical sphere, and is at the same time by its revolution carried round the circumference.' This interpretation is confirmed by an earlier passage in the same treatise, Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, vi. 13 (Θεὸν) αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω χώρας ἱδρῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ

δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου διήκουσαν ἥλιόν τε κινεῖν καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὸν πάντα οὐρανὸν περιάγειν. Cf. ibid. 6 *ἐπὶ πᾶν διϊκνεῖσθαι πέφυκεν τὸ θεῖον.* The proverb itself is quoted at the end of the same treatise, as from Plato. Compare the description of God by Xenophanes as a homogeneous sphere, sensitive in all parts, in Hippol. *Philos.* xii (Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 565).

ξυνέπεται δίκη. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* 62. 1

> *Ὄμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος ἀγλαομόρφου*
> *ἢ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει,*
> *οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων.*

Cf. Demosth. *c Aristogeit.* 773 'Platonem . . . in his . . . potissimum Orphicos esse secutum facile credimus Proclo, apte versiculum afferenti,

> Τῷ δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἐφέσπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός.

Nec aliter sentit Lobeckius *Aglaoph.* 532' (Stallbaum).

c 2 Εὐθύτητας εἶδε. Ps. xi. 7 'His countenance doth behold the upright' (A. V.). The R. V. changes the construction, 'The upright shall behold His face.'

d 4 Χαρμονή. Job xx. 5 Sept. *εὐφροσύνη δὲ ἀσεβῶν πτῶμα ἐξαίσιον, χαρμονὴ δὲ παρανόμων ἀπώλεια.* Eusebius has transferred *χαρμονή* to the first clause.

14] **532 a** 3 Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ. This orthodox confession should be set against any more questionable phrases.

a 6 Κύριος παρὰ Κυρίου. Gen. xix. 24 *Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven.* Eusebius has given an imperfect and inaccurate quotation, bringing the second 'Lord' from the end of the sentence and setting it close to the first, to make it appear that two Persons are mentioned. In this he follows Justin M. *Tryph.* 56 fin. 'And He is the Lord from the Lord who is in heaven, that is, from the Maker of all things.' The Synod of Sirmium (A. D. 351) adopted the same interpretation (*Anathema* 17): 'If any one understands the words, "Then the Lord rained fire from the Lord" (Gen. xix. 24), not as referring to the Father and the Son, but (says) that He (the Father) sent rain from Himself, let him be anathema. For the Lord the Son sent rain from the Lord the Father.' See Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 196.

Such misuse of the passage is, of course, utterly unjustifiable. 'Fire from the Lord' probably means lightning, as 'the fire of

God,' 2 Kings i. 12; Job i. 16, or the repetition may be intended, as Calvin thought, to emphasize the extraordinary character of the fire.

b 4 *τῷ Κυρίῳ μου.* Ps. cx. 1. Eusebius may here be excused for not knowing that the second Hebrew word (אֲדֹנִי) translated *τῷ Κυρίῳ μου* by the Seventy is a common title of courtesy towards a superior, not limited to God as אֲדֹנָי is. The ambiguous use of *Κύριος* by the LXX for many Hebrew words of different meaning, especially for אָדוֹן, אֲדֹנָי, and יְהוָה, has been a fruitful source of misinterpretation.

15] **533 b** 3 Philo Jud. *De Linguarum Confus.* xx. 419 M. Eusebius reads *τοῦ τὸ ὂν ἰδεῖν*, where Philo has simply *τοῦτον ἰδεῖν*, referring to *ὁ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἄτρεπτος Θεός*, in the preceding sentence.

c 6 *ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραήλ.* Cf. 519 a *Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ὁρῶν Θεόν.*

c 7 *ἀρετάς*, Eusebius; *ἀρχάς*, Philo.

d 7 *Ἀνατολή.* Zach. vi. 12 Sept. The Hebrew צֶמַח means 'branch,' or 'bud.' Zachariah is called a companion of Moses, as being one of 'the goodly fellowship of the Prophets.'

d 9 *θείαν ἰδέαν φοροῦντα, ἱκανῶς* (Eusebius). The reading of Philo, *θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνος*, 'who differs not from the divine image,' has been altered in Eusebius, but the sense is the same.

534 a 5 *Περὶ τοῦ τὸ χεῖρον.* Eusebius here gives a wrong reference: the quotations are taken from the treatise *On the Confusion of Tongues*, as is mentioned above.

b 3 *ἐν τῷ Ἐπινομίδι.* This is changed in the MSS. of Eusebius into *ἐν τῷ Ἐπιμενίδῃ*, with the evident purpose of avoiding a supposed false concord. The true explanation *ἐν τῷ Ἐπινομίδι (λόγῳ)* is confirmed by the forms of quotation in the contents of Bk. xiii. Thus 4 *ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Ἐπινομίδος*, for which we find in 18 *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπινομίδος*. Cf. Soph. *Fr.* 327 Grammaticus Bekkeri, 373. 5 '*Ἀκουστά. ὡς ἐν τῇ* (cod. *τῷ*) *Κρεούσῃ*,' sc. *δράματι*. Soph. *Fr.* 587 *ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ τῷ δράματι.*

16] **b** 5 *Καὶ τιμάς.* The 'Epinomis,' or 'Appendix to the Laws,' is thought to be the work of some pupil of Plato, not of the Master himself. In the passage quoted (986 C) the author is referring to the powers and prerogatives of the heavenly bodies regarded as deities.

c 2 *ὃν ἔταξε λόγος.* Compare Caesar Morgan, *On the Trinity of*

Plato, 4 'It is to be observed that the word λόγος, ὃς ἔταξε κόσμον, has not even an article prefixed to it; which, I conceive, it would have had, if it had been intended to express a person.' This conclusion is not affected by the inaccuracy of the quotation.

c 5 τῇ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν. The sixth of the Epistles ascribed to Plato is addressed to Hermeias, the dynast of Atarneus and Assos, and friend of Aristotle, and to Erastus and Coriscus, both of the neighbouring city of Scepsis, and pupils of Plato.

d 4 τὸν τῶν πάντων Θεόν. Caesar Morgan, ibid. 50 'The author here appears to me to express himself according to the system of a Creator and a creation. I conceive that τὸν τῶν πάντων Θεόν corresponds with τὸ πάντων αἴτιον and βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ. in the *Philebus* (28 d), the Universe or the soul of the Universe. According to this interpretation αἰτίου πατέρα κύριον must mean the eternal self-existent Being, the Creator of the Universe (?), who is called in the Timaeus δημιουργός (?), and πατήρ.' But τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ means 'the Father of the Demiurge.'

d 5 τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου πατέρα. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 710, who says that Plato 'appears to exhibit the Father and the Son somehow or other (οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως) from the Hebrew Scriptures.' Eusebius adopts the interpretation more confidently. See Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 4. 23 (vol. ii. 75. 311 ff., 314).

535 a 6 Πλωτῖνος. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 328 'The real founder of the Neo-Platonic School was Plotinus. This eminent thinker was born in 204–205 A. D. at Lycopolis in Egypt. For eleven years he enjoyed the teaching of Ammonius (Saccas). In A. D. 244–245 he went to Rome, and there founded a School, over which he presided till his death. He was universally revered for his character, and held in high respect by the Emperor Gallienus and his consort Salonina. He died in Campania in 270 A. D. His writings were published after his death by Porphyrius in six Enneads.'

17| b 1 Κόσμον αἰσθητὸν κ.τ.λ. This sentence is introduced by the words Ἴδοι δ᾽ ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε, and is intended to show the excellence of Mind by its superiority even to Soul, excellent as that also is.

b 5 παρ᾽ ⟨αὐτῷ⟩ ἀίδια. With Creuzer's conjecture αὐτῷ, or αὑτῷ as in his text, the meaning is that while phenomena are transient, the Ideas are permanent both in the intelligible world and

in man's own mind: this thought is more fully expressed in *Enn.* v. 9. 13 *εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ λέγοιτο, συμπεριλαμβανομένων καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ, πάντα ἐνταῦθα ὅσα κἀκεῖ.* But *παρ' αὐτῶν*, the reading preserved by Eusebius, expresses more exactly the meaning of Plotinus in the present passage. 'His whole point here is *νοῦς κρείττων ψυχῆς*. I should translate "and there let him see all intelligible things, and things which are of themselves immortal in their own understanding and life." Eternity belongs to Mind as Time to Soul (*Enn.* iv. 4. 15 *αἰὼν μὲν περὶ νοῦν, χρόνος δὲ περὶ ψυχήν*).' For this good correction I am indebted to the Rev. W. R. Inge.

c 7 *γενομένη*. Eusebius leaves the sentence unfinished; in Plotinus it runs thus: *καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς γεγενημένη ἐκεῖνο ὁριστὴν ἔχει, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀόριστον παρ' αὐτῆς.*

c 9 *περίλαμψιν*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 931 A *οὐδὲ σύλλαμψιν ἀλλὰ περίλαμψιν αὐτῆς ὄντα φωτισμόν.*

d 1 *φῶς*. For this Plotinus has *ὥσπερ*, 'the brightness running as it were around him.' But Creuzer would adopt *φῶς* in Plotinus.

d 7 *ὧν ἀπολαύει ὑποστάντων ὅ τι πλησίον*, 'and they subsist and are enjoyed by whatever is near.' The meaning seems to be that the perfume is part of the substance, as in d 3 *δίδωσιν αὐτῶν ἐξηρτημένην ὑπόστασιν.*

d 8 *ὅ τι πλησίον*. The reading in Plotinus, *ὁ πλησίον*, is better.

536 a 8 *πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν*. The reading of the passage is uncertain. In Plotinus Creuzer adopts *ποθεῖ δὲ πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν τὸ γεννηθέν*, which gives the meaning, 'Everything which begets desires and loves that which is begotten.'

b 2 *ἑτερότητι*. Cf. 529 d 3. The 'otherness' here consists in its being numerically different.

b 6 *τὰ Πλάτωνος τριττά*. See the passage quoted below (541 c 9) from Epist. ii. 312 E. The text in Plotinus, and here, is confused; as given by Gaisford and Dindorf it differs from the text of the original passage in Plato, which is perfectly clear, *δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον πέρι τὰ τρίτα.* In each clause *περί* stands after its case, but does not suffer *anastrophe* in the former clause (Chandler § 910) because *δέ* intervenes.

c 2 *τὴν ψυχήν*. The *ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος* is the third member of this trinity. Cudworth, ii. 318 ff. 'Thus Proclus affirmeth of

Numenius the Pythagorean: 'Ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶ Θεός.'

τῷ κρατῆρι ἐκείνῳ. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 41 D 'Thus he spake, and again poured the remains of the elements into that former cup in which he was previously mingling the soul of the universe, and mingled them partly in the same way, but no longer unalloyed and unchangeable, but of a second and third quality.'

c 3 πατέρα φησὶ τἀγαθόν. Cf. Jowett, *Introduction to Philebus*, 11 'To Plato the idea of God or mind is both personal and impersonal. . . . Hence, without any reconciliation or even remark, in the Republic he speaks at one time of God or gods, and at another time of the good.' Cf. Fairbairn, *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 154 'The Deity is not divine to us because He is almighty . . . but because we conceive Him as the impersonated ideal of the Absolute Good.'

d 2 πρεσβεύων. For the transitive sense compare Aesch. *Eum.* 1

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν.

18] **d** 4 περὶ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου. On the unity of God see Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* viii, and on the Son of God cap. x ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ.

537 b 1 τῇ ὕλῃ δυάδι οὔσῃ. The Pythagoreans 'maintained that the causes of sensible phenomena can lie neither in what is sensibly perceptible, nor in anything corporeal, nor even in mathematical figures, but only in Unity and indeterminate Duality. . . . They therefore regarded Unity as efficient cause, and Duality as passive matter' (Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 387).

c 9 ἐν διεξόδῳ. The word is variously applied to military evolutions (Plat. *Legg.* 813 E), to the passing from one action to another (Plut. *Mor.* 158 D σύμπας ὁ βίος, εἴ γε διαγωγή τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πράξεων ἔχουσα διέξοδον ὧν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς χρεία καὶ παρασκευὴ τὰς πλείστας παρακαλεῖ), to the passage through life according to the Stoic definition (Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Eth.* ii. 201 λογικῆς ζωῆς διέξοδον), to a treatise or description passing from one detail to another (Plut. *De Placitis Philos.* 874 D ἡ φυσικὴ διέξοδος). In Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 635 it is applied to the Son of God, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς . . . καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει καὶ διέξοδον, 'the Son is capable of manifestation and description.' In our passage of Eusebius the

connexion with κάτω . . . πεμπομένου points to the transmission of 'mind' from the divine Demiurge to man. Cf. Plotin. 189 A, 351 A.

d 2 βιώσκεσθαι. Cf. Aristot. *Meteor.* i. 14. 3 ἕτεροι δὲ τόποι βιώσκονται καὶ ἔνυδροι γίγνονται κατὰ μέρος.

κηδεύοντος. 'Legendum videtur κηδεύοντος, ut MSS. infra p. seq. 538 b 2' (Gaisford): with this reading, which Dindorf adopts, τὰ σώματα is to be understood as repeated after κηδεύοντος. But in both passages cod. I has κηδεύοντα in the sense 'allying themselves to the radiations of God.' Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 634 ὥστε κηδεύσας καλοῖς | γαμβροῖσι χαίρων σώζεται πικρὸν λέχος. Demosth. 1372. 25 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κηδεύσειεν αὐτῷ.

d 3 εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περιωπήν. Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 272 E ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης οἷον πηδαλίων οἴακος ἀφέμενος εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη, 'The Pilot retired to His own place of outlook, and then the world was turned upside down again by fate and innate desire.' Hesychius: Περιωπή· ἄποψις, τόπος ὑψηλὸς ὅθεν ἐστὶ περισκοπῆσαι ἀκρώρεια. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 831 with Hort's note. The word seems to occur first in Homer, *Il.* xiv. 8 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐλθὼν τάχα εἴσομαι ἐς περιωπήν: *Od.* x. 146 καρπαλίμως παρὰ νηὸς ἀνήϊον ἐς περιωπήν. In both these passages it means 'a place of outlook,' as the Scholiast on the former passage explains it: Τόπον ὑψηλόν, ἐξ οὗ περιωπίσασθαι καὶ περιβλέψαι ἔστι πάντα. So in Lucian, *Sympos.* 11 ἐκ περιωπῆς, 'from a place of observation.'

538 c 2 μάλιστά ἐστιν. 'Quid si ἔχει? nisi forte hic etiam subintelligas ἀναφερόμενος' (Viger). A good alternative would be to read ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον with cod. O.

d 1 νόμισμα κοῖλον, ἐπίσημον. Cf. Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 25 κοῖλος ἄργυρος, 'unstamped silver,' 'bullion.'

539 c 7 Κυβερνήτης. Cf. 537 d 3, note.

540 a 6 Ἀμέλιος. Gentilianus Amelius (Porphyr. *Vit. Plotini*, i. 20) is chiefly known as a pupil of Plotinus, with whom he remained twenty-four years (ib. i. 3 e), diligently taking notes from his lectures, from which he afterwards composed about a hundred books. Porphyry (vii. c) says that he wished to be called Amerius (Indivisible) rather than Amelius (Negligent). Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 240.

19] b 3 Cf. W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, Lect. ii, p. 47, note 1 'There is also a very interesting passage in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xi. 19) Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ

good? Or is the idea of good another mode of conceiving God? The latter seems to be the truer answer.' See the next note.

b 5 Ἀγαθὸς ἦν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 508 B. Jowett, ibid. 181 'The idea of good is a cause as well as an idea, and in this point of view may be compared with the Creator of the *Timaeus*, who out of His goodness created all things.' It is evident that there is but a short step from 'the idea of good,' which is to Plato one of 'the truest and most real of all things' (Jowett), and which is also 'a cause,' to the Creator who 'was good,' and 'out of His goodness made all things to be as like to Himself as possible.'

c 1 φάναι. On the use of the infinitive for the imperative, common in Attic writers, see Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* 546, and compare Plat. *Rep.* 473 A φάναι ἡμᾶς ἐξευρηκέναι, with Stallbaum's note.

d 2 τὸ εἶναί τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. In Plato's earlier view the 'existence' (τὸ εἶναι) of the individual consisted in participation in its own proper essence (τῆς οὐσίας μετέχειν, *Phaed.* 101), that is in partaking of the 'idea,' which alone had true being. Plato's own criticism of this theory is given in the *Parmenides*, and the transition to the theory of universal or abstract notions is especially marked in the question of Socrates (*Parmen.* 132), 'But may not the ideas be thoughts only, and have no proper existence except in our minds, Parmenides?'

d 3 ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας. Cf. Damascius in Ritter and Pr. 570 περὶ τῶν ὑπερθειοτάτων ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἄλλως οὔτε ἐννοεῖν οὔτε ὀνομάζειν ἢ οὕτως ὡς ἀναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἀνεχόντων τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ζωῆς καὶ οὐσίας πραγμάτων. Zeller, *Outlines*, 354 'Damascius, the pupil of Marinus, Ammonius, and Isidorus, who was head of the School of Athens about 520–530 A. D., an admirer and intellectual kinsman of Iamblichus, endeavours in vain in his work on the ultimate sources (περὶ ἀρχῶν) to find the means of transition from the primal essence—of the inconceivability of which he cannot speak strongly enough—to the intelligible by the insertion of a second and third unity.'

d 10 ὁμοούσια. This use of the word ὁμοούσιος by Eusebius some ten years before the Council of Nicaea is noticeable. See his letter to his own diocese in Athan. *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 241 καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινας λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγ-

γραφεῖς ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

543 b 1 On Numenius see 411 b.

22] c 3 ἀλιάδα. Cf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* iv. 8. 12.

ἐπακτρίδων. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 11 σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι.

c 4 μετακυμίοις, the spaces between the waves, i. e. the trough of the sea. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 91

εἰ γὰρ μετακύμιος ἄτας,
ὦ Παιάν, φανείης.

ὀξὺ δεδορκώς. See Lobeck, *Phrynich.* 576; Aristot. *Rhet. ad Alex.* i. 14 εἰ τὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπειν ἡδύ, τὸ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ὀξυδορκεῖν ἐστι θαυμαστόν.

544 b 2 διττὸς ὢν ⟨αὐτός,⟩ ποιεῖ κ.τ.λ. This is Viger's text, except that αὐτός does not appear as a conjecture: it is far preferable to αὐτὸ ποιεῖ I and αὐτοποιεῖ O, which latter compound verb is not found elsewhere. Translate therefore; 'being Himself twofold makes both the idea of Himself and makes the world as being its Creator.'

c 3 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ φρονεῖν τοῦτό ⟨γε⟩. The conjectural emendation ⟨γε⟩, for which Gaisford reads δέ (O), Viger δεῖν (I), and Dindorf δή, agrees with Plato's use of the combination καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 155 E καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ Σώκρατες, σκληρούς γε λέγεις. *Symp.* 197 A καὶ μὲν δὴ τήν γε τῶν ζώων ποίησιν . . . ; *Rep.* 526 B καὶ μὲν δή, ἔφη, σφόδρα γε ποιεῖ αὐτό. Cf. Riddell, *Plat. Apolog.* 188.

συντετύχηκε. I understand this word as referring to some earlier passage in the treatise where Numenius has ascribed wisdom to the First God exclusively. Otherwise the meaning of the present passage is very obscure.

c 4 ἀποχραίνεται. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 586 B ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλας θέσεως ἀποχραινομέναις. 'Verbum est de pictoribus proprium' (Stallbaum).

ἀγαθοῦται. The active voice is only used in the Septuagint in the sense of doing good to.

d 1 τῷ ὀξὺ βλέποντι. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 518 C ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ὂν καὶ τοῦ ὄντος τὸ φανότατον δυνατὴ γένηται ἀνασχέσθαι θεωμένη· τοῦτο δ' εἶναί φαμεν τἀγαθόν.

d 4 ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χωρίσας may refer either to the different ways

in which the thoughts are expressed, or to the different places in which they occur, as in the *Tim.* 29 E, or *Rep.* 505 A ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα, ibid. 508 E.

d 5 τὸν κυκλικὸν (λόγον) . . . ἐγράψατο. Probably the trite epitaph 'ἀγαθὸς ἦν,' answering to the Roman 'bene merenti,' or 'homini bene merentissimo.'

23] **545 a** 1 (δῆλον δ' ὅτι ὁ κόσμος). 'Haec parenthesis Eusebii est' (Vig.). Or possibly it may have been inserted by Numenius to make the meaning of his quotation clear.

a 4 ἐκεῖνο. In Plat. *Tim.* 30 C ἐκεῖνο is explained by the context as that whole in the likeness of which the world was framed, that is, the intelligible world, the ideal pattern of the visible.

b 3 ἐκ τῶν Διδύμῳ. Areius Didymus was a grammarian of Alexandria, pupil of Aristarchus, and intimate friend of Augustus, who riding into Alexandria with Didymus beside him spared the city for his sake (τῷ φίλῳ μου τοῦτο χαριζόμενος, Plut. *Mor.* 814, *V. Antonii* 80). Didymus has been variously called a Pythagorean, an Academic, and a Stoic; but these various descriptions are probably all due to the nature of his best known work, an Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν τοῖς Φιλοσόφοις ἀρεσκόντων. Fragments of this work have been edited by Diels, *Doxogr. Graeci*, 447 seqq., who also gives a clear account of the author, ibid. Proleg. 70–80. Didymus was called Χαλκέντερος from his immense industry, and Βιβλιολάθας, because he could not remember the books he had written (Athen. 139).

546 b 2 ἀρτίως. We have here a notable instance of the way in which a charge of heresy was sometimes concocted. The Latin translator renders οὐσιώδη ἀρτίως ἡμῖν, 'nobiscum essentiae ratione convenire,' instead of giving to ἀρτίως its proper meaning, 'just now,' 'recently' (Lobeck, *Phryn.* 20). The French translator, trusting to the Latin, gives to the passage the same absurdly contradictory meaning, that the Word is 'divine, incorporeal, having a nature like ours,' and adds in a note: 'It is easy to see that in this passage, as in many others, Eusebius sets forth the doctrine of the Arians and not the Catholic Faith.'

ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν λόγος. Eusebius plays on the double application of λόγος to the ordinary speech of the Greek, and to the Divine Word.

c 3 ῥοώδους οὐσίας. 'Fluxive,' which is used by Shakespeare

and Ben Jonson, would be a very convenient word in translating the language of ancient philosophy, as, for example, that of Heracleitus, but I have used 'fleeting' as more familiar.

c 7 *ἐν εἰκόνι.* Ps. xxxix. 7 (Sept.) *ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεται ἄνθρωπος.* R. V. *every man walketh in a vain shew.*

24] **547 a** 2 *τὴν αἰσθητὴν πόλιν.* The text of Philo (*De Mundi Opificio*, 5 M.) is much corrupted in the MSS. of Eusebius, which here read *νοητήν* instead of *αἰσθητήν*. As *νοητήν* is evidently inappropriate, I have restored *αἰσθητήν* from Mangey's text.

a 5 *εἰκὼν εἰκόνος.* The Divine Image as existing in God (*εἰκόνος*) is described by the same word (*εἰκών*) as the image in man.

a 6 *ὃ μεῖζον.* I have restored the reading of Philo, as *εἰ μείζων* (Eus. codd.) gives no appropriate sense.

a 7 *θείας εἰκόνος* here means the *νοητὸς κόσμος* as a whole. Cf. 546 d 8 *Θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιοῦντος.*

b 4 *ἣ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν.* Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 37 E 'To attach eternity to the creature was impossible, but he designs to make a sort of moving image of eternity, and, while arranging a heaven, he makes an eternal image moving according to number while eternity rests in unity, and this is what we call time. For whereas days and nights and months and years did not exist before heaven was created, He contrives that their birth should be at the same time with its establishment.' The sequel of the passage is quoted above by Eusebius 524 d.

c 1 *ἰσήλικα.* Again, in Plat. *Tim.* 38 B, we find the same thought that time began with the creation of the heavens, 'in order that being produced together they might be dissolved together, if ever there was to be any dissolution of them.'

c 7 *Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν.* Philo before *ὁ ποιῶν* adds *παρὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου,* which makes the invisible and ideal heaven a copy, in part, of the ideal world, as it exists in the Divine mind. Eusebius omits both these words and the distinct explanation of them 548 a 1 *Τὸν δὲ . . . γένεσιν αὐτοῦ.*

d 4 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε Θεοῦ.* Cf. Gen. i. 2 *πνεῦμα θεοῦ.*

d 5 *ὑπερβαλλόντως καλόν.* We must restore this from Philo. The error in *ὑπερβάλλον καλόν* seems to be only an accidental omission.

d 7 *αὐγοειδέστερον.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 911 D *φέγγος ἔχει καὶ χρόαν αὐγοειδῆ.* Ibid. 928 C.

d 8 καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κριτηρίων νοῦς ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ σώματος. This is the text of Philo, which is hopelessly corrupted in Eusebius, καὶ τὰ κριτήρια νοῦς ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, ὀφθαλμῶν σώματος.

548 a 1 There is an omission in the MSS. of Eusebius in consequence of the repetition of νοητόν: Τὸν δὲ ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν ⟨θεῖον Λόγον εἰκόνα λέγει Θεοῦ· καὶ ταύτης εἰκόνα τὸ νοητὸν⟩ φῶς ἐκεῖνο, ὃ θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκών, τοῦ διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ. 'And the invisible and intelligible divine word he calls *the image of God*. And an image of this image he calls that intelligible light which is an image of the divine word that explained its origin.'

a 2 ἐκεῖνο. After this word ὃ is accidentally omitted in my text.

a 5 πανανγειαν, a word invented by Philo. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* ix. 3, where Φύσις is addressed as πανανγής.

b 6 καλῶς ποιῶν (Eusebius) is less appropriate here than the simpler ὁ ποιῶν, 'the Creator,' of Philo.

οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν. Gen. i. 5 'the first day,' A. V., 'one day,' R. V.

c 1 ἐτελειογονεῖτο, for which Philo has ἐτελειουργεῖτο, means 'was brought forth in perfection.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1018 τὰ ἑπτάμηνα τῶν βρεφῶν τελεογονεῖσθαι.

c 4 ὅτι περ καὶ τριχῇ διάστατον, 'because it is of three dimensions.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1023 B τὴν ψυχὴν ἰδέαν εἶναι τοῦ πάντῃ διαστάτου.

c 9 τῷ ⟨πέμπτῳ⟩, a necessary correction for τῷ ἕκτῳ (Eus. codd.). The passage occurs in *Strom.* v. 702, and is quoted again on 671, without any reference.

25] d 3 καλοῦ. Clement has the better reading, καλουμένου. Cf. *Strom.* iv. 642 ἴσμεν δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος πόλιν παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ κειμένην. Plat. *Rep.* ix. 592 ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν.

d 4 τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν ἑξάδι. Zeller, *Pr.-Socr. Phil.* i. 435, note 2 '*Schol. in Arist.* 541 a 23 τὸν δὲ τέσσαρα ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον [οἱ Πυθ.] τὸ σῶμα ἁπλῶς, τὸν δὲ πέντε τὸ φυσικὸν σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἓξ τὸ ἔμψυχον. It is true that a very improbable reason is given for this, viz. because $6 = 2 \times 3$, and that the even designates the body, and the uneven the soul.' Ibid. i. 475 'In regard to Philolaus, we are told that in the same way that he derived geometrical determinations (the point, the line, the surface, the solid) from the first

four numbers, so he derived physical qualities from five, the soul from six.'

549 a 2 Gen. i. 2 (Sept.) *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.*

a 7 *κατὰ τὰ γένη* seems to be suggested by *κατὰ γένος* so often repeated in Gen. i (Sept.), and is here referred to the 'ideas' of the various genera in the intellectual world. In Clement Klotz has *καὶ τὰ γένη.*

b 1 *γήϊνον . . . σκῆνος.* Plato often uses the word *γήϊνος* of the body and its members (*Phaedr.* 246 C; *Tim.* 64 C), but *σκῆνος* apparently is used only in the spurious dialogues, and there without *γήϊνον.* Cf. 2 Cor. v. 1 *ἡ ἐπίγειος οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους.*

b 2 *εἰς πρόσωπον.* Gen. ii. 7 *And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils* (*τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ,* Sept.) *the breath of life.*

b 4 *ἐπεισόδιον,* 'accessory.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 584 E *ταῖς ἐπεισοδίοις καὶ περιτταῖς . . . ἐπιθυμίαις.*

πρωτοπλάστου. Cf. Sap. vii. 1 *γηγενοῦς ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου.* Ibid. x. 1 *αὕτη πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου μόνον κτισθέντα διεφύλαξεν.*

26] **d** 1 *Ψυχὴν διοικοῦσαν.* Cf. Clem. Al. v. 701; Theodoret. *Gr. Affect. Cur.* 55. 4.

d 5 *Δυοῖν.* Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1. 41 *δῆλον ὅτι δύο ἐστὸν ψυχά, καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ κρατῇ τὰ καλὰ πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ ἡ πονηρὰ τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐπιχειρεῖται.* Ast refers to Plat. *Legg.* 906 A, and thinks that in both passages there is an allusion to the dualism of Zoroaster. Stallbaum also in a long note defends Plato's own doctrine from the charge of dualism, referring to what follows immediately in 907 C *τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ κόσμου παντός, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοιαύτην ὁδὸν ἐκείνην.* On the doctrine of Zoroaster see Plut. *Mor.* 369 D.

d 9 *πλειόνων δὲ τῶν μή* (sc. *ἀγαθῶν*). It is unnecessary to adopt Viger's proposal *πλειόνων δὲ τινῶν* (sic) *μή,* meaning that besides good and bad there are no more kinds.

550 a 4 *Καὶ ἦν ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη* (Sept.), Job i. 13, an attempt to represent the force of the article in the Heb. הַיּוֹם.

27] **551 a** 11 *ἐν τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ.* *Alcib.* I. 133 C. This dialogue is not generally accepted as a genuine work of Plato. Cf. Jowett, *Introd.* 446 'We have a difficulty in supposing that the same

writer, who has given so profound and complex a notion of the characters both of Alcibiades and Socrates in the Symposium, should have treated them in so thin and superficial a manner in the Alcibiades, or that he should have imagined that a mighty nature like his could have been reformed by a few not very conclusive words of Socrates.'

b 1 *θειότερον*. The MSS. of Plato vary between *θειότερον* and *νοερώτερον*. Cobet, followed by Schanz, conjectures *κυριώτερον*. The MSS. of Eusebius have *θειότατον*, tending to confirm the reading *θειότερον*, which is also more appropriate to the following context *τῷ θεῷ ἄρα τοῦτο ἔοικεν αὐτῆς*.

b 5 *θεόν τε καὶ φρόνησιν*. For *θεόν* Ast conjectures *νοῦν*. Stallbaum and Schanz bracket the whole clause, which is not necessary to the sense.

b 8—**c** 3 *Ἆρ' οὖν . . . Ναί*. This whole passage is an insertion not found in the MSS. of Plato, but in Stobaeus, 181. It is judged by Ast and Buttmann to be spurious.

b 8 *Ἆρ' οὖν* [*ὅθ'*] *ὥσπερ*. The construction is disturbed by *ὅθ'*, which is not in Stobaeus.

τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἐνόπτρου. Just before this passage, in 132 E, Ps.-Plato writes: 'Have you then ever observed that the face of one who looks into the eye is reflected as in a mirror in the optic of the person over against him, which we call the pupil, there being a sort of image of the person looking in?'

c 5 Before *ὅπως* a verb is required on which it must depend, or *ἐπάκουσον* (**a** 11) must be understood again, unless with Viger we omit *ὅπως* altogether.

τοὺς τόπους. After these words Viger adds *ὁ αὐτὸς λέγων οὕτως*, which is omitted in the chief MSS. of Eusebius.

552 a 4 [*τὸ δι' αἰσθήσεως*], omitted in all the chief MSS. of Eusebius, is inserted in Viger, and being part of the genuine text of Plato should have been printed within angular brackets ⟨ ⟩.

a 5 *ταῦτα τὰ μηδέποτε*. The reading of Plato *τὰ οὐδέποτε* is altered for the worse in Eusebius, probably from referring to the previous passage d 1 *τὸ δὲ ὁρατὸν μηδέποτε κατὰ ταὐτά*;

a 7 *τοιούτων*, i.e. uncertain and confused. Plato argues in the same way in p. 65 B that neither sight nor hearing nor any other sense can convey exact and certain knowledge.

d 6 *ἀνοήτῳ*, which usually means 'unintelligent,' is here put

Numenius the Pythagorean: 'Ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶ Θεός.'

τῷ κρατῆρι ἐκείνῳ. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 41 D 'Thus he spake, and again poured the remains of the elements into that former cup in which he was previously mingling the soul of the universe, and mingled them partly in the same way, but no longer unalloyed and unchangeable, but of a second and third quality.'

c 3 πατέρα φησὶ τἀγαθόν. Cf. Jowett, *Introduction to Philebus*, 11 'To Plato the idea of God or mind is both personal and impersonal. . . . Hence, without any reconciliation or even remark, in the Republic he speaks at one time of God or gods, and at another time of the good.' Cf. Fairbairn, *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 154 'The Deity is not divine to us because He is almighty . . . but because we conceive Him as the impersonated ideal of the Absolute Good.'

d 2 πρεσβεύων. For the transitive sense compare Aesch. *Eum.* 1

> Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
> τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν.

18] **d** 4 περὶ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου. On the unity of God see Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* viii, and on the Son of God cap. x ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ.

537 b 1 τῇ ὕλῃ δυάδι οὔσῃ. The Pythagoreans 'maintained that the causes of sensible phenomena can lie neither in what is sensibly perceptible, nor in anything corporeal, nor even in mathematical figures, but only in Unity and indeterminate Duality. . . . They therefore regarded Unity as efficient cause, and Duality as passive matter' (Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 387).

c 9 ἐν διεξόδῳ. The word is variously applied to military evolutions (Plat. *Legg.* 813 E), to the passing from one action to another (Plut. *Mor.* 158 D σύμπας ὁ βίος, εἴ γε διαγωγή τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πράξεων ἔχουσα διέξοδον ὧν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς χρεία καὶ παρασκευὴ τὰς πλείστας παρακαλεῖ), to the passage through life according to the Stoic definition (Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Eth.* ii. 201 λογικῆς ζωῆς διέξοδον), to a treatise or description passing from one detail to another (Plut. *De Placitis Philos.* 874 D ἡ φυσικὴ διέξοδος). In Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 635 it is applied to the Son of God, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς . . . καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει καὶ διέξοδον, 'the Son is capable of manifestation and description.' In our passage of Eusebius the

connexion with κάτω . . . πεμπομένου points to the transmission of 'mind' from the divine Demiurge to man. Cf. Plotin. 189 A, 351 A.

d 2 βιώσκεσθαι. Cf. Aristot. *Meteor.* i. 14. 3 ἕτεροι δὲ τόποι βιώσκονται καὶ ἔνυδροι γίγνονται κατὰ μέρος.

κηδεύοντος. 'Legendum videtur κηδεύοντος, ut MSS. infra p. seq. 538 b 2' (Gaisford): with this reading, which Dindorf adopts, τὰ σώματα is to be understood as repeated after κηδεύοντος. But in both passages cod. I has κηδεύοντα in the sense 'allying themselves to the radiations of God.' Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 634 ὥστε κηδεύσας καλοῖς | γαμβροῖσι χαίρων σώζεται πικρὸν λέχος. Demosth. 1372. 25 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κηδεύσειεν αὐτῷ.

d 3 εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περιωπήν. Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 272 E ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης οἷον πηδαλίου οἴακος ἀφέμενος εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη, 'The Pilot retired to His own place of outlook, and then the world was turned upside down again by fate and innate desire.' Hesychius: Περιωπή· ἄποψις, τόπος ὑψηλὸς ὅθεν ἐστὶ περισκοπῆσαι ἀκρώρεια. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 831 with Hort's note. The word seems to occur first in Homer, *Il.* xiv. 8 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐλθὼν τάχα εἴσομαι ἐς περιωπήν: *Od.* x. 146 καρπαλίμως παρὰ νηὸς ἀνήϊον ἐς περιωπήν. In both these passages it means 'a place of outlook,' as the Scholiast on the former passage explains it: Τόπον ὑψηλόν, ἐξ οὗ περιωπίσασθαι καὶ περιβλέψαι ἔστι πάντα. So in Lucian, *Sympos.* 11 ἐκ περιωπῆς, 'from a place of observation.'

538 c 2 μάλιστά ἐστιν. 'Quid si ἔχει? nisi forte hic etiam subintelligas ἀναφερόμενος' (Viger). A good alternative would be to read ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον with cod. O.

d 1 νόμισμα κοῖλον, ἐπίσημον. Cf. Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 25 κοῖλος ἄργυρος, 'unstamped silver,' 'bullion.'

539 c 7 Κυβερνήτης. Cf. 537 d 3, note.

540 a 6 Ἀμέλιος. Gentilianus Amelius (Porphyr. *Vit. Plotini*, i. 20) is chiefly known as a pupil of Plotinus, with whom he remained twenty-four years (ib. i. 3 e), diligently taking notes from his lectures, from which he afterwards composed about a hundred books. Porphyry (vii. c) says that he wished to be called Amerius (Indivisible) rather than Amelius (Negligent). Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 240.

19] **b** 3 Cf. W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, Lect. ii, p. 47, note 1 'There is also a very interesting passage in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xi. 19) Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ

γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε. This is so near to the words of St. John's prologue as to suggest that the Apostle, writing at Ephesus, is here referring deliberately to the lofty doctrine of the great Ephesian idealist, whom Justin claims as a Christian before Christ, and whom Clement quotes several times with respect.' Cf. Justin. M. *Apol.* i. 46 *Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν λόγον ὄντα οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε. Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς.* Bywater, *Heracl. Rell. Fr.* 11, gives quotations of the passage from Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5; Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* vii. 32; Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 716, and other authors.

b 4 *ὁ βάρβαρος*, evidently St. John.

c 5 *τὸ μεγαλεῖον*, 'the majesty.' Cf. Polyb. viii. 3. 1 *τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῶν πράξεων.*

d 2 *γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ.* Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 B 'with forehead bold and bare' (Jowett).

541 a 4 *τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κ.τ.λ.* Col. i. 15. The latter clauses are misplaced, and inaccurately quoted.

a 7 *οὐσιώσεως.* Cf. 314 b 2, note.

20] **c** 6 *ἢ πόντου ἢ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς.* Ficinus omits *ἐν πτυχαῖς* in his translation, 'si quid huic tabellae vel mari vel terra contingat.' Viger refers it to the leaves of the tablet, as in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 98 *κἀν δέλτου πτυχαῖς*, a very usual meaning, but the order of the words and the extreme rarity in prose of the 'genitivus loci' point rather to the connexion with *γῆς*. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 1631 *ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς*; *Phoen.* 84 *οὐρανοῦ ναίων πτυχάς*; Soph. *Oed. T.* 1026 *εὑρὼν ναπαίαις ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς.*

c 9 *δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα.* For the construction see 536 b 6, note. The passage is rightly rendered by Ficinus: 'circa secundum secunda: tertia circa tertium.' The same passage is quoted as from Celsus by Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 18.

21] **542 b** 4 *Λέγωμεν.* Plat. *Tim.* 29 D, quoted by Irenaeus, iii. 25. 5. The passage seems to have been overlooked at first by Jowett, *Introduction to the Republic*, 172 'There is no mention of the idea of good in the *Timaeus*, nor of the divine Creator of the world in the *Republic*: and we are naturally led to ask in what relation they stand to one another? Is God above or below the idea of

good? Or is the idea of good another mode of conceiving God? The latter seems to be the truer answer.' See the next note.

b 5 Ἀγαθὸς ἦν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 508 B. Jowett, ibid. 181 'The idea of good is a cause as well as an idea, and in this point of view may be compared with the Creator of the *Timaeus*, who out of His goodness created all things.' It is evident that there is but a short step from 'the idea of good,' which is to Plato one of 'the truest and most real of all things' (Jowett), and which is also 'a cause,' to the Creator who 'was good,' and 'out of His goodness made all things to be as like to Himself as possible.'

c 1 φάναι. On the use of the infinitive for the imperative, common in Attic writers, see Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* 546, and compare Plat. *Rep.* 473 A φάναι ἡμᾶς ἐξευρηκέναι, with Stallbaum's note.

d 2 τὸ εἶναί τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. In Plato's earlier view the 'existence' (τὸ εἶναι) of the individual consisted in participation in its own proper essence (τῆς οὐσίας μετέχειν, *Phaed.* 101), that is in partaking of the 'idea,' which alone had true being. Plato's own criticism of this theory is given in the *Parmenides*, and the transition to the theory of universal or abstract notions is especially marked in the question of Socrates (*Parmen.* 132), 'But may not the ideas be thoughts only, and have no proper existence except in our minds, Parmenides?'

d 3 ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας. Cf. Damascius in Ritter and Pr. 570 περὶ τῶν ὑπερθειοτάτων ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἄλλως οὔτε ἐννοεῖν οὔτε ὀνομάζειν ἢ οὕτως ὡς ἀναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἀνεχόντων τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ζωῆς καὶ οὐσίας πραγμάτων. Zeller, *Outlines*, 354 'Damascius, the pupil of Marinus, Ammonius, and Isidorus, who was head of the School of Athens about 520–530 A. D., an admirer and intellectual kinsman of Iamblichus, endeavours in vain in his work on the ultimate sources (περὶ ἀρχῶν) to find the means of transition from the primal essence—of the inconceivability of which he cannot speak strongly enough—to the intelligible by the insertion of a second and third unity.'

d 10 ὁμοούσια. This use of the word ὁμοούσιος by Eusebius some ten years before the Council of Nicaea is noticeable. See his letter to his own diocese in Athan. *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 241 καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινας λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγ-

γραφεῖς ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

543 b 1 On Numenius see 411 b.

22] **c** 3 *ἀλιάδα.* Cf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* iv. 8. 12.

ἐπακτρίδων. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 11 *σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι.*

c 4 *μετακυμίοις*, the spaces between the waves, i. e. the trough of the sea. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 91

εἰ γὰρ μετακύμιος ἄτας,
ὦ Παιάν, φανείης.

ὀξὺ δεδορκώς. See Lobeck, *Phrynich.* 576; Aristot. *Rhet. ad Alex.* i. 14 *εἰ τὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπειν ἡδύ, τὸ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ὀξυδορκεῖν ἐστι θαυμαστόν.*

544 b 2 *διττὸς ὢν ⟨αὐτός,⟩ ποιεῖ κ.τ.λ.* This is Viger's text, except that *αὐτός* does not appear as a conjecture: it is far preferable to *αὐτὸ ποιεῖ* I and *αὐτοποιεῖ* O, which latter compound verb is not found elsewhere. Translate therefore; 'being Himself twofold makes both the idea of Himself and makes the world as being its Creator.'

c 3 *καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ φρονεῖν τοῦτό ⟨γε⟩.* The conjectural emendation ⟨*γε*⟩, for which Gaisford reads *δέ* (O), Viger *δεῖν* (I), and Dindorf *δή*, agrees with Plato's use of the combination *καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . γε.* Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 155 E *καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ Σώκρατες, σκληρούς γε λέγεις.* *Symp.* 197 A *καὶ μὲν δὴ τήν γε τῶν ζώων ποίησιν . . .;* *Rep.* 526 B *καὶ μὲν δή, ἔφη, σφόδρα γε ποιεῖ αὐτό.* Cf. Riddell, *Plat. Apolog.* 188.

συντετύχηκε. I understand this word as referring to some earlier passage in the treatise where Numenius has ascribed wisdom to the First God exclusively. Otherwise the meaning of the present passage is very obscure.

c 4 *ἀποχραίνεται.* Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 586 B *ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλας θέσεως ἀποχραινομέναις.* 'Verbum est de pictoribus proprium' (Stallbaum).

ἀγαθοῦται. The active voice is only used in the Septuagint in the sense of doing good to.

d 1 *τῷ ὀξὺ βλέποντι.* Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 518 C *ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ὂν καὶ τοῦ ὄντος τὸ φανότατον δυνατὴ γένηται ἀνασχέσθαι θεωμένη· τοῦτο δ' εἶναί φαμεν τἀγαθόν.*

d 4 *ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χωρίσας* may refer either to the different ways

in which the thoughts are expressed, or to the different places in which they occur, as in the *Tim.* 29 E, or *Rep.* 505 A ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα, ibid. 508 E.

d 5 τὸν κυκλικὸν (λόγον) . . . ἐγράψατο. Probably the trite epitaph 'ἀγαθὸς ἦν,' answering to the Roman 'bene merenti,' or 'homini bene merentissimo.'

23] **545 a** 1 (δῆλον δ' ὅτι ὁ κόσμος). 'Haec parenthesis Eusebii est' (Vig.). Or possibly it may have been inserted by Numenius to make the meaning of his quotation clear.

a 4 ἐκεῖνο. In Plat. *Tim.* 30 C ἐκεῖνο is explained by the context as that whole in the likeness of which the world was framed, that is, the intelligible world, the ideal pattern of the visible.

b 3 ἐκ τῶν Διδύμῳ. Areius Didymus was a grammarian of Alexandria, pupil of Aristarchus, and intimate friend of Augustus, who riding into Alexandria with Didymus beside him spared the city for his sake (τῷ φίλῳ μου τοῦτο χαριζόμενος, Plut. *Mor.* 814, *V. Antonii* 80). Didymus has been variously called a Pythagorean, an Academic, and a Stoic; but these various descriptions are probably all due to the nature of his best known work, an Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν τοῖς Φιλοσόφοις ἀρεσκόντων. Fragments of this work have been edited by Diels, *Doxogr. Graeci*, 447 seqq., who also gives a clear account of the author, ibid. Proleg. 70–80. Didymus was called Χαλκέντερος from his immense industry, and Βιβλιολάθας, because he could not remember the books he had written (Athen. 139).

546 b 2 ἀρτίως. We have here a notable instance of the way in which a charge of heresy was sometimes concocted. The Latin translator renders οὐσιώδη ἀρτίως ἡμῖν, 'nobiscum essentiae ratione convenire,' instead of giving to ἀρτίως its proper meaning, 'just now,' 'recently' (Lobeck, *Phryn.* 20). The French translator, trusting to the Latin, gives to the passage the same absurdly contradictory meaning, that the Word is 'divine, incorporeal, having a nature like ours,' and adds in a note: 'It is easy to see that in this passage, as in many others, Eusebius sets forth the doctrine of the Arians and not the Catholic Faith.'

ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν λόγος. Eusebius plays on the double application of λόγος to the ordinary speech of the Greek, and to the Divine Word.

c 3 ῥοώδους οὐσίας. 'Fluxive,' which is used by Shakespeare

δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου διήκουσαν ἥλιόν τε κινεῖν καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὸν πάντα οὐρανὸν περιάγειν. Cf. ibid. 6 ἐπὶ πᾶν διϊκνεῖσθαι πέφυκεν τὸ θεῖον. The proverb itself is quoted at the end of the same treatise, as from Plato. Compare the description of God by Xenophanes as a homogeneous sphere, sensitive in all parts, in Hippol. *Philos.* xii (Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 565).

ξυνέπεται δίκη. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* 62. 1

Ὄμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος ἀγλαομόρφου
ἣ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει,
οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων.

Cf. Demosth. c *Aristogeit.* 773 'Platonem ... in his ... potissimum Orphicos esse secutum facile credimus Proclo, apte versiculum afferenti,

Τῷ δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἐφέσπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός.

Nec aliter sentit Lobeckius *Aglaoph.* 532' (Stallbaum).

c 2 Εὐθύτητας εἶδε. Ps. xi. 7 'His countenance doth behold the upright' (A. V.). The R. V. changes the construction, 'The upright shall behold His face.'

d 4 Χαρμονή. Job xx. 5 Sept. εὐφροσύνη δὲ ἀσεβῶν πτῶμα ἐξαίσιον, χαρμονὴ δὲ παρανόμων ἀπώλεια. Eusebius has transferred χαρμονή to the first clause.

14] **532 a** 3 Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ. This orthodox confession should be set against any more questionable phrases.

a 6 Κύριος παρὰ Κυρίου. Gen. xix. 24 *Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven.* Eusebius has given an imperfect and inaccurate quotation, bringing the second 'Lord' from the end of the sentence and setting it close to the first, to make it appear that two Persons are mentioned. In this he follows Justin M. *Tryph.* 56 fin. 'And He is the Lord from the Lord who is in heaven, that is, from the Maker of all things.' The Synod of Sirmium (A. D. 351) adopted the same interpretation (*Anathema* 17): 'If any one understands the words, "Then the Lord rained fire from the Lord" (Gen. xix. 24), not as referring to the Father and the Son, but (says) that He (the Father) sent rain from Himself, let him be anathema. For the Lord the Son sent rain from the Lord the Father.' See Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 196.

Such misuse of the passage is, of course, utterly unjustifiable. 'Fire from the Lord' probably means lightning, as 'the fire of

God,' 2 Kings i. 12; Job i. 16, or the repetition may be intended, as Calvin thought, to emphasize the extraordinary character of the fire.

b 4 *τῷ Κυρίῳ μου.* Ps. cx. 1. Eusebius may here be excused for not knowing that the second Hebrew word (אֲדֹנִי) translated *τῷ Κυρίῳ μου* by the Seventy is a common title of courtesy towards a superior, not limited to God as אֲדֹנָי is. The ambiguous use of *Κύριος* by the LXX for many Hebrew words of different meaning, especially for אָדוֹן, אֲדֹנָי, and יְהוָֹה, has been a fruitful source of misinterpretation.

15] **533 b** 3 Philo Jud. *De Linguarum Confus.* xx. 419 M. Eusebius reads *τοῦ τὸ ὂν ἰδεῖν*, where Philo has simply *τοῦτον ἰδεῖν*, referring to *ὁ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἄτρεπτος Θεός*, in the preceding sentence.

c 6 *ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραήλ.* Cf. 519 a *Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ὁρῶν Θεόν.*

c 7 *ἀρετάς*, Eusebius; *ἀρχάς*, Philo.

d 7 *Ἀνατολή.* Zach. vi. 12 Sept. The Hebrew צֶמַח means 'branch,' or 'bud.' Zachariah is called a companion of Moses, as being one of 'the goodly fellowship of the Prophets.'

d 9 *θείαν ἰδέαν φοροῦντα, ἱκανῶς* (Eusebius). The reading of Philo, *θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνος*, 'who differs not from the divine image,' has been altered in Eusebius, but the sense is the same.

534 a 5 *Περὶ τοῦ τὸ χεῖρον.* Eusebius here gives a wrong reference: the quotations are taken from the treatise *On the Confusion of Tongues*, as is mentioned above.

b 3 *ἐν τῷ Ἐπινομίδι.* This is changed in the MSS. of Eusebius into *ἐν τῷ Ἐπιμενίδῃ*, with the evident purpose of avoiding a supposed false concord. The true explanation *ἐν τῷ Ἐπινομίδι* (*λόγῳ*) is confirmed by the forms of quotation in the contents of Bk. xiii. Thus 4 *ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Ἐπινομίδος*, for which we find in 18 *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπινομίδος.* Cf. Soph. *Fr.* 327 Grammaticus Bekkeri, 373. 5 '*Ἀκουστά. ὡς ἐν τῇ* (cod. *τῷ*) *Κρεούσῃ*,' sc. *δράματι.* Soph. *Fr.* 587 *ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ τῷ δράματι.*

16] **b** 5 *Καὶ τιμάς.* The 'Epinomis,' or 'Appendix to the Laws,' is thought to be the work of some pupil of Plato, not of the Master himself. In the passage quoted (986 C) the author is referring to the powers and prerogatives of the heavenly bodies regarded as deities.

c 2 *ὃν ἔταξε λόγος.* Compare Caesar Morgan, *On the Trinity of*

Plato, 4 'It is to be observed that the word λόγος, ὃς ἔταξε κόσμον, has not even an article prefixed to it; which, I conceive, it would have had, if it had been intended to express a person.' This conclusion is not affected by the inaccuracy of the quotation.

c 5 τῇ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν. The sixth of the Epistles ascribed to Plato is addressed to Hermeias, the dynast of Atarneus and Assos, and friend of Aristotle, and to Erastus and Coriscus, both of the neighbouring city of Scepsis, and pupils of Plato.

d 4 τὸν τῶν πάντων Θεόν. Caesar Morgan, ibid. 50 'The author here appears to me to express himself according to the system of a Creator and a creation. I conceive that τὸν τῶν πάντων Θεόν corresponds with τὸ πάντων αἴτιον and βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ. in the *Philebus* (28 d), the Universe or the soul of the Universe. According to this interpretation αἰτίου πατέρα κύριον must mean the eternal self-existent Being, the Creator of the Universe (?), who is called in the Timaeus δημιουργός (?), and πατήρ.' But τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ means 'the Father of the Demiurge.'

d 5 τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου πατέρα. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom*. 710, who says that Plato 'appears to exhibit the Father and the Son somehow or other (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως) from the Hebrew Scriptures.' Eusebius adopts the interpretation more confidently. See Cudworth, *Int. Syst*. i. 4. 23 (vol. ii. 75. 311 ff., 314).

535 a 6 Πλωτῖνος. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 328 'The real founder of the Neo-Platonic School was Plotinus. This eminent thinker was born in 204–205 A. D. at Lycopolis in Egypt. For eleven years he enjoyed the teaching of Ammonius (Saccas). In A. D. 244–245 he went to Rome, and there founded a School, over which he presided till his death. He was universally revered for his character, and held in high respect by the Emperor Gallienus and his consort Salonina. He died in Campania in 270 A. D. His writings were published after his death by Porphyrius in six Enneads.'

17| **b** 1 Κόσμον αἰσθητὸν κ.τ.λ. This sentence is introduced by the words Ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε, and is intended to show the excellence of Mind by its superiority even to Soul, excellent as that also is.

b 5 παρ' ⟨αὐτῷ⟩ ἀΐδια. With Creuzer's conjecture αὐτῷ, or αὑτῷ as in his text, the meaning is that while phenomena are transient, the Ideas are permanent both in the intelligible world and

in man's own mind: this thought is more fully expressed in *Enn.* v. 9. 13 *εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ λέγοιτο, συμπεριλαμβανομένων καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ, πάντα ἐνταῦθα ὅσα κἀκεῖ.* But *παρ' αὐτῶν*, the reading preserved by Eusebius, expresses more exactly the meaning of Plotinus in the present passage. 'His whole point here is *νοῦς κρείττων ψυχῆς*. I should translate "and there let him see all intelligible things, and things which are of themselves immortal in their own understanding and life." Eternity belongs to Mind as Time to Soul (*Enn.* iv. 4. 15 *αἰὼν μὲν περὶ νοῦν, χρόνος δὲ περὶ ψυχήν*).' For this good correction I am indebted to the Rev. W. R. Inge.

c 7 *γενομένη*. Eusebius leaves the sentence unfinished; in Plotinus it runs thus: *καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς γεγενημένη ἐκεῖνο ὁριστὴν ἔχει, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀόριστον παρ' αὐτῆς.*

c 9 *περίλαμψιν*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 931 A *οὐδὲ σύλλαμψιν ἀλλὰ περίλαμψιν αὐτῆς ὄντα φωτισμόν.*

d 1 *φῶς*. For this Plotinus has *ὥσπερ*, 'the brightness running as it were around him.' But Creuzer would adopt *φῶς* in Plotinus.

d 7 *ὧν ἀπολαύει ὑποστάντων ὅ τι πλησίον*, 'and they subsist and are enjoyed by whatever is near.' The meaning seems to be that the perfume is part of the substance, as in d 3 *δίδωσιν αὐτῶν ἐξηρτημένην ὑπόστασιν.*

d 8 *ὅ τι πλησίον*. The reading in Plotinus, *ὁ πλησίον*, is better.

536 a 8 *πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν*. The reading of the passage is uncertain. In Plotinus Creuzer adopts *ποθεῖ δὲ πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν τὸ γεννηθέν*, which gives the meaning, 'Everything which begets desires and loves that which is begotten.'

b 2 *ἑτερότητι*. Cf. 529 d 3. The 'otherness' here consists in its being numerically different.

b 6 *τὰ Πλάτωνος τριττά*. See the passage quoted below (541 c 9) from Epist. ii. 312 E. The text in Plotinus, and here, is confused; as given by Gaisford and Dindorf it differs from the text of the original passage in Plato, which is perfectly clear, *δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον πέρι τὰ τρίτα.* In each clause *περί* stands after its case, but does not suffer *anastrophe* in the former clause (Chandler § 910) because *δέ* intervenes.

c 2 *τὴν ψυχήν*. The *ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος* is the third member of this trinity. Cudworth, ii. 318 ff. 'Thus Proclus affirmeth of

Numenius the Pythagorean: 'Ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶ Θεός.'

τῷ κρατῆρι ἐκείνῳ. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 41 D 'Thus he spake, and again poured the remains of the elements into that former cup in which he was previously mingling the soul of the universe, and mingled them partly in the same way, but no longer unalloyed and unchangeable, but of a second and third quality.'

c 3 πατέρα φησὶ τἀγαθόν. Cf. Jowett, *Introduction to Philebus*, 11 'To Plato the idea of God or mind is both personal and impersonal. . . . Hence, without any reconciliation or even remark, in the Republic he speaks at one time of God or gods, and at another time of the good.' Cf. Fairbairn, *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 154 'The Deity is not divine to us because He is almighty . . . but because we conceive Him as the impersonated ideal of the Absolute Good.'

d 2 πρεσβεύων. For the transitive sense compare Aesch. *Eum.* 1

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν.

18] d 4 περὶ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου. On the unity of God see Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* viii, and on the Son of God cap. x ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ.

537 b 1 τῇ ὕλῃ δυάδι οὔσῃ. The Pythagoreans 'maintained that the causes of sensible phenomena can lie neither in what is sensibly perceptible, nor in anything corporeal, nor even in mathematical figures, but only in Unity and indeterminate Duality. . . . They therefore regarded Unity as efficient cause, and Duality as passive matter' (Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 387).

c 9 ἐν διεξόδῳ. The word is variously applied to military evolutions (Plat. *Legg.* 813 E), to the passing from one action to another (Plut. *Mor.* 158 D σύμπας ὁ βίος, εἴ γε διαγωγή τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου πράξεων ἔχουσα διέξοδον ὧν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς χρεία καὶ παρασκευὴ τὰς πλείστας παρακαλεῖ), to the passage through life according to the Stoic definition (Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Eth.* ii. 201 λογικῆς ζωῆς διέξοδον), to a treatise or description passing from one detail to another (Plut. *De Placitis Philos.* 874 D ἡ φυσικὴ διέξοδος). In Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 635 it is applied to the Son of God, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς . . . καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει καὶ διέξοδον, 'the Son is capable of manifestation and description.' In our passage of Eusebius the

connexion with *κάτω . . . πεμπομένου* points to the transmission of 'mind' from the divine Demiurge to man. Cf. Plotin. 189 A, 351 A.

d 2 *βιώσκεσθαι.* Cf. Aristot. *Meteor.* i. 14. 3 *ἕτεροι δὲ τόποι βιώσκονται καὶ ἔνυδροι γίγνονται κατὰ μέρος.*

κηδεύοντος. 'Legendum videtur *κηδεύοντος*, ut MSS. infra p. seq. 538 b 2' (Gaisford): with this reading, which Dindorf adopts, *τὰ σώματα* is to be understood as repeated after *κηδεύοντος.* But in both passages cod. I has *κηδεύοντα* in the sense 'allying themselves to the radiations of God.' Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 634 *ὥστε κηδεύσας καλοῖς | γαμβροῖσι χαίρων σώζεται πικρὸν λέχος.* Demosth. 1372. 25 *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κηδεύσειεν αὐτῷ.*

d 3 *εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περιωπήν.* Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 272 E *ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης οἷον πηδαλίου οἴακος ἀφέμενος εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη,* 'The Pilot retired to His own place of outlook, and then the world was turned upside down again by fate and innate desire.' Hesychius: *Περιωπή· ἄποψις, τόπος ὑψηλὸς ὅθεν ἐστὶ περισκοπῆσαι ἀκρώρεια.* Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 831 with Hort's note. The word seems to occur first in Homer, *Il.* xiv. 8 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐλθὼν τάχα εἴσομαι ἐς περιωπήν*: *Od.* x. 146 *καρπαλίμως παρὰ νηὸς ἀνήϊον ἐς περιωπήν.* In both these passages it means 'a place of outlook,' as the Scholiast on the former passage explains it: *Τόπον ὑψηλόν, ἐξ οὗ περιωπίσασθαι καὶ περιβλέψαι ἔστι πάντα.* So in Lucian, *Sympos.* 11 *ἐκ περιωπῆς,* 'from a place of observation.'

538 c 2 *μάλιστά ἐστιν.* 'Quid si *ἔχει*? nisi forte hic etiam subintelligas *ἀναφερόμενος*' (Viger). A good alternative would be to read *ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον* with cod. O.

d 1 *νόμισμα κοῖλον, ἐπίσημον.* Cf. Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 25 *κοῖλος ἄργυρος,* 'unstamped silver,' 'bullion.'

539 c 7 *Κυβερνήτης.* Cf. 537 d 3, note.

540 a 6 *Ἀμέλιος.* Gentilianus Amelius (Porphyr. *Vit. Plotini,* i. 20) is chiefly known as a pupil of Plotinus, with whom he remained twenty-four years (ib. i. 3 e), diligently taking notes from his lectures, from which he afterwards composed about a hundred books. Porphyry (vii. c) says that he wished to be called Amerius (Indivisible) rather than Amelius (Negligent). Cf. Zeller, *Outlines,* 240.

19] b 3 Cf. W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism,* Lect. ii, p. 47, note 1 'There is also a very interesting passage in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xi. 19) *Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ*

γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε. This is so near to the words of St. John's prologue as to suggest that the Apostle, writing at Ephesus, is here referring deliberately to the lofty doctrine of the great Ephesian idealist, whom Justin claims as a Christian before Christ, and whom Clement quotes several times with respect.' Cf. Justin. M. *Apol.* i. 46 Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν λόγον ὄντα οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε. Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς. Bywater, *Heracl. Rell. Fr.* 11, gives quotations of the passage from Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5; Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* vii. 32; Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 716, and other authors.

b 4 ὁ βάρβαρος, evidently St. John.

c 5 τὸ μεγαλεῖον, 'the majesty.' Cf. Polyb. viii. 3. 1 τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῶν πράξεων.

d 2 γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 B 'with forehead bold and bare' (Jowett).

541 a 4 τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κ.τ.λ. Col. i. 15. The latter clauses are misplaced, and inaccurately quoted.

a 7 οὐσιώσεως. Cf. 314 b 2, note.

20] c 6 ἢ πόντου ἢ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς. Ficinus omits ἐν πτυχαῖς in his translation, 'si quid huic tabellae vel mari vel terra contingat.' Viger refers it to the leaves of the tablet, as in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 98 κἀν δέλτου πτυχαῖς, a very usual meaning, but the order of the words and the extreme rarity in prose of the 'genitivus loci' point rather to the connexion with γῆς. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 1631 ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς; *Phoen.* 84 οὐρανοῦ ναίων πτυχάς; Soph. *Oed. T.* 1026 εὑρὼν ναπαίαις ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς.

c 9 δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα. For the construction see 536 b 6, note. The passage is rightly rendered by Ficinus: 'circa secundum secunda: tertia circa tertium.' The same passage is quoted as from Celsus by Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 18.

21] **542 b** 4 Λέγωμεν. Plat. *Tim.* 29 D, quoted by Irenaeus, iii. 25. 5. The passage seems to have been overlooked at first by Jowett, *Introduction to the Republic*, 172 'There is no mention of the idea of good in the *Timaeus*, nor of the divine Creator of the world in the *Republic*: and we are naturally led to ask in what relation they stand to one another? Is God above or below the idea of

good? Or is the idea of good another mode of conceiving God? The latter seems to be the truer answer.' See the next note.

b 5 Ἀγαθὸς ἦν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 508 B. Jowett, ibid. 181 'The idea of good is a cause as well as an idea, and in this point of view may be compared with the Creator of the *Timaeus*, who out of His goodness created all things.' It is evident that there is but a short step from 'the idea of good,' which is to Plato one of 'the truest and most real of all things' (Jowett), and which is also 'a cause,' to the Creator who 'was good,' and 'out of His goodness made all things to be as like to Himself as possible.'

c 1 φάναι. On the use of the infinitive for the imperative, common in Attic writers, see Matthiae, *Gk. Gr.* 546, and compare Plat. *Rep.* 473 A φάναι ἡμᾶς ἐξευρηκέναι, with Stallbaum's note.

d 2 τὸ εἶναί τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν. In Plato's earlier view the 'existence' (τὸ εἶναι) of the individual consisted in participation in its own proper essence (τῆς οὐσίας μετέχειν, *Phaed.* 101), that is in partaking of the 'idea,' which alone had true being. Plato's own criticism of this theory is given in the *Parmenides*, and the transition to the theory of universal or abstract notions is especially marked in the question of Socrates (*Parmen.* 132), 'But may not the ideas be thoughts only, and have no proper existence except in our minds, Parmenides?'

d 3 ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας. Cf. Damascius in Ritter and Pr. 570 περὶ τῶν ὑπερθειοτάτων ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἄλλως οὔτε ἐννοεῖν οὔτε ὀνομάζειν ἢ οὕτως ὡς ἀναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἀνεχόντων τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ζωῆς καὶ οὐσίας πραγμάτων. Zeller, *Outlines*, 354 'Damascius, the pupil of Marinus, Ammonius, and Isidorus, who was head of the School of Athens about 520–530 A. D., an admirer and intellectual kinsman of Iamblichus, endeavours in vain in his work on the ultimate sources (περὶ ἀρχῶν) to find the means of transition from the primal essence—of the inconceivability of which he cannot speak strongly enough—to the intelligible by the insertion of a second and third unity.'

d 10 ὁμοούσια. This use of the word ὁμοούσιος by Eusebius some ten years before the Council of Nicaea is noticeable. See his letter to his own diocese in Athan. *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 241 καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινας λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγ-

γραφεῖς ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

543 b 1 On Numenius see 411 b.

22] **c** 3 ἀλιάδα. Cf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* iv. 8. 12.

ἐπακτρίδων. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 11 σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι.

c 4 μετακυμίοις, the spaces between the waves, i. e. the trough of the sea. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 91

εἰ γὰρ μετακύμιος ἄτας,
ὦ Παιάν, φανείης.

ὀξὺ δεδορκώς. See Lobeck, *Phrynich.* 576; Aristot. *Rhet. ad Alex.* i. 14 εἰ τὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπειν ἡδύ, τὸ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ὀξυδορκεῖν ἐστι θαυμαστόν.

544 b 2 διττὸς ὢν ⟨αὐτός,⟩ ποιεῖ κ.τ.λ. This is Viger's text, except that αὐτός does not appear as a conjecture: it is far preferable to αὐτὸ ποιεῖ I and αὐτοποιεῖ O, which latter compound verb is not found elsewhere. Translate therefore; 'being Himself twofold makes both the idea of Himself and makes the world as being its Creator.'

c 3 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ φρονεῖν τοῦτό ⟨γε⟩. The conjectural emendation ⟨γε⟩, for which Gaisford reads δέ (O), Viger δεῖν (I), and Dindorf δή, agrees with Plato's use of the combination καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 155 E καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ Σώκρατες, σκληρούς γε λέγεις. *Symp.* 197 A καὶ μὲν δὴ τήν γε τῶν ζώων ποίησιν . . . ; *Rep.* 526 B καὶ μὲν δή, ἔφη, σφόδρα γε ποιεῖ αὐτό. Cf. Riddell, *Plat. Apolog.* 188.

συντετύχηκε. I understand this word as referring to some earlier passage in the treatise where Numenius has ascribed wisdom to the First God exclusively. Otherwise the meaning of the present passage is very obscure.

c 4 ἀποχραίνεται. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 586 B ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλας θέσεως ἀποχραινομέναις. 'Verbum est de pictoribus proprium' (Stallbaum).

ἀγαθοῦται. The active voice is only used in the Septuagint in the sense of doing good to.

d 1 τῷ ὀξὺ βλέποντι. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 518 C ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ὂν καὶ τοῦ ὄντος τὸ φανότατον δυνατὴ γένηται ἀνασχέσθαι θεωμένη· τοῦτο δ' εἶναί φαμεν τἀγαθόν.

d 4 ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χωρίσας may refer either to the different ways

in which the thoughts are expressed, or to the different places in which they occur, as in the *Tim.* 29 E, or *Rep.* 505 A ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα, ibid. 508 E.

d 5 τὸν κυκλικὸν (λόγον) . . . ἐγράψατο. Probably the trite epitaph 'ἀγαθὸς ἦν,' answering to the Roman 'bene merenti,' or 'homini bene merentissimo.'

23] **545** a 1 (δῆλον δ' ὅτι ὁ κόσμος). 'Haec parenthesis Eusebii est' (Vig.). Or possibly it may have been inserted by Numenius to make the meaning of his quotation clear.

a 4 ἐκεῖνο. In Plat. *Tim.* 30 C ἐκεῖνο is explained by the context as that whole in the likeness of which the world was framed, that is, the intelligible world, the ideal pattern of the visible.

b 3 ἐκ τῶν Διδύμῳ. Areius Didymus was a grammarian of Alexandria, pupil of Aristarchus, and intimate friend of Augustus, who riding into Alexandria with Didymus beside him spared the city for his sake (τῷ φίλῳ μου τοῦτο χαριζόμενος, Plut. *Mor.* 814, *V. Antonii* 80). Didymus has been variously called a Pythagorean, an Academic, and a Stoic; but these various descriptions are probably all due to the nature of his best known work, an Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν τοῖς Φιλοσόφοις ἀρεσκόντων. Fragments of this work have been edited by Diels, *Doxogr. Graeci*, 447 seqq., who also gives a clear account of the author, ibid. Proleg. 70–80. Didymus was called Χαλκέντερος from his immense industry, and Βιβλιολάθας, because he could not remember the books he had written (Athen. 139).

546 b 2 ἀρτίως. We have here a notable instance of the way in which a charge of heresy was sometimes concocted. The Latin translator renders οὐσιώδη ἀρτίως ἡμῖν, 'nobiscum essentiae ratione convenire,' instead of giving to ἀρτίως its proper meaning, 'just now,' 'recently' (Lobeck, *Phryn.* 20). The French translator, trusting to the Latin, gives to the passage the same absurdly contradictory meaning, that the Word is 'divine, incorporeal, having a nature like ours,' and adds in a note: 'It is easy to see that in this passage, as in many others, Eusebius sets forth the doctrine of the Arians and not the Catholic Faith.'

ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν λόγος. Eusebius plays on the double application of λόγος to the ordinary speech of the Greek, and to the Divine Word.

c 3 ῥοώδους οὐσίας. 'Fluxive,' which is used by Shakespeare

and Ben Jonson, would be a very convenient word in translating the language of ancient philosophy, as, for example, that of Heracleitus, but I have used 'fleeting' as more familiar.

c 7 *ἐν εἰκόνι.* Ps. xxxix. 7 (Sept.) *ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεται ἄνθρωπος.* R. V. *every man walketh in a vain shew.*

24] **547 a** 2 *τὴν αἰσθητὴν πόλιν.* The text of Philo (*De Mundi Opificio*, 5 M.) is much corrupted in the MSS. of Eusebius, which here read *νοητήν* instead of *αἰσθητήν*. As *νοητήν* is evidently inappropriate, I have restored *αἰσθητήν* from Mangey's text.

a 5 *εἰκὼν εἰκόνος.* The Divine Image as existing in God (*εἰκόνος*) is described by the same word (*εἰκών*) as the image in man.

a 6 *ὃ μεῖζον.* I have restored the reading of Philo, as *εἰ μείζων* (Eus. codd.) gives no appropriate sense.

a 7 *θείας εἰκόνος* here means the *νοητὸς κόσμος* as a whole. Cf. 546 d 8 *Θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιοῦντος.*

b 4 *ᾗ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν.* Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 37 E 'To attach eternity to the creature was impossible, but he designs to make a sort of moving image of eternity, and, while arranging a heaven, he makes an eternal image moving according to number while eternity rests in unity, and this is what we call time. For whereas days and nights and months and years did not exist before heaven was created, He contrives that their birth should be at the same time with its establishment.' The sequel of the passage is quoted above by Eusebius 524 d.

c 1 *ἰσήλικα.* Again, in Plat. *Tim.* 38 B, we find the same thought that time began with the creation of the heavens, 'in order that being produced together they might be dissolved together, if ever there was to be any dissolution of them.'

c 7 *Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν.* Philo before *ὁ ποιῶν* adds *παρὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου*, which makes the invisible and ideal heaven a copy, in part, of the ideal world, as it exists in the Divine mind. Eusebius omits both these words and the distinct explanation of them 548 a 1 *Τὸν δὲ . . . γένεσιν αὐτοῦ.*

d 4 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε Θεοῦ.* Cf. Gen. i. 2 *πνεῦμα θεοῦ.*

d 5 *ὑπερβαλλόντως καλόν.* We must restore this from Philo. The error in *ὑπερβάλλον καλόν* seems to be only an accidental omission.

d 7 *αὐγοειδέστερον.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 911 D *φέγγος ἔχει καὶ χρόαν αὐγοειδῆ.* Ibid. 928 C.

d 8 *καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κριτηρίων νοῦς ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ σώματος.* This is the text of Philo, which is hopelessly corrupted in Eusebius, *καὶ τὰ κριτήρια νοῦς ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, ὀφθαλμῶν σώματος.*

548 a 1 There is an omission in the MSS. of Eusebius in consequence of the repetition of *νοητόν*: *Τὸν δὲ ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν ⟨θεῖον Λόγον εἰκόνα λέγει Θεοῦ· καὶ ταύτης εἰκόνα τὸ νοητὸν⟩ φῶς ἐκεῖνο, ὃ θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκών, τοῦ διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ.* 'And the invisible and intelligible divine word he calls *the image of God.* And an image of this image he calls that intelligible light which is an image of the divine word that explained its origin.'

a 2 *ἐκεῖνο.* After this word *ὃ* is accidentally omitted in my text.

a 5 *πανανγειαν*, a word invented by Philo. Cf. *Orph. Hymn.* ix. 3, where *Φύσις* is addressed as *παναυγής*.

b 6 *καλῶς ποιῶν* (Eusebius) is less appropriate here than the simpler *ὁ ποιῶν*, 'the Creator,' of Philo.

οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν. Gen. i. 5 'the first day,' A. V., 'one day,' R. V.

c 1 *ἐτελειογονεῖτο*, for which Philo has *ἐτελειουργεῖτο*, means 'was brought forth in perfection.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1018 *τὰ ἑπτάμηνα τῶν βρεφῶν τελεογονεῖσθαι.*

c 4 *ὅτι περ καὶ τριχῇ διάστατον*, 'because it is of three dimensions.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1023 B *τὴν ψυχὴν ἰδέαν εἶναι τοῦ πάντῃ διαστάτου.*

c 9 *τῷ ⟨πέμπτῳ⟩*, a necessary correction for *τῷ ἕκτῳ* (Eus. codd.). The passage occurs in *Strom.* v. 702, and is quoted again on 671, without any reference.

25] d 3 *καλοῦ.* Clement has the better reading, *καλουμένου.* Cf. *Strom.* iv. 642 *ἴσμεν δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος πόλιν παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ κειμένην.* Plat. *Rep.* ix. 592 *ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν.*

d 4 *τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν ἑξάδι.* Zeller, *Pr.-Socr. Phil.* i. 435, note 2 '*Schol. in Arist.* 541 a 23 *τὸν δὲ τέσσαρα ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον* [*οἱ Πυθ.*] *τὸ σῶμα ἁπλῶς, τὸν δὲ πέντε τὸ φυσικὸν σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἓξ τὸ ἔμψυχον.* It is true that a very improbable reason is given for this, viz. because $6 = 2 \times 3$, and that the even designates the body, and the uneven the soul.' Ibid. i. 475 'In regard to Philolaus, we are told that in the same way that he derived geometrical determinations (the point, the line, the surface, the solid) from the first

four numbers, so he derived physical qualities from five, the soul from six.'

549 a 2 Gen. i. 2 (Sept.) *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.*

a 7 *κατὰ τὰ γένη* seems to be suggested by *κατὰ γένος* so often repeated in Gen. i (Sept.), and is here referred to the 'ideas' of the various genera in the intellectual world. In Clement Klotz has *καὶ τὰ γένη.*

b 1 *γήϊνον . . . σκῆνος.* Plato often uses the word *γήϊνος* of the body and its members (*Phaedr.* 246 C; *Tim.* 64 C), but *σκῆνος* apparently is used only in the spurious dialogues, and there without *γήϊνον.* Cf. 2 Cor. v. 1 *ἡ ἐπίγειος οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους.*

b 2 *εἰς πρόσωπον.* Gen. ii. 7 *And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils* (*τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*, Sept.) *the breath of life.*

b 4 *ἐπεισόδιον*, 'accessory.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 584 E *ταῖς ἐπεισοδίοις καὶ περιτταῖς . . . ἐπιθυμίαις.*

πρωτοπλάστου. Cf. Sap. vii. 1 *γηγενοῦς ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου.* Ibid. x. 1 *αὕτη πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου μόνον κτισθέντα διεφύλαξεν.*

26] **d** 1 *Ψυχὴν διοικοῦσαν.* Cf. Clem. Al. v. 701; Theodoret. *Gr. Affect. Cur.* 55. 4.

d 5 *Δυοῖν.* Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1. 41 *δῆλον ὅτι δύο ἐστὸν ψυχά, καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ κρατῇ τὰ καλὰ πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ ἡ πονηρὰ τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐπιχειρεῖται.* Ast refers to Plat. *Legg.* 906 A, and thinks that in both passages there is an allusion to the dualism of Zoroaster. Stallbaum also in a long note defends Plato's own doctrine from the charge of dualism, referring to what follows immediately in 907 C *τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ κόσμου παντός, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοιαύτην ὁδὸν ἐκείνην.* On the doctrine of Zoroaster see Plut. *Mor.* 369 D.

d 9 *πλειόνων δὲ τῶν μή* (sc. *ἀγαθῶν*). It is unnecessary to adopt Viger's proposal *πλειόνων δὲ τινῶν* (sic) *μή*, meaning that besides good and bad there are no more kinds.

550 a 4 *Καὶ ἦν ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη* (Sept.), Job i. 13, an attempt to represent the force of the article in the Heb. הַיּוֹם.

27] **551 a** 11 *ἐν τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ.* *Alcib.* I. 133 C. This dialogue is not generally accepted as a genuine work of Plato. Cf. Jowett, *Introd.* 446 'We have a difficulty in supposing that the same

writer, who has given so profound and complex a notion of the characters both of Alcibiades and Socrates in the Symposium, should have treated them in so thin and superficial a manner in the Alcibiades, or that he should have imagined that a mighty nature like his could have been reformed by a few not very conclusive words of Socrates.'

b 1 *θειότερον*. The MSS. of Plato vary between *θειότερον* and *νοερώτερον*. Cobet, followed by Schanz, conjectures *κυριώτερον*. The MSS. of Eusebius have *θειότατον*, tending to confirm the reading *θειότερον*, which is also more appropriate to the following context *τῷ θεῷ ἄρα τοῦτο ἔοικεν αὐτῆς*.

b 5 *θεόν τε καὶ φρόνησιν*. For *θεόν* Ast conjectures *νοῦν*. Stallbaum and Schanz bracket the whole clause, which is not necessary to the sense.

b 8—**c** 3 *Ἆρ' οὖν . . . Ναί*. This whole passage is an insertion not found in the MSS. of Plato, but in Stobaeus, 181. It is judged by Ast and Buttmann to be spurious.

b 8 *Ἆρ' οὖν [ὅθ'] ὥσπερ*. The construction is disturbed by *ὅθ'*, which is not in Stobaeus.

τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἐνόπτρου. Just before this passage, in 132 E, Ps.-Plato writes: 'Have you then ever observed that the face of one who looks into the eye is reflected as in a mirror in the optic of the person over against him, which we call the pupil, there being a sort of image of the person looking in?'

c 5 Before *ὅπως* a verb is required on which it must depend, or *ἐπάκουσον* (**a** 11) must be understood again, unless with Viger we omit *ὅπως* altogether.

τοὺς τόπους. After these words Viger adds *ὁ αὐτὸς λέγων οὕτως*, which is omitted in the chief MSS. of Eusebius.

552 a 4 [*τὸ δι' αἰσθήσεως*], omitted in all the chief MSS. of Eusebius, is inserted in Viger, and being part of the genuine text of Plato should have been printed within angular brackets ⟨ ⟩.

a 5 *ταῦτα τὰ μηδέποτε*. The reading of Plato *τὰ οὐδέποτε* is altered for the worse in Eusebius, probably from referring to the previous passage d 1 *τὸ δὲ ὁρατὸν μηδέποτε κατὰ ταὐτά*;

a 7 *τοιούτων*, i. e. uncertain and confused. Plato argues in the same way in p. 65 B that neither sight nor hearing nor any other sense can convey exact and certain knowledge.

d 6 *ἀνοήτῳ*, which usually means 'unintelligent,' is here put

in direct opposition to νοητῷ, 'intelligible.' It has the same passive sense in Hom. *Hymn. Merc.* 80 Ἄφραστ' ἠδ' ἀνόητα διέπλεκε θαυματὰ ἔργα.

553 a 6 ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ. I have followed Cope's translation. Jowett, also referring τοιαύτῃ to χαριέντως, writes, 'if the season of the year be favourable.' Heindorf and Ast (*Lex. Plat.*) give to ὥρᾳ the less suitable meaning, 'beauty.' Cf. *Rep.* v. 474 D πάντες οἱ ἐν ὥρᾳ.

b 4 τὸ ἀειδές. Ἅιδης, in its earlier form Ἀΐδης, was commonly supposed to be derived from α privative and ἰδεῖν, and so to be equivalent to τὸ ἀειδές. Cf. Plat. *Cratyl.* 403 A ὁ δὲ Ἅιδης, οἱ πολλοὶ μέν μοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ ἀειδὲς προσειρῆσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ. *Gorg.* 493 B τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου—τὸ ἀειδὲς δὴ λέγων.

d 1 τεθνάναι μελετῶσα ῥᾳδίως. Archer-Hind, 'following Schanz and Hirschig,' brackets ῥᾳδίως as 'savouring of the margin.' But in the mouth of Socrates it agrees well with the previous description (58 E) of his preparation for death, ὡς ἀδεῶς καὶ γενναίως ἐτελεύτα. For the expression ῥᾳδίως ἀποθνήσκειν see Phaed. 62 C ὃ μέντοι νῦν δὴ ἔλεγες, τὸ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν.

d 7 διάγουσα, the reading of all the MSS. of Plato, involves an unusual change of construction, and it is for that reason altered by Heindorf to διαγούσῃ, but without absolute necessity.

554 b 4 Πρὸς Βοηθόν. There is some difficulty in identifying this Boethus among several philosophers of the same name. The elder Boethus, the Stoic, denied the immortality of the soul (Zeller, *Outlines*, 278). But from the present passage of Eusebius, and from 555 b, 741 c, 812 d, and 818 b, c, it seems more probable that Porphyry's treatise was an answer to an author less remote from his own time. Boethus of Sidon, who lived about B. C. 50–A. D. 1, is thus described by his younger contemporary Strabo (757) καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκ Σιδῶνος μὲν ἔνδοξοι φιλόσοφοι γεγόνασι Βόηθός τε, ᾧ συνεφιλοσοφήσαμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ Ἀριστοτέλεια, καὶ Διόδοτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. Of this Boethus Diels writes (*Doxogr.* Proleg. 100, note 2) 'De Boethi psychologia nihil compertum habemus, nisi quod immortalitatem animi reiecit.' The argument criticized by Boethus, 555 b 7, is that which Plato (553 d 4) based on the likeness of the soul to that which is divine, not Porphyry's defence of it.

28] d 7 ⟨λυτοῦ⟩, a happy conjecture of Viger for the unmeaning *αὐτοῦ*. Cf. 555 a 2, *λυτῷ*, just below, and 556 a 2.

555 b 6 *περιαιρῶν* means 'taking away something that is all round,' hence 'removing what is not essential.' Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 281 D *πρὶν ἂν καὶ ταύτας αὐτῆς πάσας περιέλωμεν.*

c 5 *ἀλλὰ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὴν νοῦ.* The genitive is apparently dependent, like *τῆς κινήσεως*, on *τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ ἄπαυστον.*

c 6 *ὁ Κροτωνιάτης.* Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, born in Samos about 580–570 B.C., came to Italy about 540–530 B.C. and founded a philosophical society at Crotona. Zeller, 234 ff. *Outlines*, 14.

c 7 *τὰ θεῖα τῶν σωμάτων.* The heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and stars. The Pythagoreans reckoned motion among the essential qualities of the heavenly bodies, and in the unchangeable regularity of their courses found the most obvious proof of the divinity of the stars, in which they believed, like most of the ancients. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 458. Compare the magnificent passage in Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E, beginning, *ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται.*

d 8 *ἐντρέψαι.* Cf. Diog. L. ii. 29 *ἐνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν υἱὸν τῇ μητρὶ ἀγριαινόμενον, ὥς που καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκε.* Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* iii. 135 *τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς ἐντρέπουσι μὲν οἱ λόγοι.*

556 a 5 *ἐπιπροσθετουμένη*, the reading of O, should not have been allowed to displace *ἐπιπροσθουμένη* (cod. I), a verb formed from *ἐπίπροσθεν*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 41 D *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μελάνθιος, ὡς ἔοικε, περὶ τῆς Διογένους τραγῳδίας ἐρωτηθεὶς οὐκ ἔφη κατιδεῖν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιπροσθουμένην.*

a 6 *τῷ λόγῳ χωρισθείη.* Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 663 A *ὁ μὲν μὴ χωρίζων λόγος ἡδύ τε καὶ δίκαιον*, 'the argument that does not separate pleasure from justice.'

b 1 *ὡς ἐμφερὲς ὂν μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ* . . . The Latin rendering is 'quae non affinis tantum deo sit, verum etiam' . . . as if there had been in the text *ὂν οὐ μόνον*, which is not very improbable, *μόνον* being the reading of Viger and all subsequent editors.

c 5 *πυρείων.* Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 36 *καὶ πυρεῖ' ὁμοῦ τάδε.* Ibid. 296 *ἀλλ' ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων μόλις | ἔφην' ἄφαντον φῶς.*

c 6 *μιμήσεις τῶν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ποιημάτων.* Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 25 'Astra suspeximus cum ea quae sunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re sed vocabulo errantia; quorum conversiones omnesque

motus qui vidit, is docuit similem animum suum eius esse, qui ea fabricatus esset in caelo. Nam quum Archimedes lunae, solis, quinque errantium motus in sphaeram illigavit; effecit idem, quod ille qui in Timaeo mundum aedificavit Platonis deus, ut tarditate et celeritate dissimillimos motus una regeret conversio. Quod si in hoc mundo fieri sine deo non potest, ne in sphaera quidem eosdem motus Archimedes sine divino ingenio potuisset imitari.' Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 35; *De Rep.* i. 14, where mention is made of the solid sphere of Thales, afterwards covered with the stars and planets by Eudoxus, and described by Aratus: 'Sed posteaquam coepit rationem huius operis scientissime Gallus exponere, plus in illo Siculo ingenii, quam videretur natura humana ferre potuisse, iudicavi fuisse.' *De N. D.* ii. 34 'Quodsi in Scythiam aut in Britanniam sphaeram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noster effecit Posidonius, cuius singulae conversiones idem efficiunt in sole et in luna et in quinque stellis errantibus, quod efficitur in caelo singulis diebus et noctibus, quis in illa barbaria dubitet, quin ea sphaera sit perfecta ratione? Hi autem dubitant de mundo, ex quo et oriuntur et fiunt omnia, casune ipse sit effectus aut necessitate aliqua an ratione ac mente divina, et Archimedem arbitrantur plus valuisse in imitandis sphaerae conversionibus, quam naturam in efficiendis. The sphere of Archimedes is referred to by Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 277

'Arte Syracosia suspensus in aëre clauso
Stat globus, immensi parva figura poli.'

d 8 *τῇ ἀντανισώσει . . . προσαναπαυομένους.* Cf. Joseph. *A. J.* vi. 14. 3 *τούτῳ μόνῳ προσαναπαυομένη τῷ κτήματι*, 'hac sola possessione contenta vivens.'

557 b 1 *ἀνθρωπινώτερον . . . φάναι.* Cf. Rom. vi. 19 *ἀνθρώπινον λέγω.*

32] **559 b** 1 *τούτου*, referring to the head of the chapter, *On the alteration of the world*, which in the MSS. immediately precedes *τούτου*.

c 1 *Καὶ ξυνεστήσατο.* Plat. *Tim.* 32 B, quoted again 702 d 5.

c 4 *ὡς . . . γενέσθαι*, for which Plato has the more usual *ὥστε γενέσθαι*, is not however uncommon. Cf. Hdt. iv. 184 *ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω . . . ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐχ οἷά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι*; Lucian, *Dial. Deorum* 239 *τίς οὕτως ἀνέραστος ἦν ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ καλὸν ἐκεῖνο μειράκιον;* ibid. *Timon.* 130, *Adv. Indoct.* 101.

c 10 Plat. *Tim.* 41 A, quoted again, 703 d. Cf. Athenag. *Legat.* (Schwartz) vii. 31.

d 9 Τὸ γὰρ πᾶν τόδε. Plat. *Polit.* 269 C. The speakers are the same Eleatic stranger who appears in the *Sophist*, and Socrates the younger, who has no connexion with the famous Socrates except in name.

560 a 6 Ὃν δὲ οὐρανὸν . . . ἀδύνατον, quoted by Athenag. *Legat.* 16.

b 1 ἀνακύκλησιν. Cf. 253 d 3 διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνακυκλήσεως καὶ περιφορᾶς τῶν ἄστρων. In the present passage it must mean a rotation in the opposite direction, as implied in 559 d 11 τὸ δὲ πάλιν αὐτόματον εἰς τἀναντία περιάγεται.

c 6 ποδός, 'minimo quodam *cardine* revolutus' (Ficinus).

33] **561 d** 4 ξυνανακυκλουμένης εἰς τἀναντία τῆς γενέσεως. When the revolution of the universe is turned back, the 'circle of generation' (κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως) also is reversed, so that the course is now from death to life. See the Scholion on Plat. *Phaed.* 70 C quoted by Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 797 'παλαιὸς λόγος Ὀρφικός τε καὶ Πυθαγόρειος ὁ πάλιν ἄγων τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγων καὶ τοῦτο κύκλῳ πολλάκις, ubi proprie et significanter positum est nomen κύκλος.' Ibid. 798 κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως dicitur, Procl. in *Tim.* i. 32. Diog. L. *V. Pythag.* viii. 14 πρῶτόν τέ φασι τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκλον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῴοις. On St. Jas. iii. 6 τὸν τροχὸν τῆς γενέσεως see Dr. J. B. Mayor's learned note, and on the subject generally compare S. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* x. 30; xxii. 28; Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 70; *Outlines*, 55.

d 5 τρόπον. λόγον Plat. 'Ne Eusebii lectionem omnino negligamus, ipsius forte τὸν τρόπον substituendum pro priore τὸν λόγον, ut legatur κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Quod autem dicit (Plato), τῷ τοὺς πρεσβύτας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἰέναι φύσιν, proverbium respicit, quod memorat *Legg.* i. 646 A οὐ μόνον ἄρ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ γέρων δὶς παῖς γίγνοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μεθυσθείς' (Heusdius, ad loc.).

34] **562 a** 4 προσταχθέν, Eusebius. προσταχθέντα, Plato, with many variations, and among them προσταχθέν.

τοσαῦτα εἰς γῆν σπέρματα πεσούσης. The proposals to give to πεσούσης a transitive force, or to substitute βαλούσης for it, are both unnecessary. The accusative may be explained on the

principle of the *cognate notion*, which is of very wide application in Greek. See Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 556.

d 5 Ταῦτα, Plat. *Rep.* 614 A, refers to the rewards of the just and unjust in this life, mentioned immediately before.

35] **563 a** 3 *ὡς οὐ πολλὰ ἄλλ' ἥδιον ἀκούοντι.* The reading *οὐ πολλά, ἀλλ' ἥδιον*, which the printed editions all give as the text of Eusebius, finds some confirmation in the following allusion to the proverbially long story of Alcinous, which occupies so many books of the *Odyssey* (vi–xiii). But in Plato the accent on *ἄλλ'* gives a different turn to the meaning, 'As there are few things I would more gladly hear.'

a 5 *ἀλκίμου.* Plato here condescends to an alliterative pun on 'Alcinous' and 'Alcimus.'

τοῦ Ἀρμενίου. Plut. *Sympos.* 740, calls Er the son of Harmonius. There are allusions to this story in Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 16, and Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 711, who says that Er was Zoroaster: 'At least Zoroaster himself writes, This history was written by me Zoroaster the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth, who having been slain in battle, and come to Hades, learned it from the gods. This Zoroaster, Plato says, when twelve days dead and lying on the funeral pile came back to life; so perhaps he alludes to the resurrection, or perhaps to the notion that the path for souls to ascend lies through the twelve signs of the zodiac; and he himself says that the descending pathway to birth is the same.'

36] d 1 Ἀντύλλῳ. Compare the legend of the restoration of Hippolytus to life by Aesculapius, and his concealment in the forest of Aricia under the name of Virbius, in Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 491–544

> 'Nomenque simul quod possit equorum
> Admonuisse iubet deponere, Quique fuisti
> Hippolytus, dixit, nunc idem Virbius esto.'

Plutarch tells a similar story in his treatise, *De sera Numinis vindicta*, 563, about a man of Soli named Thespesius, who having been killed by a fall came to life again after three days. Many other such stories are related by Pliny and other ancient authors.

d 9 *ἄλλως δέ.* Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 975 *πενιχρὸν μέν, ἄλλως δ'*

εὐπρόσωπον καὶ καλόν. Thesmoph. 289, where *ἄλλως τε* is less appropriate than *ἄλλως δέ*.

37] **564 d** 1 *ἡ Γλαύκου τέχνη*. Diog. *Prov.* iv. 8 *ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἐργαζομένων* (Wytt.). Herodotus (i. 25), in describing an iron base of the bowl offered by Alyattes at Delphi, says, 'It was the work of Glaucus of Chios, the man who first invented the art of welding iron.' Pausanias (x. 16) says: 'Of the native offerings which the Lydian kings sent to Apollo nothing now remains but the base of the bowl of Alyattes. This was made by Glaucus of Chios, who first welded iron, and the places where the base is joined are not riveted together by bolts or nails, but simply by welding.' It is described by Athenaeus (v. 210) as beautifully inlaid with figures of plants and animals.

565 a 2 *ἰσόρροπον γὰρ πρᾶγμα*. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13. 25, where a similar theory is described, but rejected. Wyttenbach refers to Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 39, and *De Orat.* iii. 45. Cf. Stallbaum, *Tim.* 40 B, note.

a 7 *Φάσιδος*. The Phasis, a river at the eastern extremity of the Euxine, and the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar), were the extreme points of ordinary navigation for the Greeks.

d 4 *Τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταὐτόν*. The meaning and construction of the clause is much disputed, and Schanz brackets *εἶναι ταὐτόν* as not genuine. *Τὸ δέ* may then be understood as the 'Accusative of pronoun neuter, standing for the whole sentence immediately following: Dig. 19' (Riddell, *Apol. Socr.* 23). But there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of *εἶναι ταὐτόν*, 'But the fact is the same (as in the illustration), namely that from weakness,' &c.

d 6 *κατιδεῖν ⟨ἂν⟩ ἀνακύψαντα*. 'For *δή* read *ἄν*. These words are often interchanged' (Gaisford). 'The particle *ἄν*, omitted in the MSS., is necessarily required in this passage as Stephanus had remarked' (Heindorf).

566 a 4 *σήραγγες*. Soph. *Fr.* 493 *κρημνούς τε καὶ σήραγγας*. Theocr. *Id.* xxv. *ἤτοι ὁ μὲν σήραγγα προδείελος ἔστιχεν εἰς ἥν*.

a 7 *Εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ μῦθον λέγειν καλόν*, the text of Plato, is altered by Eusebius into *εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μυθολογεῖν καλόν*. Stallbaum brackets *καλόν*, which Archer-Hind would omit as 'a pointless addition,' absent from the Bodleian and other MSS. But *καλόν* is defended by Wyttenbach on Plut. *De sera Num. vind.* 561 B, who refers to Plat. *Gorg.* 312 E, *ἄκουε δὴ μάλα καλοῦ λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ, ὡς*

ἐγὼ οἶμαι, μῦθον, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον. Wyttenbach also quotes a scholion from the MSS. of Olympiodorus (the commentator on Plato) in which he defends the epithet καλόν thus: καλὸν ἔφη τὸν μῦθον, ὡς καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπεμφαῖνον.

b 5 δωδεκάσκυτοι σφαῖραι. These balls were made in the shape of a dodecahedron, each of the twelve pentagonal bases being covered with pieces of leather of a different colour. In the *Tim.* 55 C, after assigning the origin of the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water to the cube and other regular solid figures, Plato adds that 'as there was yet a fifth figure, God made use of it in delineating the universe.' It has been supposed that in the word διαζωγραφῶν there is a reference to the 'signs' of the zodiac: but if there is any such reference at all in the passage, it must be sought in the number twelve, as is expressly stated by Plut. *Quaest. Platon.* 1003 D, where the meaning of the passage is thus discussed. 'Is it, as some suppose, that he assigned the dodecahedron to the spherical form, when he said that God made use of it in delineating the nature of the universe? For by the multitude of its elements (sides), and the obtuseness of the angles, it departs very far from the rectilineal, and is easily curved, and like "the balls covered with twelve pieces of leather" by being extended on all sides it becomes circular and comprehensive. . . . For it is composed of twelve pentagons equiangular and equilateral, each of which consists of thirty of the original scalene triangles. And on this account it seems to represent both the zodiac and the year, by the division of its parts of equal numbers with theirs.' Cf. 293 seq.

c 1 ἀλουργῇ, 'sea-wrought,' i. e. genuine purple.

d 9 καὶ τῶν δεῦρο. In the text of Plato, ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος καὶ ἅλμης ὑπὸ τῶν δεῦρο ξυνερρυηκότων, the second ὑπό, though found in all MSS., is suspected, and the καί, which is substituted for it in Eusebius, is approved by Heindorf. Schanz thinks that ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος καὶ ἅλμης should be omitted, as a gloss upon τῶν δεῦρο ξυνερρυηκότων. Cf. 565 b.

38] **567 b** 1 δικαιωτήριον, strictly 'a place of punishment,' as in Plat. *Phaedr.* 249 A. But a wider sense like that of δικαστήριον seems more appropriate here.

c 4 τῆς ἐκβολῆς. All interpreters seem to agree that Plato uses the word for the *source* of a river, though its usual meaning

is the *mouth*. The latter is the only sense of which I can find any instance. See Hdt. vii. 128; Thuc. ii. 102; Polyb. ii. 16. 7; iii. 110. 9; v. 59. 11; ix. 43. 2; iii. 86. 2.

c 6 τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν θαλάττης. The Mediterranean.

d 1 τῇ γῇ, omitted by O and Theodoret, and bracketed by Schanz and Burnet, is found in I and in all printed editions of Eusebius, and is defended by Stallbaum. The meaning seems to be that the Acheron flowing under ground about the earth appears at various points and especially at the Palus Acherusia in Thesprotia.

d 4 οἱ ῥύακες. Cf. Thuc. iii. 116 ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης.

d 7 ὁ κύανος. 'It is *lapis lazuli* in Theoph. *Lap.* 31, and perhaps so in Plat. *Phaed.* 113 C' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*). It means a 'dark blue' in *Tim.* 68 C.

d 8 τὴν λίμνην ποιεῖ. ἥν, which in most MSS. of Plato had fallen out after the similar ending of λίμνην, is restored by Bekker and subsequent editors. See Stallbaum's note on the reading.

568 a 5 Κωκυτός. Hom. *Od.* x. 512

ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν
Κώκυτός θ', ὃς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.

Pausanias, in his description of Thesprotia (i. 17. 5), says that 'near Cichyrus is a lake called Acherusia, and a river called Acheron, and there too flows Cocytus, a most joyless stream. And I think that from having seen these Homer ventured upon his representation of things in Hades, and especially gave names to the rivers from those in Thesprotia.' Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, i. 573.

d 9 δόξωσι διαφερόντως πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιῶναι. The same reading is found in the MSS. of Plato, but the construction seems to be incomplete. In Theodoret. *Gr. Affect. Cur.* 118, προκεκρίσθαι is added after βιῶναι and adopted by Schanz. It has been proposed to read διαφέροντες, to repeat βιῶναι (Stallbaum), to read ὅσιον, or to take τὸ ὁσίως as equivalent to τὴν ὁσιότητα. Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 580 adds προσκεκλῆσθαι. The meaning is perfectly clear.

569 a 3 καμάτων. In Plato, σωμάτων. The motive of the change made by Eusebius (and adopted by Theodoret l. c.) is plainly seen below, in 569 d 1, where the expression ἄνευ καμάτων is compared with Isa. xxxv. 10 *and pain and sorrow and groaning flee away.*

c 2 Τίς ἀναγγελεῖ. Isa. xxxiii. 14 (Sept.). The English Versions have *Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?*

d 1 ἄνευ καμάτων. Cf. 569 a 3, note.

d 5 τὰ ὀχήματα. Cf. 568 b 1. The explanation of ὀχήματα by Eusebius as meaning 'bodies' is inconsistent with Plato's language, the souls being said to embark in them (ἀναβάντες) as though they had not inhabited them previously, and afterwards to disembark and leave them (ἐκβαίνειν, ἀποβαίνειν). See Wyttenbach's note in Bekker's *Plato*: 'Nulla est ratio quare ὀχήματα intelligamus corpuscula illa et quasi tenuissimas tunicas, quae animae constanter adhaerere perhibebantur a Platonicis: de qua opinione diximus ad Plutarchum de S. N. V. 97.'

BOOK XII

1] 573 c 1 Plato, *Legg.* i. 634 D. The scene of the Dialogue is laid in Crete, the persons bring Cleinias a Cretan, Megillus a Lacedaemonian, and an Athenian stranger.

574 a 2 ἐμβαθύνειν. Cf. 283 d 9, Philo J. i. 18 M., οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμβαθύνοντες ἐπιπλέον.

a 4 δευτερωτάς. Cf. Schürer, *Jewish People*, i. 1. 119. The Deuterotists (literally 'Repeaters') were the expounders of the *Mishna*, or 'Second' Law, which was the traditional interpretation and supplement of the Law of Moses. The Mishna was the text of which the Gemara was the commentary, and the two made up the Talmud. Hieron. Isa. iii. 10 'Audivi Liddae quendam de Hebraeis, qui sapiens apud illos et δευτερωτής vocabatur, narrantem huiusmodi fabulam.' Margoliouth, *Expositor*, Sept. 1900: 'δευτέρωσις in Epiphanius, Jerome, &c. is a mistranslation of *Mishnah*, which means "Oral Tradition." . . . The correct translation is ἄγραφος παράδοσις.' Cf. *Constit. Apost.* i. 6 τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς δευτερώσεως 'vincula secundationis' (*Didasc. Ap.* Frag. iv. Hauler).

2] b 8 Θέογνιν. Theognis was a native of Megara, the mother city, but a citizen also, as Plato here states, of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily. The couplet quoted is from his *Elegiac Gnomes*, 77 f., addressed to Cyrnus, a young friend who shared his political sentiments. Theognis flourished in B. C. 544 (Clinton) and was

nearly eighty at the close of the Median war B.C. 490. In the fierce seditions and frequent revolutions of Megara Theognis was a vehement partisan of the nobles; his property was confiscated, and having barely escaped with his life, he wandered as an exile to Euboea, Sparta, and the Sicilian Megara (vv. 780–83). See the Scholia quoted by Stallbaum.

c 8 *διαβάντες δ' εὖ.* Literally, 'with legs wide apart.' Tyrtaeus, iii. 16 *ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένῃ.*
Hom. *Il.* ii. 21

ἀλλά τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι
στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδοῦσι δακών.

xii. 457 *στῆ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰών, καὶ ἐρεισάμενος βάλε μέσσας,*
εὖ διαβάς, ἵνα μή οἱ ἀφαυρότερον βέλος εἴη.

Aristoph. *Eq.* 75 *ἔχει γὰρ τὸ σκέλος*
τὸ μὲν ἐν Πύλῳ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἐν τἠκκλησίᾳ.
τοσόνδε δ' αὐτοῦ βῆμα διαβεβηκότος, κ.τ.λ.

c 9 *φράζει Τυρταῖος.* This refers to *διαβάντες δ' εὖ*, the remainder of the clause, *μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν*, being implied but not expressed in the same words in Tyrtaeus.

d 8 *ὥς φησι Θέογνις* refers to c 2, *Πιστὸς ἀνήρ κ.τ.λ.*

d 9 *δικαιοσύνην . . . τελείαν.* Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii. 440 *πιστὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐν στάσεσιν οὐκ ἄν που γένοιτο ἄνευ ξυμπάσης ἀρετῆς κ.τ.λ.*

3] **575** c 7 *εὐχόμενος ὁρᾶσθαι.* 2 Macc. xv. 14 'This is the lover of the brethren, he who prayeth much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah the prophet of God.'

4] **576** a 6 *λόγων.* On the distinction between *μῦθος* and *λόγος* see Wyttenbach on Plut. *Mor.* 561 B *ἔχω μέν τινα καὶ λόγον εἰπεῖν, ἔναγχος ἀκηκοώς, ὀκνῶ δὲ μὴ φανῇ μῦθος ὑμῖν.* Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 523 A *Ἄκουε δή, φασί, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσει μῦθον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον· ὡς ἀληθῆ γὰρ ὄντα σοι λέξω ἃ μέλλω λέγειν.*

5] c 7 *ἐπιστατητέον.* Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 401 B, where it is followed by the dative of the persons superintended, as here. In 356 c 4 *ἐπιστατεῖν* with a genitive means 'to be the guardian of a thing.' Viger's reading *ἐπιστατέον* would mean 'we must attend to' or 'observe' from *ἐφίστημι.*

6] **577** b 5 Plato, *Gorg.* 523 E. The introductory words are not quoted by Eusebius: 'There was then the following law con-

concerning men in the time of Kronos, and always, and still even now it exists among the gods, that the man,' &c.

578 b 3 *ἐξωμόρξατο.* Cf. Plat. *Legg.* vi. 623 C; Eur. *Bacch.* 344 *μηδ᾽ ἐξομόρξῃ μωρίαν τὴν σὴν ἐμοί.* Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.*

c 4 *παράδειγμα.* In Plato some MSS. have *παραδείγματι*, a more idiomatic construction. *Rep.* i. 341 E *εἰ ἐξαρκεῖ σώματι εἶναι σώματι*; *Gorg.* 492 B *οἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρξεν ἢ βασιλέων υἱέσιν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*

d 9 *εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγει Πῶλος.* Polus the Sophist, one of the characters in the Dialogue, had given a description of the atrocious crimes of Archelaus in 471 A.

579 b 9 *ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλοι ἀγαθοί.* The true text of Plato is *καὶ ἔσονται καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*, 'men thoroughly accomplished in this virtue' (Cope).

c 4 *τῶν δυναστῶν*, Plato: for which we have in Eusebius *Τῶν δὲ δικαστῶν*, beginning a new sentence, in which it is quite out of place.

580 a 5 *ἀντιπαρακαλῶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν βίον.* Cf. *Gorg.* 500 C *ἐπὶ ὃν σὺ παρακαλεῖς ἐμέ.*

a 7 Καὶ *ὀνειδίζω σε.* Cf. *Gorg.* 515 A *ἐμὲ δὲ παρακαλεῖς καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ὅτι οὐ πράττω.*

b 2 *τὸν τῆς* Αἰγίνης *υἱόν.* Aeacus was the son of Zeus and Aegina (Apollod. iii. 12. 6. 6).

b 3 *χασμήσῃ καὶ ἰλιγγιάσεις.* Cf. *Gorg.* 486 B *ἰλιγγιῴης ἂν καὶ χασμῷο.*

b 4 *ἐπὶ κόρρης.* Cf. *Gorg.* 508 C *ἄν τε τύπτειν βούληται, τὸ νεανικὸν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ σοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ κόρρης.* In Demosth. *Meid.* 537 a blow on the cheek is mentioned as the most outrageous insult: *ὅταν ὡς ὑβρίζων, ὅταν ὡς ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων, ὅταν κονδύλοις, ὅταν ἐπὶ κόρρης.*

7] **581 a** 1 Εὐλαβοῦ. Compare 530 a 6, and 541 c 6.

a 4 *ἐνθουσιαστικώτερα.* Cf. Aristot. *Polit.* viii. 5. 6 *ἁρμονίαις . . . ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς.* The passive sense 'inspired' is more common.

8] **d** 4 *ἀμαθαίνουσι.* Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 535 E.

d 5 *ἐχόμενον.* The addition of *καὶ λεγόμενον* (Viger) is quite inappropriate, and apparently a repetition of the same words in d 3.

9] **582 c** 6 *ὑποπαραιτούμενον.* Cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 41. 3 *ἡ δὲ*

ὑποπαραιτησαμένη βραχὺ καὶ ἀνεθεῖσα συντόνως ἐπεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ.

d 7 ἐπανορθοῦντα. 'Vulgo ἀνορθοῦντα. Sensu quidem non discrepant haec verba . . . sed ubique fere Plato usurpat verbum ἐπανορθοῦν' (Ast).

d 8 καλῶς τῇ τέχνῃ πράξειν, 'to prosper in his art' (Davies and Vaughan): 'obeys the rules of his art' (Jowett). Rather 'does honour to his art.' The distinction between καλῶς πράττειν and εὖ πράττειν is clearly seen in *Alcib.* I., 116 B ὅστις καλῶς πράττει οὐχὶ καὶ εὖ πράττει.

d 10 δεῖ, Eusebius, δεῖν, Plato: δεῖν is defended by Stallbaum, who compares *Sophist.* 263 D παντάπασιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ τοιαύτη σύνθεσις . . . γίγνεσθαι. 'Ut videtur, praemium ponendum est' (Ficinus). 'δεῖ et per se significantius est, et propterea quoque rectius habet, quod iam in antecedentibus oratio ab obliqua, quae dicitur, in rectam transiit' (Ast).

10] 583 a 2 προπηλακισμούς. Cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 127 'προπηλακίζω, a verb generally derived from πηλός. This is of course altogether impossible, and Curtius has accordingly to coin a πῆλαξ. . . . But of πῆλαξ there is no trace in Greek authors' and κατά not πρό would have been the preposition used to bring out the signification which Suidas assigns to the word, παρὰ τὸ πηλὸν ἐπιχρίεσθαι τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀτιμίαν καὶ ὕβριν καταψηφιζομένων. Rutherford's own explanation, 'to ask a man's age before you know him,' presupposes a form πηλάκος, which seems to be no better known than πῆλαξ.

b 4 Τὸν δ' οὖν τοιοῦτον. For this Plato has τοῦτον δὲ τοιοῦτον, where τοῦτον refers to the unjust man described in the preceding paragraph.

b 5 κατ' Αἰσχύλον. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 577

οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα.

'When those verses of Aeschylus concerning Amphiaraus were repeated on the stage, the eyes of the people in general were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable.' Plut. *Aristides*, 3 (Langhorne). In the passage from the *Life of Aristides* Plutarch reads δίκαιος, and possibly, as Hermann thinks, the actor may have substituted that word to

make the application to Aristides more pointed. See Paley's note on the passage. The phrase became proverbial. Cf. *Agam.* 788; Plut. *Mor.* 50 E ὡς γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων φησίν, ἐσχάτης ἀδικίας εἶναι, δοκεῖν δίκαιον μὴ ὄντα. Cic. *De Off.* i. 14.

d 4 ἀνασκινδυλευθήσεται. The word is explained by Timaeus as equivalent to ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι and ἀνασταυρωθῆναι. The punishment described by either word, whether we call it crucifixion or impaling, was virtually the same, as is evident from the use of ἀνασκολοπίζειν and ἀνασταυροῦν in Hdt. ix. 78; i. 128; iii. 132, 159; iv. 43, 202. Plato evidently selects it as the most cruel and shameful death, and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 714) not unnaturally says that he is here 'all but foretelling the economy of salvation.' Cf. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 584 b.

584 b 1 εἰσέτι δεῦρο. This strong expression indicates that the persecution had but recently ceased when Eusebius thus wrote: see 253, 254.

11] **c** 4 παράδεισον. On the Babylonian Paradise see *Auth. and Arch.* p. 19 f.

585 a 1 Plat. *Sympos.* 203 A. The passage is quoted more at length by Origen, *c. Cels.* iv. 39.

a 5 εἰς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς κῆπον. Cf. 584 d 4.

12] **b** 3 ἔκστασιν, 'a trance,' 'a deep sleep,' E. V.

c 1 ὕπνωσε, 'cast into sleep.' The intransitive verb is not ὑπνόω, but ὑπνώσσω.

c 2 ᾠκοδόμησε. R. V. margin 'Heb. *builded he into.*'

d 5 ἀνδρόγυνον. On the prevalence of stories about hermaphrodites among the ancient Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, and Talmudists see Freudenthal, *Alex. Polyhistor*, 68, 69.

d 10 ⟨ὄα⟩. The true reading in Plato seems to have been changed first into ᾠά, and then, because of the ᾠά immediately following, into ὦτα in Eusebius. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Ὄα. ἀκροδρύων εἶδος μήλοις μικροῖς ἐμφερές.

d 11 ταῖς θριξίν. Athenaeus, ii. 50 (57) 'Alexis somewhere speaks of eggs cut in two (ἡμίτομα ᾠῶν)': and Plut. *Erot.* 770 B alludes to a proverb that 'boys' friendship is separated like an egg cut by a hair,' where τριχὶ διαιρεῖσθαι is Ruhnken's correction for τριχῇ αἱρεῖσθαι adopted by Wyttenbach.

13] **586 a** 3 ἀκτήμονι. Cf. 381 b 6.

b 8 δένδρων. This is the reading of nearly all MSS. both

of Plato and Eusebius, but the former reading δρυῶν Steph. agrees better with the following words καὶ πολλῆς ὕλης ἄλλης. The reading δένδρων has led to the omission of ἄλλης in Eus. codd.

c 2 ἄστρωτοι. Cf. Plat. *Sympos.* 203 D (Ἔρως) χαμαιπετὴς ἀεὶ ὢν καὶ ἄστρωτος ἐπὶ θύραις καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς ὑπαίθριος κοιμώμενος.

θυραυλοῦντες. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Θυραυλεῖν· ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν αὐλίζεσθαι καὶ ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

14] d 3 ὁμιλίας. Demosth. 1466 καὶ κρῖναι τί τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ὁμιλίας δυνατὸν προσαγαγέσθαι, καὶ τί βίας προσδεῖται.

d 5 τρόφιμοι, 'alumni,' 'nurselings.' Plat. *Rep.* 520 D ἀπειθήσουσιν οὖν ἡμῖν, οἴει, οἱ τρόφιμοι;

16] **589 b** 5 πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλός. Cf. 2 a 6; Aristoph. *Plut.* 87; Plat. *Rep.* viii. 554 B; Eur. *Phaethon Fr.* xii; Theocr. *Id.* x. 19; Antiphan. ap. Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 574.

d 12 ἀληθοῦς δόξης. 'Ficinus, *vera opinione.* But what is true opinion? And if there is such a thing, what difference is there between it and prudence? I think that δόξα here means *glory*: for Plato had been discoursing much on the praise to be awarded to honourable actions' (Viger).

That the meaning *true opinion* is quite admissible in itself is evident from Plato, *Legg.* 653 φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας βεβαίους, where the connexion with φρόνησις, as here, is in favour of the same meaning.

590 a 7 τὴν βασιλείαν. Matt. vi. 33. Eusebius omits τοῦ Θεοῦ, and αὐτοῦ, to bring the passage more nearly into agreement with his discourse about justice.

17] d 11 τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀρετῆς, bracketed by Schanz. Badham, *Praef. ad Euthyd.* xliii, re-arranges the last clause thus: τῆς τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀρετῆς, ὃ δεήσει γενόμενον ἄνδρα αὐτὸν τέλειον εἶναι, '(the love) of excellence in that work in which, when he has become a man, he will need to be perfect.'

18] **591 b** 4 καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τοιούτων. 'Eus. non male' (Boeckh). The genitive depends on τι understood, an unusual ellipsis, but one which is occasionally found, as in Aristot. *Rep.* i. 13. 2 οἷον σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοιούτων ἕξεων (Boeckh). Cf. Viger, *De Idiotismis*, 63; Plat. *Legg.* 716, Ast's note. Schanz, following Winckelmann, reads: ἄλλων τοιούτων

ἐπιτηδεύματα. Stallbaum proposes *ἄλλων τοιούτων ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένον σφόδρα ἄνθρωπον*.

19] **593 d** 6 *θεοειδές*. An epithet applied to Paris in *Il.* iii. 16, and to Priam, xxiv. 217.

θεοείκελον, used of Achilles, *Il.* i. 131. Both epithets seem in Homer to refer to bodily form and beauty, but Plato applies them to mental and moral qualities.

20] **594 b** 6 *τεθειμένοις*, substituted in Eusebius for *πεπεισμένοις*, which would mean 'those who are obedient to the law.'

b 8 *γεγονέναι*. On this elliptical use of the infinitive, where the regular construction would require an imperative, see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 671 c, and Bernhardy, *Syntax*, 357, where there is a reference to this passage of Plato.

d 3 *ῥυθμοῖς*. Rhythm is the characteristic flow of the words, whether in prose or verse. Thus Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 8, 1 seq., remarks that the language of oratory should be rhythmical but not metrical: *ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή· ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται*.

21] **595 a** 2 Κινύρα. Cf. 63 a 6, note.

Μίδα *μᾶλλον*. Cf. Tyrtaeus, i. 6 *πλουτοίη δὲ* Μίδεω *καὶ* Κινύραο *πλέον*. On the story of Midas and his gold see Ovid, *Met.* xi. 90–135.

a 12 Ibid. *εἰ μὴ τετλαίη μὲν ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα*. Ibid. *νικῴη δὲ θέων* Θρηΐκιον Βορέην.

These disjointed fragments of the well-known war-song of Tyrtaeus are taken out of their proper order and construction, and it is not easy to determine whether in the last three the verbs are meant to be purely optative, as Ficinus seems to take them, or conditional, as in the original, and as *πράττοι* and *κτῷτο* are used by Plato himself above.

d 5 Ἦ *γὰρ ὁρᾶτε*; Eus., *ἦ γάρ*; *ὁρᾶτε*. Plat. With the latter reading, we must render: 'Is it not so? See: for I saw, &c.' Compare *Gorg.* 468 *ἦ γάρ*; *ἀληθῆ σοι δοκῶ λέγειν, ἢ οὔ*; where see Heindorf's and Buttmann's notes.

22] **596 c** 1 *αὐτόθι*, that is, in Egypt. Plato had stated just before that the Egyptians in order to train their youths in virtue by the contemplation of what was really beautiful in sculpture, in music, and in art generally, fixed by law certain forms and patterns which were exhibited in their temples, and no painter

or artist was allowed to adopt any other, and 'that the paintings and sculptures executed ten thousand years before, literally and truly ten thousand, were neither more nor less beautiful than those produced at that present time, but expressed the same skill.'

c 3 *νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαίως θαρροῦντα.* The middle voice *νομοθετεῖσθαι* is used frequently in Plato not only of a state enacting laws for itself, but also of the persons who will themselves be subject to the laws enacted. Schanz, following Madvig, brackets *θαρροῦντα,* for which Badham conjectures *θαρροῦντι.*

24] **597 d** 1 *τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου χορῷ.* Plato had been discussing the necessity for the proper regulation of the poetry, music, and dancing combined in theatrical representations such as those of the Dionysiac Festivals.

d 9 *ἀνηκουστίας.* Plut. *Mor.* 12 B *διδασκάλων παρ' ἀγωγὴν ἀνηκουστία.*

598 a 4 *τὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ.* Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 86 A *τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ὥσπερ σύ,* with Stallbaum's note.

b 6 *ἀθορύβους.* Aristotle, *De Rep.* ii. 12. 12, says that 'the law about drunkenness, namely that the sober should share the power of the symposiarch,' is peculiar to Plato.

b 8 *ὕμνους εἰς Θεὸν πεποιημένους ᾄδειν.* These words and *τοῦ προσήκοντος κόσμου* are evidently taken from the description in Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Contempl.* p. 484 M.) of the feasts of the Essenes: 'And then some one rises up and *sings a hymn composed in honour of God.* . . . After whom the others also rise in ranks *in becoming order.*' Again, p. 485: 'Then they *sing hymns which have been composed in honour of God.*' Cf. 407 b 5.

25] **c** 1 *ὡς οὔσης σπουδῆς,* corresponding to *ὡς παιδιᾷ* below.

599 b 6 *τοῦ μαρτυρίου,* LXX: Heb. מוֹעֵד, '*meeting.*' The ark of the covenant 'was so named as containing the Decalogue . . . written on the tables of testimony . . . and the tabernacle, as we have seen (§ iii), as in its turn containing the ark is named . . . "the tent of the testimony"' (Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* iii. 665 a).

c 4 *Μετὰ βουλῆς,* Prov. xxxi. 4, misplaced in the Septuagint at the end of c. xxiv. The Greek translators mistook the meaning of the Hebrew, which may be literally rendered, *Not for kings,*

Lemuel, not for kings to drink wine; and for princes, Where is strong drink? See Delitzsch on the reading.

e 7 πόνων is not in the LXX at this place, but is probably introduced, by a lapse of memory, from v. 7, *Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery* (τῶν πόνων) *no more.*

27] **600 b** 3 Ἀθηναῖε. To be called an Athenian after the goddess of wisdom and her city was a better compliment than to be addressed merely as an inhabitant of Attica.

d 8 σμήχεσθαι. 'Vulgo μήχεσθαι, quod ut minus Atticum nunc correctum habes ex Paris. A.' (Stallbaum).

601 a 2 οὖσαν. 'Post οὖσαν lacunam indicavi' (Schanz). The words καὶ μονοειδῆ, omitted in Eusebius and in Bekker's text of Plato, are represented in the translation of Ficinus, adopted by Viger, and approved by Ast as necessary to the sense.

a 6 θαυμάτων. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 645 D προσφέροντες τῷ θαύματι τούτῳ τὴν μέθην: 658 B θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύς.

A few lines before this quotation Plato has written, 'Let us regard every one of us living beings as a puppet of the gods (θαῦμα . . . θεῖον),' or, with the reading θεῶν, 'every one of us as a puppet of the living beings, they being gods.' Plato frequently repeats this representation of men as puppets: see *Legg.* 645 D; 804 B. Compare Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 82

'Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum,'

and Pers. *Sat.* v. 128

'Te nihil impellit nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat,
Quod nervos agitet.'

29] **602 c** 1 ἀκρότητα φιλοσοφίας. Cf. Philo Jud. *De Mundi Opif.* ii. 2 Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρότητα.

c 6 Λέγωμεν δή. Plat. *Theaet.* 173 C. The passage is also quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 706.

d 6 οἱ τῆς θαλάττης λεγόμενοι χόες, a measure containing about three quarts. In illustration of the proverb Stallbaum refers to Aristeid. *Or.* iii. T. i. 30, ed. Dind. τὸ λέγειν περὶ τούτων καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι βούλοιτο τοὺς χόας τῆς θαλάσσης.

d 10 κατὰ Πίνδαρον. Pind. *Frag.* 123 (226). 'This reference to Pindar is repeated by several subsequent writers, most of whom have borrowed from Plato. The allusion is probably to some

poem in which Pindar had spoken contemptuously of certain philosophers of the Ionian school.' . . . 'Boeckh connects with this another Fragment, ἀτελῆ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπειν, as follows:

ὃς πέταται τά τε νέρθεν γᾶς ἐφύπερθέ θ' ὕπερθέν τ' οὐρανοῦ ἐξερευνάσων, ἀτελῆ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπει' (Donaldson).

603 b 5 θρέμμα. Stephens draws attention here to the difference between θρέμμα and ζῶον, the former being applied to cattle, or contemptuously to man.

d 8 βδάλλειν. 'Hesychius βδάλλει· ἀμέλγει. Item, βδάλληται· θηλάζηται ἢ ἀμέλγηται' (Fischer).

604 a 1 σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει. Ruhnk. *Tim. Leg.* 'Σηκός. ἔπαυλις τριγχῷ περιεχομένη. Pro τριγχῷ malim θριγκῷ, etsi non ignoro saepe reperiri formas θριγγός, θριγχός, τριγγός, τριγκός, στριγχός.'

a 2 πλέθρα. The πλέθρον was 10,000 square feet, rather less than a quarter of an acre.

b 5 σμικρολογίας. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 486 A ἐναντιώτατον γάρ που σμικρολογία ψυχῇ μελλούσῃ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ παντὸς ἀεὶ ἐπορέξεσθαι.

c 7 αὐτῆς δικαιοσύνης. Cf. Phileb. 62 A αὐτῆς περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅ τι ἔστι. Parmenid. 130 B τί σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὁμοιότης, χωρὶς ἧς ἡμεῖς ὁμοιότητος ἔχομεν. 'Ceterum pronomen αὐτό, ubi vim et naturam alicuius rei genuinam indicat, plerumque neutro genere usurpari solet, si nominativus aut accusativus ponitur; sin genitivus vel dativus, id genus est adhibendum, quod exigit nomen cui pronomen adiicitur' (Stallb.).

d 5 πάλιν αὖ τὰ ἀντίστροφα ἀποδίδωσιν, 'he gives the philosopher his revenge' (Campbell, Jowett), a good paraphrase for what means more nearly 'he shows the reverse.'

605 a 4 στρωματόδεσμον . . . συσκευάσασθαι. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 4. 13 πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου. 'Στρωματόδεσμος, stragulorum involucrum, saccus, in quo loris constricto vestes stragulae vel stragula lecti reconduntur' (Sturz).

a 6 ἀναβάλλεσθαι. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1132 τηνδὶ δὲ χλαῖναν ἀναβαλοῦ τριβωνικῶς. The verb has also the meaning, 'to strike up a prelude,' 'to begin a song.' But the former sense is determined for this passage by Athen. *Deipnos.* i. 38 (al. 21), where the quotation from Plato is introduced by the words, ἔμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ κοσμίως ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τοὺς μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἔσκωπτον.

c 4 ὁ λεγόμενος γραῶν ὕθλος. Plat. *Rep.* 336 D οὐκ ἀποδέξομαι,

ἐὰν ὕθλους τοιούτους λέγῃς. Cf. Lactant. *Inst.* iii. 18 'Senex vanus (Pythagoras), sicut otiosae aniculae solent, fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit.'

606 b 5 τὴν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότητα. Cf. *Phaed.* 83 E 'From sharing the same opinions and same delights with the body, the soul is compelled, I suppose, to have the same habits and nurture, and become unfit ever to arrive at Hades in a pure state, but must ever depart from the body infected by it, so that she soon falls back into another body, and takes root in it as if planted there, and has therefore no part in the communion of the divine and pure and simple.'

30] 607 a 7 Ὀπίσω Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ. Cf. Deut. vi. 13; x. 20. LXX Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις.

31] d 3 ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ψεύδεσθαι. The title of the chapter explains this as meaning, 'for the advantage of those who require such a method.' 'Eusebius may have meant nothing more than the principle of accommodating the degree of enlightenment granted from time to time to the knowledge and moral state of mankind; and his only error consists in giving the odious name of falsehood to what is practically the most real truth' (G. E. L. Cotton, Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 115 b 'Eusebius'). On the general question see J. K. Abbott, *Kant's Ethics*, Appendix I.

d 5 δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ποιεῖν. 'A verb is wanted here, such as πράττειν, προτιμᾶν, ἑλέσθαι, προελέσθαι, or the like: for the preceding ποιεῖν is joined in construction with the participle δυνάμενον' (Viger). This view is confidently rejected by Boeckh, who translates δυνάμενον ποιεῖν by '*efficere ut faciant*,' and in support of this meaning of δυνάμενον refers to *Phileb.* 23 D; *Hipp. Mai.* 269 D; *Menon* 77 B, 78 B: but in none of these passages, nor in *Legg.* 176 C (quoted above on 598 a), has δύνασθαι the force of *efficere*, so as to govern an accusative with infinitive. Ast, though at first inclined to admit this force of δυνάμενον, proceeds to observe that ὥστε must follow it, but finally accepts the opinion of Stephens and Viger that 'a verb might easily have been dropped because of the preceding ποιεῖν.' Schanz adopts the reading of Stephens, πείθειν ποιεῖν. Badham proposed to read πράττειν for πάντα.

32] 608 c 9 οὗ καὶ καταγελαστότατόν ἐστι πάμπολυ ἡττώμενον.

For πάμπολυ Plato has πάντων, and with that reading we may translate 'wherein, if defeated, it is most laughed at.'

d 11 Καὶ γυμναστικὴ ἄρα καὶ πολεμική. This reading adopted by Bekker seems to be very superior to the text of Eusebius in Gaisford and Dindorf, Καὶ γυμναστικὴ δὲ ἄρα οὐδὲ πολεμική.

34] 610 b 3 τέλος . . . τοῦ βίου. The thought is expressed at great length in the celebrated answer of Solon to Croesus, Hdt. i. 32. Compare Soph. *Oed. R.* 1528

ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν
ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν
τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών.

Soph. *Trach.* 1–3; Eur. *Androm.* 100; *Troad.* 510. Compare Ovid, *Met.* iii. 135

'Ultima semper
Exspectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.'

35] d 3 νεωτερισμόν. Cf. Demosth. 215. 24 μηδὲ χρημάτων δημεύσεις, μηδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμοί, μηδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί, μηδὲ δούλων ἀπελευθερώσεις ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ.

38] 611 d 1 μήτε ὁμοτέρμονος. The ὁμοτέρμων in antithesis to οἰκείου πολίτου is a citizen of a neighbouring state who possesses land on the frontier.

d 2 τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν. Cf. *Legg.* 684 E; *Theaet.* 181 A, where the Scholiast describes the proverb as forbidding the removal of temples, altars, tombs, and boundaries.

40] 612 b 5 ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον. 'Vel ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου dictum esse eadem significatione qua ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον, vel hanc lectionem in illius locum substituendam esse fatendum est' (Steph.). In the sense of 'above,' 'more than,' ὑπέρ seems always to require the accusative, 'quod Astius et Turicenses receperunt' (Stallb.). ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου is the reading of the MSS. both of Plato and Eusebius, and may be explained by *Legg.* 744 D ἔστω δὴ πενίας μὲν ὅρος ἡ τοῦ κλήρου τιμή, ὃν δεῖ μένειν, καὶ ὃν ἄρχων οὐδεὶς οὐδενί ποτε περιόψεται ἐλάττω γιγνόμενον.

41] c 1 ἐν τῷ διορύγματι, Exod. xxii. 2, 'breaking in,' R.V. Cf. Zech. ii. 14; Jer. ii. 34.

43] 613 b 4 εἰσδέχεται, LXX. This use of the verb in a passive sense is anomalous, though in a few passages the aorist εἰσεδέχθην is so used.

44] **614 c** 8 *δαιτυμόνα*. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 621

δαιτυμόνες δ' ἐς δώματ' ἴσαν θείου βασιλῆος,
οἱ δ' ἦγον μὲν μῆλα, φέρον δ' εὐήνορα οἶνον.

ἑστιάσεσθαι must be of the middle voice.

d 3 *ἐκπεπόρισται* is of the middle voice, as is shown by the nominatives *βελτίστη* in Plato and *ποιμενική* both in Plato and Eusebius. But *βελτίστην* (Eus. Plat. cod. v) may be defended as coming before the construction has been determined by *ἐκπεπόρισται*.

45] **615 a** 1 Isa. xxvi. 18. The passage in the Septuagint is differently punctuated: 'we have brought forth: we have wrought a spirit of thy deliverance upon the earth.'

46] **c** 4 *αὐτῷ*, referring indirectly to Thrasymachus as the author of a preceding remark (343 c) 'that injustice is profitable to the man who is entirely unjust, but is thought to be just.'

616 b 2 *λιμοκτονεῖν*, 'to starve.' Cf. *Protag.* 354 A *ἰατρῶν θεραπείας τὰς διὰ καύσεών τε καὶ τομῶν καὶ φαρμακειῶν καὶ λιμοκτονιῶν γιγνομένας.*

c 1 *γεωργός* introduces a new and partly incongruous figure, so that it is difficult to say whether the following words describe the treatment of a plant or of an animal.

47] **d** 6 *ἀγρονόμους*, 'guardians of the public lands,' whose duties corresponded to those of the *ἀστυνόμοι* within the walls: *καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν ἀγρονόμους οἱ δ' ὑλωρούς* (foresters), Aristot. *Polit.* vi. 8. 6.

φυλάρχους. 'Harpocration (s. v.), *φύλαρχός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ φυλὴν ἑκάστην τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων, ὑποτεταγμένος δὲ τῷ ἱππάρχῳ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ φησί*' (Rose, *Fr.* 392; Aristot. *Athen. Pol.* 61).

d 8 *Ταξιάρχους.* At Athens the taxiarch was the commander of the *τάξις* or infantry division furnished by each tribe (*φυλή*). Aristot. ibid. *χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ ταξιάρχους δέκα, ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης· οὗτος δ' ἡγεῖται τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ λοχαγοὺς καθίστησιν.*

48] **617 c** 7 *ἐξοίκησις*, Eus., 'an emigration.' 'Vera haec unice lectio est, quam etiam codices praestantissimi tuentur. Vulgo *ἐξοίκισις*' (Stallb.). *ἐξοίκισις* would mean 'an eviction.'

d 9 *ἁλμυρόν*. Sea-water, as being unfit to drink, was re-

garded as impure. Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 D ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἁλμυρὸν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.

618 a 7 ἐξαγωγήν, 'exportation.' Cf. Hdt. v. 6 Θρηΐκων ἐστὶ ὅδε ὁ νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ.

a 8 ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἓν οὐδέν, 'nothing taken singly.' Cf. *Legg.* 647 B ἓν πρὸς ἓν οὐδὲν οὕτω σφόδρα . . . ἀπεργάζεται.

49] c 1 Ὡς μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρῆσθαι, 'Speaking as between ourselves.' Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 414 A ὡς ἐν τύπῳ μὴ δι' ἀκριβείας εἰρῆσθαι. The reading εἰρήσθω (Eus. codd.) may have arisen from not understanding this idiomatic use of ὡς with the infinitive.

619 a 7 τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, 'in the third place,' i. e. 'twice removed from the truth.' Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 391 C Πηλέως σωφρονεστάτου τε καὶ τρίτου ἀπὸ Διός.

b 5 Χαρώνδαν. On the date of Charondas and his laws see Bentley *On Phalaris*, ch. xii., who corrects the account of him given by Diodorus Siculus xii. 12. From Aristotle we learn that Charondas was a native of Catana (*Rep.* ii. 12. 6), of the middle class (*Rep.* iv. 11. 15), a hearer of Zaleucus (ibid. 12. 7), who legislated for his own city Catana, and for the other Chalcidian cities in Italy and Sicily (ibid. ii. 12. 6). As a hearer of Zaleucus, who flourished B. C. 660, Charondas must have lived in the latter part of the seventh century B. C.

d 2 Κρεώφυλος. Cf. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* i. 4; Strab. xiv. 638 'Another Samian was Creophylus, who is said to have shown hospitality to Homer, and to have received from him as a present the ascription of the poem which is called *The Capture of Oechalia.* But Callimachus on the contrary makes it appear by a certain epigram that Creophȳlus was the author, but Homer was reputed to be so because of the alleged hospitality.

"The Samian's work am I, who in his home
To godlike Homer friendly welcome gave.
Of Eurytus and fair-haired Iole
I sing in verse that bears great Homer's name.
Good heavens! To Creophylus what a gain."'

d 3 τοῦ ὀνόματος, Κρεώφυλος, 'that child of flesh' (Jowett).

620 b 1 ὀνίναι. 'The MSS. (of Plato) fluctuate between ὀνίναι, ὀνῖναι, ὀνεῖναι, ὀνῆναι, and Bekker has thence adopted ὀνῆναι; but I cannot prefer that aor. 2 act. (unknown in any other instance, and used here for the common ὀνῆσαι) to Matthiae's correction

(ὀνινάναι); particularly as the imperf. is the only tense naturally suited to that passage' (Buttmann, *Greek Verbs*). I have allowed ὀνίναι to remain in the text, being the reading of the MSS. of Eusebius, and of some MSS. of Plato.

b 4 ἐπαιδαγώγουν involves the meaning of instruction or training, as in Plat. *Legg.* 641 B παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἢ χοροῦ παιδαγωγηθέντος κατὰ τρόπον: ibid. 897 B ὀρθὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα παιδαγωγεῖ πάντα.

50] **621 c** 1 γῆς . . . πέρι. On this periphrastic use of περί see *Gorg.* 472 C περὶ ὧν εἰδέναι. *Phaedo* 95 E περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν. Ast, *Lex. Platon.* iii. 81 'Vocis appositae amplificatio est.'

d 7 συνέριθοι. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 533 D συνερίθοις καὶ συμπεριαγωγοῖς χρωμένη αἷς διήλθομεν τέχναις.

622 a 1 σμικρόν τι μέρος εἶναι. On the restrictive use of εἶναι in parenthetical clauses see Plat. *Polit.* 300 C τὰ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι γεγραμμένα. *Crat.* 396 E τὸ μὲν τήμερον εἶναι χρήσασθαι αὐτῇ.

a 6 καὶ τούτους refers to the gods, not to the laws.

b 2 νόμοις, ἀλλ' οὐ δή τινι φύσει. Compare *Gorgias*, p. 482 fin. 'For the most part these are opposed to one another, nature and law.' Aristotle comments on this passage, *Elench. Sophist.* xii. 6 ἐναντία γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν καὶ νόμον, καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην κατὰ νόμον μὲν εἶναι καλόν, κατὰ φύσιν δ' οὐ καλόν.

b 4 ἰδιωτῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 258 E ἐν μέτρῳ ὡς ποιητής, ἢ ἄνευ μέτρου ὡς ἰδιώτης.

τὸ δικαιότατον. In attributing this sentiment to poets, Plato alludes to a famous passage of Pindar, *Fragm.* 48 (151), referred to in the *Gorg.* 484 B; *Legg.* 690 B; *Protag.* 337 D

κατὰ φύσιν
νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον
ὑπερτάτᾳ χειρί.

There are allusions to the same passage in Hdt. iii. 38, vii. 104. 'Fatalis lex, inquit, etiam vim maximam *affert* eamque *iustam efficit*' (Boeckh).

623 a 1 ἐν πρώτοις. On the omission of the article cf. *Rep.* 522 C; Thuc. viii. 89. 2 with Arnold's note, approved by Poppo, Göller, and Bernhardy, *Gr. Syntax*, 311.

a 2 *μετακοσμήσεως.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 75 E *ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἄν τις, ὡς ὁ Καινεύς, γενόμενος κατ' εὐχὴν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀγνοῆσαι τὴν μετακόσμησιν κ.τ.λ.*

51] c 1 'For *θεόν* Viger proposes *θεούς*, because the plural *παρακεκλήσθων* follows. But *θεός*, like *Deus*, is often used of the gods in general, and of things considered to be divine' (Ast).

624 a 7 *Τὴν αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν δήπου κινοῦσαν.* Compare Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 E 'Thus then the beginning of motion is the self-moving, and this can neither be destroyed nor begotten, else the whole heaven and all creation would collapse and stand still (*συμπεσοῦσαν στῆναι*), and never again have any source of motion and generation.' In *Theaet.* 153 D 'all is made to depend on change; in the above passage (*Phaedr.* 245 E) all change depends on that which is self-moving, but in both motion is essential to being,' Lewis Campbell, who further quotes from Comte, 'No organism, even the simplest, could live in a state of complete immobility. The double movement of the earth, and especially its rotation, may probably be as necessary to the development of life as to the periodical distribution of heat and light.'

625 b 4 *ἀριθμῶν . . . πολλοστὴν τοσούτων.* Cf. *Phileb.* 44 E *πρὸς τὰ πολλοστὰ σκληρότητι.*

c 1 *Μεμνήμεθά γε.* Plat. *Legg.* 896 C, previously quoted by Eusebius, 601 d.

626 b 6 *Πότερον οὖν δὴ ψυχῆς γένος*, Plato. 'Eusebius vitiose *τὸ γένος* scribit' (Ast).

c 6 *τοιαύτην*, 'of this same kind,' has its meaning defined by the preceding *ἀρίστην*.

627 a 11 *σφαίρας ἐντόρνου*, 'a top' (Jowett).

628 a 2 *τὸ τοιοῦτον*, sc. *σῶμα*.

a 3 *αὐτῇ*, 'Sic verissime libri Eusebii omnes pro vulg. *αὐτῇ*. Ceterum quorumnam haec fuerit sententia non constat. De ipsius Platonis ratione consulendus est *Timaeus*, 34 sqq. et 41 D' (Stallb.).

d 3 *ὁμολογουμένοις* (Steph., Eus.) is restored by Stallbaum instead of *ὁμολογούμενον*, which has the great majority of MSS. in its favour.

629 d 1 *Πόθεν . . . λαβόν;* The same argument is attributed to Socrates in almost the same words by Xenophon, *Mem. Socr.* i. 4. 8 'But do you suppose yourself to have intelligence, and

ἐπιτηδεύματα. Stallbaum proposes *ἄλλων τοιούτων ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένον σφόδρα ἄνθρωπον*.

19] **593 d** 6 *θεοειδές*. An epithet applied to Paris in *Il*. iii. 16, and to Priam, xxiv. 217.

θεοείκελον, used of Achilles, *Il*. i. 131. Both epithets seem in Homer to refer to bodily form and beauty, but Plato applies them to mental and moral qualities.

20] **594 b** 6 *τεθειμένοις*, substituted in Eusebius for *πεπεισμένοις*, which would mean 'those who are obedient to the law.'

b 8 *γεγονέναι*. On this elliptical use of the infinitive, where the regular construction would require an imperative, see Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 671 c, and Bernhardy, *Syntax*, 357, where there is a reference to this passage of Plato.

d 3 *ῥυθμοῖς*. Rhythm is the characteristic flow of the words, whether in prose or verse. Thus Aristotle, *Rhet*. iii. 8, 1 seq., remarks that the language of oratory should be rhythmical but not metrical: *ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή· ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται*.

21] **595 a** 2 Κινύρα. Cf. 63 a 6, note.

Μίδα *μᾶλλον*. Cf. Tyrtaeus, i. 6 *πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύραο πλέον*. On the story of Midas and his gold see Ovid, *Met*. xi. 90–135.

a 12 Ibid. *εἰ μὴ τετλαίη μὲν ὁρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα*. Ibid. *νικῴη δὲ θέων Θρηΐκιον Βορέην*.

These disjointed fragments of the well-known war-song of Tyrtaeus are taken out of their proper order and construction, and it is not easy to determine whether in the last three the verbs are meant to be purely optative, as Ficinus seems to take them, or conditional, as in the original, and as *πράττοι* and *κτῷτο* are used by Plato himself above.

d 5 Ἦ *γὰρ ὁρᾶτε*; Eus., *ἦ γάρ; ὁρᾶτε*. Plat. With the latter reading, we must render: 'Is it not so? See: for I saw, &c.' Compare *Gorg*. 468 *ἦ γάρ; ἀληθῆ σοι δοκῶ λέγειν, ἢ οὔ*; where see Heindorf's and Buttmann's notes.

22] **596 c** 1 *αὐτόθι*, that is, in Egypt. Plato had stated just before that the Egyptians in order to train their youths in virtue by the contemplation of what was really beautiful in sculpture, in music, and in art generally, fixed by law certain forms and patterns which were exhibited in their temples, and no painter

or artist was allowed to adopt any other, and 'that the paintings and sculptures executed ten thousand years before, literally and truly ten thousand, were neither more nor less beautiful than those produced at that present time, but expressed the same skill.'

c 3 *νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαίως θαρροῦντα.* The middle voice *νομοθετεῖσθαι* is used frequently in Plato not only of a state enacting laws for itself, but also of the persons who will themselves be subject to the laws enacted. Schanz, following Madvig, brackets *θαρροῦντα*, for which Badham conjectures *θαρροῦντι*.

24] **597 d** 1 *τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου χορῷ.* Plato had been discussing the necessity for the proper regulation of the poetry, music, and dancing combined in theatrical representations such as those of the Dionysiac Festivals.

d 9 *ἀνηκουστίας.* Plut. *Mor.* 12 B *διδασκάλων παρ' ἀγωγὴν ἀνηκουστία.*

598 a 4 *τὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ.* Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 86 A *τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ὥσπερ σύ*, with Stallbaum's note.

b 6 *ἀθορύβους.* Aristotle, *De Rep.* ii. 12. 12, says that 'the law about drunkenness, namely that the sober should share the power of the symposiarch,' is peculiar to Plato.

b 8 *ὕμνους εἰς Θεὸν πεποιημένους ᾄδειν.* These words and *τοῦ προσήκοντος κόσμου* are evidently taken from the description in Philo Judaeus (*De Vita Contempl.* p. 484 M.) of the feasts of the Essenes: 'And then some one rises up and *sings a hymn composed in honour of God*. . . . After whom the others also rise in ranks *in becoming order*.' Again, p. 485: 'Then they *sing hymns which have been composed in honour of God*.' Cf. 407 b 5.

25] **c** 1 *ὡς οὔσης σπουδῆς*, corresponding to *ὡς παιδιᾷ* below.

599 b 6 *τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, LXX: Heb. מוֹעֵד, '*meeting*.' The ark of the covenant 'was so named as containing the Decalogue . . . written on the tables of testimony . . . and the tabernacle, as we have seen (§ iii), as in its turn containing the ark is named . . . "the tent of the testimony"' (Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* iii. 665 a).

c 4 *Μετὰ βουλῆς*, Prov. xxxi. 4, misplaced in the Septuagint at the end of c. xxiv. The Greek translators mistook the meaning of the Hebrew, which may be literally rendered, *Not for kings*,

Lemuel, not for kings to drink wine; and for princes, Where is strong drink? See Delitzsch on the reading.

c 7 πόνων is not in the LXX at this place, but is probably introduced, by a lapse of memory, from v. 7, *Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery* (τῶν πόνων) *no more.*

27] 600 b 3 Ἀθηναῖε. To be called an Athenian after the goddess of wisdom and her city was a better compliment than to be addressed merely as an inhabitant of Attica.

d 8 σμήρινθοι. 'Vulgo μήρινθοι, quod ut minus Atticum nunc correctum habes ex Paris. A.' (Stallbaum).

601 a 2 οὖσαν. 'Post οὖσαν lacunam indicavi' (Schanz). The words καὶ μονοειδῆ, omitted in Eusebius and in Bekker's text of Plato, are represented in the translation of Ficinus, adopted by Viger, and approved by Ast as necessary to the sense.

a 6 θαυμάτων. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 645 D προσφέροντες τῷ θαύματι τούτῳ τὴν μέθην: 658 B θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύς.

A few lines before this quotation Plato has written, 'Let us regard every one of us living beings as a puppet of the gods (θαῦμα . . . θεῖον),' or, with the reading θεῶν, 'every one of us as a puppet of the living beings, they being gods.' Plato frequently repeats this representation of men as puppets: see *Legg.* 645 D; 804 B. Compare Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 82

'Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum,'

and Pers. *Sat.* v. 128

'Te nihil impellit nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat,
Quod nervos agitet.'

29] 602 c 1 ἀκρότητα φιλοσοφίας. Cf. Philo Jud. *De Mundi Opif.* ii. 2 Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρότητα.

c 6 Λέγωμεν δή. Plat. *Theaet.* 173 C. The passage is also quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 706.

d 6 οἱ τῆς θαλάττης λεγόμενοι χόες, a measure containing about three quarts. In illustration of the proverb Stallbaum refers to Aristeid. *Or.* iii. T. i. 30, ed. Dind. τὸ λέγειν περὶ τούτων καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι βούλοιτο τοὺς χόας τῆς θαλάσσης.

d 10 κατὰ Πίνδαρον. Pind. *Frag.* 123 (226). 'This reference to Pindar is repeated by several subsequent writers, most of whom have borrowed from Plato. The allusion is probably to some

poem in which Pindar had spoken contemptuously of certain philosophers of the Ionian school.' . . . 'Boeckh connects with this another Fragment, *ἀτελῆ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπειν*, as follows:

ὃς πέταται τά τε νέρθεν γᾶς ἐφύπερθέ θ' ὑπερθέν τ' οὐρανοῦ ἐξερευνάσων, ἀτελῆ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπει' (Donaldson).

603 b 5 *θρέμμα*. Stephens draws attention here to the difference between *θρέμμα* and *ζῶον*, the former being applied to cattle, or contemptuously to man.

d 8 *βδάλλειν*. 'Hesychius *βδάλλει· ἀμέλγει*. Item, *βδάλληται· θηλάζηται ἢ ἀμέλγηται*' (Fischer).

604 a 1 *σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει*. Ruhnk. *Tim. Leg.* '*Σηκός. ἔπαυλις τριγχῷ περιεχομένη*. Pro *τριγχῷ* malim *θριγκῷ*, etsi non ignoro saepe reperiri formas *θριγγός, θριγχός, τριγγός, τριγκός, στριγχός*.'

a 2 *πλέθρα*. The *πλέθρον* was 10,000 square feet, rather less than a quarter of an acre.

b 5 *σμικρολογίας*. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 486 A *ἐναντιώτατον γάρ που σμικρολογία ψυχῇ μελλούσῃ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ παντὸς ἀεὶ ἐπορέξεσθαι*.

c 7 *αὐτῆς δικαιοσύνης*. Cf. Phileb. 62 A *αὐτῆς περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅ τι ἔστι*. Parmenid. 130 B *τί σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὁμοιότης, χωρὶς ἧς ἡμεῖς ὁμοιότητος ἔχομεν*. 'Ceterum pronomen *αὐτό*, ubi vim et naturam alicuius rei genuinam indicat, plerumque neutro genere usurpari solet, si nominativus aut accusativus ponitur; sin genitivus vel dativus, id genus est adhibendum, quod exigit nomen cui pronomen adiicitur' (Stallb.).

d 5 *πάλιν αὖ τὰ ἀντίστροφα ἀποδίδωσιν*, 'he gives the philosopher his revenge' (Campbell, Jowett), a good paraphrase for what means more nearly 'he shows the reverse.'

605 a 4 *στρωματόδεσμον . . . συσκευάσασθαι*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 4. 13 *πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου*. '*Στρωματόδεσμος*, stragulorum involucrum, saccus, in quo loris constricto vestes stragulae vel stragula lecti reconduntur' (Sturz).

a 6 *ἀναβάλλεσθαι*. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1132 *τηνδὶ δὲ χλαῖναν ἀναβαλοῦ τριβωνικῶς*. The verb has also the meaning, 'to strike up a prelude,' 'to begin a song.' But the former sense is determined for this passage by Athen. *Deipnos.* i. 38 (al. 21), where the quotation from Plato is introduced by the words, *ἔμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ κοσμίως ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τοὺς μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἔσκωπτον*.

c 4 *ὁ λεγόμενος γραῶν ὕθλος*. Plat. *Rep.* 336 D *οὐκ ἀποδέξομαι*,

ἐὰν ὕθλους τοιούτους λέγῃς. Cf. Lactant. *Inst.* iii. 18 'Senex vanus (Pythagoras), sicut otiosae aniculae solent, fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit.'

606 b 5 τὴν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότητα. Cf. *Phaed.* 83 E 'From sharing the same opinions and same delights with the body, the soul is compelled, I suppose, to have the same habits and nurture, and become unfit ever to arrive at Hades in a pure state, but must ever depart from the body infected by it, so that she soon falls back into another body, and takes root in it as if planted there, and has therefore no part in the communion of the divine and pure and simple.'

30] 607 a 7 Ὀπίσω Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ. Cf. Deut. vi. 13; x. 20. LXX Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις.

31] d 3 ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ψεύδεσθαι. The title of the chapter explains this as meaning, 'for the advantage of those who require such a method.' 'Eusebius may have meant nothing more than the principle of accommodating the degree of enlightenment granted from time to time to the knowledge and moral state of mankind; and his only error consists in giving the odious name of falsehood to what is practically the most real truth' (G. E. L. Cotton, Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 115 b 'Eusebius'). On the general question see J. K. Abbott, *Kant's Ethics*, Appendix I.

d 5 δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ποιεῖν. 'A verb is wanted here, such as πράττειν, προτιμᾶν, ἑλέσθαι, προελέσθαι, or the like: for the preceding ποιεῖν is joined in construction with the participle δυνάμενον' (Viger). This view is confidently rejected by Boeckh, who translates δυνάμενον ποιεῖν by '*efficere ut faciant*,' and in support of this meaning of δυνάμενον refers to *Phileb.* 23 D; *Hipp. Mai.* 269 D; *Menon* 77 B, 78 B: but in none of these passages, nor in *Legg.* 176 C (quoted above on 598 a), has δύνασθαι the force of *efficere*, so as to govern an accusative with infinitive. Ast, though at first inclined to admit this force of δυνάμενον, proceeds to observe that ὥστε must follow it, but finally accepts the opinion of Stephens and Viger that 'a verb might easily have been dropped because of the preceding ποιεῖν.' Schanz adopts the reading of Stephens, πείθειν ποιεῖν. Badham proposed to read πράττειν for πάντα.

32] 608 c 9 οὗ καὶ καταγελαστότατόν ἐστι πάμπολυ ἡττώμενον.

For πάμπολυ Plato has πάντων, and with that reading we may translate 'wherein, if defeated, it is most laughed at.'

d 11 Καὶ γυμναστικὴ ἄρα καὶ πολεμική. This reading adopted by Bekker seems to be very superior to the text of Eusebius in Gaisford and Dindorf, Καὶ γυμναστικὴ δὲ ἄρα οὐδὲ πολεμική.

34] 610 b 3 τέλος . . . τοῦ βίου. The thought is expressed at great length in the celebrated answer of Solon to Croesus, Hdt. i. 32. Compare Soph. *Oed. R.* 1528

ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν
ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν
τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών.

Soph. *Trach.* 1–3; Eur. *Androm.* 100; *Troad.* 510. Compare Ovid, *Met.* iii. 135

'Ultima semper
Exspectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.'

35] d 3 νεωτερισμόν. Cf. Demosth. 215. 24 μηδὲ χρημάτων δημεύσεις, μηδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμοί, μηδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί, μηδὲ δούλων ἀπελευθερώσεις ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ.

38] 611 d 1 μήτε ὁμοτέρμονος. The ὁμοτέρμων in antithesis to οἰκείου πολίτου is a citizen of a neighbouring state who possesses land on the frontier.

d 2 τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν. Cf. *Legg.* 684 E; *Theaet.* 181 A, where the Scholiast describes the proverb as forbidding the removal of temples, altars, tombs, and boundaries.

40] 612 b 5 ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον. 'Vel ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου dictum esse eadem significatione qua ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον, vel hanc lectionem in illius locum substituendam esse fatendum est' (Steph.). In the sense of 'above,' 'more than,' ὑπέρ seems always to require the accusative, 'quod Astius et Turicenses receperunt' (Stallb.). ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου is the reading of the MSS. both of Plato and Eusebius, and may be explained by *Legg.* 744 D ἔστω δὴ πενίας μὲν ὅρος ἡ τοῦ κλήρου τιμή, ὃν δεῖ μένειν, καὶ ὃν ἄρχων οὐδεὶς οὐδενί ποτε περιόψεται ἐλάττω γιγνόμενον.

41] c 1 ἐν τῷ διορύγματι, Exod. xxii. 2, 'breaking in,' R. V. Cf. Zech. ii. 14; Jer. ii. 34.

43] 613 b 4 εἰσδέχεται, LXX. This use of the verb in a passive sense is anomalous, though in a few passages the aorist εἰσεδέχθην is so used.

44] **614 c** 8 δαιτυμόνα. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 621

δαιτυμόνες δ' ἐς δώματ' ἴσαν θείου βασιλῆος,
οἱ δ' ἦγον μὲν μῆλα, φέρον δ' εὐήνορα οἶνον.

ἑστιάσεσθαι must be of the middle voice.

d 3 ἐκπεπόρισται is of the middle voice, as is shown by the nominatives βελτίστη in Plato and ποιμενική both in Plato and Eusebius. But βελτίστην (Eus. Plat. cod. v) may be defended as coming before the construction has been determined by ἐκπεπόρισται.

45] **615 a** 1 Isa. xxvi. 18. The passage in the Septuagint is differently punctuated: 'we have brought forth: we have wrought a spirit of thy deliverance upon the earth.'

46] **c** 4 αὐτῷ, referring indirectly to Thrasymachus as the author of a preceding remark (343 c) 'that injustice is profitable to the man who is entirely unjust, but is thought to be just.'

616 b 2 λιμοκτονεῖν, 'to starve.' Cf. *Protag.* 354 A ἰατρῶν θεραπείας τὰς διὰ καύσεών τε καὶ τομῶν καὶ φαρμακειῶν καὶ λιμοκτονιῶν γιγνομένας.

c 1 γεωργός introduces a new and partly incongruous figure, so that it is difficult to say whether the following words describe the treatment of a plant or of an animal.

47] **d** 6 ἀγρονόμους, 'guardians of the public lands,' whose duties corresponded to those of the ἀστυνόμοι within the walls: καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν ἀγρονόμους οἱ δ' ὑλωρούς (foresters), Aristot. *Polit.* vi. 8. 6.

φυλάρχους. 'Harpocration (s. v.), φύλαρχός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ φυλὴν ἑκάστην τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων, ὑποτεταγμένος δὲ τῷ ἱππάρχῳ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ φησί' (Rose, *Fr.* 392; Aristot. *Athen. Pol.* 61).

d 8 Ταξιάρχους. At Athens the taxiarch was the commander of the τάξις or infantry division furnished by each tribe (φυλή). Aristot. ibid. χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ ταξιάρχους δέκα, ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης· οὗτος δ' ἡγεῖται τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ λοχαγοὺς καθίστησιν.

48] **617 c** 7 ἐξοίκησις, Eus., 'an emigration.' 'Vera haec unice lectio est, quam etiam codices praestantissimi tuentur. Vulgo ἐξοίκισις' (Stallb.). ἐξοίκισις would mean 'an eviction.'

d 9 ἁλμυρόν. Sea-water, as being unfit to drink, was re-

garded as impure. Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 D ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἁλμυρὸν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.

618 a 7 ἐξαγωγήν, 'exportation.' Cf. Hdt. v. 6 Θρηΐκων ἐστὶ ὅδε ὁ νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ.

a 8 ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἓν οὐδέν, 'nothing taken singly.' Cf. *Legg.* 647 B ἓν πρὸς ἓν οὐδὲν οὕτω σφόδρα . . . ἀπεργάζεται.

49] **c** 1 Ὡς μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρῆσθαι, 'Speaking as between ourselves.' Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 414 A ὡς ἐν τύπῳ μὴ δι' ἀκριβείας εἰρῆσθαι. The reading εἰρήσθω (Eus. codd.) may have arisen from not understanding this idiomatic use of ὡς with the infinitive.

619 a 7 τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, 'in the third place,' i. e. 'twice removed from the truth.' Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 391 C Πηλέως σωφρονεστάτου τε καὶ τρίτου ἀπὸ Διός.

b 5 Χαρώνδαν. On the date of Charondas and his laws see Bentley *On Phalaris*, ch. xii., who corrects the account of him given by Diodorus Siculus xii. 12. From Aristotle we learn that Charondas was a native of Catana (*Rep.* ii. 12. 6), of the middle class (*Rep.* iv. 11. 15), a hearer of Zaleucus (ibid. 12. 7), who legislated for his own city Catana, and for the other Chalcidian cities in Italy and Sicily (ibid. ii. 12. 6). As a hearer of Zaleucus, who flourished B. C. 660, Charondas must have lived in the latter part of the seventh century B. C.

d 2 Κρεώφυλος. Cf. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* i. 4; Strab. xiv. 638 'Another Samian was Creophylus, who is said to have shown hospitality to Homer, and to have received from him as a present the ascription of the poem which is called *The Capture of Oechalia*. But Callimachus on the contrary makes it appear by a certain epigram that Creophȳlus was the author, but Homer was reputed to be so because of the alleged hospitality.

"The Samian's work am I, who in his home
To godlike Homer friendly welcome gave.
Of Eurytus and fair-haired Iole
I sing in verse that bears great Homer's name.
Good heavens! To Creophylus what a gain."'

d 3 τοῦ ὀνόματος, Κρεώφυλος, 'that child of flesh' (Jowett).

620 b 1 ὀνίναι. 'The MSS. (of Plato) fluctuate between ὀνίναι, ὀνῖναι, ὀνεῖναι, ὀνῆναι, and Bekker has thence adopted ὀνῆναι; but I cannot prefer that aor. 2 act. (unknown in any other instance, and used here for the common ὀνῆσαι) to Matthiae's correction

(ὀνινάναι); particularly as the imperf. is the only tense naturally suited to that passage' (Buttmann, *Greek Verbs*). I have allowed ὀνίναι to remain in the text, being the reading of the MSS. of Eusebius, and of some MSS. of Plato.

b 4 ἐπαιδαγώγουν involves the meaning of instruction or training, as in Plat. *Legg.* 641 B παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἢ χοροῦ παιδαγωγηθέντος κατὰ τρόπον: ibid. 897 B ὀρθὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα παιδαγωγεῖ πάντα.

50] **621 c** 1 γῆς . . . πέρι. On this periphrastic use of περί see *Gorg.* 472 C περὶ ὧν εἰδέναι. *Phaedo* 95 E περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν. Ast, *Lex. Platon.* iii. 81 'Vocis appositae amplificatio est.'

d 7 συνέριθοι. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 533 D συνερίθοις καὶ συμπεριαγωγοῖς χρωμένη αἷς διήλθομεν τέχναις.

622 a 1 σμικρόν τι μέρος εἶναι. On the restrictive use of εἶναι in parenthetical clauses see Plat. *Polit.* 300 C τὰ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι γεγραμμένα. *Crat.* 396 E τὸ μὲν τήμερον εἶναι χρήσασθαι αὐτῇ.

a 6 καὶ τούτους refers to the gods, not to the laws.

b 2 νόμοις, ἀλλ' οὐ δή τινι φύσει. Compare *Gorgias*, p. 482 fin. 'For the most part these are opposed to one another, nature and law.' Aristotle comments on this passage, *Elench. Sophist.* xii. 6 ἐναντία γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν καὶ νόμον, καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην κατὰ νόμον μὲν εἶναι καλόν, κατὰ φύσιν δ' οὐ καλόν.

b 4 ἰδιωτῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 258 E ἐν μέτρῳ ὡς ποιητής, ἢ ἄνευ μέτρου ὡς ἰδιώτης.

τὸ δικαιότατον. In attributing this sentiment to poets, Plato alludes to a famous passage of Pindar, *Fragm.* 48 (151), referred to in the *Gorg.* 484 B; *Legg.* 690 B; *Protag.* 337 D

κατὰ φύσιν
νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον
ὑπερτάτᾳ χειρί.

There are allusions to the same passage in Hdt. iii. 38, vii. 104. 'Fatalis lex, inquit, etiam vim maximam *affert* eamque *iustam efficit*' (Boeckh).

623 a 1 ἐν πρώτοις. On the omission of the article cf. *Rep.* 522 C; Thuc. viii. 89. 2 with Arnold's note, approved by Poppo, Göller, and Bernhardy, *Gr. Syntax*, 311.

a 2 *μετακοσμήσεως*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 75 E ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἄν τις, ὡς ὁ Καινεύς, γενόμενος κατ' εὐχὴν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀγνοῆσαι τὴν μετακόσμησιν κ.τ.λ.

51] c 1 'For θεόν Viger proposes θεούς, because the plural παρακεκλήσθων follows. But θεός, like *Deus*, is often used of the gods in general, and of things considered to be divine' (Ast).

624 a 7 Τὴν αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν δήπου κινοῦσαν. Compare Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 E 'Thus then the beginning of motion is the self-moving, and this can neither be destroyed nor begotten, else the whole heaven and all creation would collapse and stand still (συμπεσοῦσαν στῆναι), and never again have any source of motion and generation.' In *Theaet.* 153 D 'all is made to depend on change; in the above passage (*Phaedr.* 245 E) all change depends on that which is self-moving, but in both motion is essential to being,' Lewis Campbell, who further quotes from Comte, 'No organism, even the simplest, could live in a state of complete immobility. The double movement of the earth, and especially its rotation, may probably be as necessary to the development of life as to the periodical distribution of heat and light.'

625 b 4 ἀριθμῶν . . . πολλοστὴν τοσούτων. Cf. *Phileb.* 44 E πρὸς τὰ πολλοστὰ σκληρότητι.

c 1 Μεμνήμεθά γε. Plat. *Legg.* 896 C, previously quoted by Eusebius, 601 d.

626 b 6 Πότερον οὖν δὴ ψυχῆς γένος, Plato. 'Eusebius vitiose τὸ γένος scribit' (Ast).

c 6 τοιαύτην, 'of this same kind,' has its meaning defined by the preceding ἀρίστην.

627 a 11 σφαίρας ἐντόρνου, 'a top' (Jowett).

628 a 2 τὸ τοιοῦτον, sc. σῶμα.

a 3 αὐτῇ, 'Sic verissime libri Eusebii omnes pro vulg. αὐτῇ. Ceterum quorumnam haec fuerit sententia non constat. De ipsius Platonis ratione consulendus est *Timaeus*, 34 sqq. et 41 D' (Stallb.).

d 3 ὁμολογουμένοις (Steph., Eus.) is restored by Stallbaum instead of ὁμολογούμενον, which has the great majority of MSS. in its favour.

629 d 1 Πόθεν . . . λαβόν; The same argument is attributed to Socrates in almost the same words by Xenophon, *Mem. Socr.* i. 4. 8 'But do you suppose yourself to have intelligence, and

that there is no intelligence anywhere else? And that too, though you know that of so much earth as there is you have in your body a small portion, and of much moisture but a little, and of each of the other elements, great as they doubtless are, you have received a small portion, out of which your body is compounded. And do you then think that mind alone exists nowhere else, but that you caught it by some lucky chance, and do you suppose that this system of things of vast size and infinite multitude exists in such good order owing to some irrational principle?' The close similarity between Plato and Xenophon in these passages implies their remembrance of an actual discourse of Socrates.

d 8 σωμασκίαν. Compare Xen. *Mem. Socr.* iii. 9. 11 ἐν νόσῳ τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ ἐν σωμασκίᾳ τοὺς σωμασκοῦντας.

52] **630 d** 5 [ὅταν]. 'Steph. Eusebii scripturam proferens pro ὅταν ante ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις scribi volebat ὦ τάν, et καί ante ἰδών inserebat, quod utrumque Ruhnken. ad *Tim.* 281 adprobavit; sed ὦ τάν vel ὦ τᾶν, ut Ruhnkenius cum aliis scribit, ab hoc loco alienum est' (Ast). Stallbaum begins a fresh sentence with ὅταν, in which position some conjunction would be required, καὶ ὅταν, ὅταν δέ, or ὅταν γάρ. He also retains ὁρᾷς, which is not found in the best MSS. of Plato or Eusebius. I have therefore bracketed ὅταν, which is omitted in the best MSS. of Plato; but both ὅταν and ὁρᾷς were already represented in my translation.

631 a 4 ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι. Cf. 382 a 4, and 394 b 1.

a 7 διεπερανάμεθα, 'we concluded.' Cf. Plat. *Phileb.* 20 C κάλλιστα εἰπὼν οὕτω καὶ διαπέραινε.

b 6 οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τῶν (Plat.). In Eusebius μᾶλλον δέ is interpolated after ἧττον and τῶν altered to τῷ.

d 7 ὁ ποιητής. Hesiod, *Opp.* 301

τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἀνέρες, ὅς κεν ἀεργὸς
ζώῃ, κηφήνεσσι κοθούροις εἴκελος ὀργήν,
οἵτε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ
ἔσθοντες.

d 9 πᾶσιν. The reading both in Plato and in Eusebius is very uncertain. Ficinus translates it, as if ἐχθρός or μισητός were before him, 'nonne odio nobis habetur?' Jowett gives a different turn to ὁ τοιοῦτος, referring it to the previous description of the gods: 'But can we suppose that one who takes care of great and small will be luxurious and needless and idle, like

those whom the poet compares to stingless drones?' For πᾶσιν or πᾶς Stallbaum suggests κακός as removing all ambiguity.

d 11 ὅ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μισεῖ. αὐτός means 'the god himself,' referring to the words τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι in Hesiod.

d 16 ὁ δὲ τούτου γε νοῦς, Plato; for which Eusebius has ὁ δὲ τούτου τοῦ γένους, a reading which agrees with the Latin of Ficinus, 'magna in eo opere curabit.' The reading in Plato, probably misunderstood by Eusebius or one of his copyists, is well explained by Stallbaum: 'Post relativum ἀνακολούθως infertur ὁ δὲ τούτου pro eo quod esse debebat οὗ δὲ νοῦς κ.τ.λ. Quam rationem Graecis non esse infrequentem ostendimus ad *Polit.* 306 C.'

632 c 4 ἔκγονος, Plato; ἔγγονος, Eus. codd. Cf. 639 d 3, note.

d 6 βελτίω, Plato; βέλτιον, Eusebius. The former is required by ὧν which follows.

d 13 κτήματα. Cf. *Phaed.* 62 B θεοὺς εἶναι ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἓν τῶν κτημάτων τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι. 'Post θνητὰ ζῶα Eus. addit ἢ νοερά, quod additamentum redolet glossema ex recentiore philosophia Platonica repetitum, ut nollem illud probasset Wyttenbach.' (Stallb.).

d 14 τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον. 'ὅλος οὐρανός est *universus mundus*, τὸ πᾶν *rerum creatarum universitas*; vid. ad. *Phaedr.* 286 et 302' (Ast). Cf. *Tim.* 69 C πᾶν τόδε ξυνεστήσατο ζῶον ἓν ζῶα ἔχον ἅπαντα ἐν αὑτῷ θνητὰ ἀθάνατά τε.

633 a 2 ἢ σμικρά, Eusebius; ἢ om. Plato, 'seu parva haec sive magna,' Ficinus.

d 1 φιλαιτίῳ. Cf. Isocr. 9 A μηδὲ φιλαίτιος ὤν, βαρὺ γάρ, μηδὲ φιλεπιτιμητής, παροξυντικὸν γάρ.

634 b 4 τῷ πεττευτῇ. 'Deus omnia disponens πεττευτής dicitur' (Ast). Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 299 E χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄκροι πεττευταὶ τοσοῦτοι.

b 6 προσηκούσης τῆς μοίρας. This should have been τῆς προσηκούσης μοίρας, as in Plato, or προσηκούσης should be omitted.

b 10 πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἀεὶ βλέπων. The insertion of μή before this clause is quite necessary to the sense, 'without constant regard to the whole.' See Stallbaum.

c 1 ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ ἔμψυχον. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 712 πῦρ

ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικοῦντος λόγου καὶ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα δι' ἀέρος τρέπεται εἰς ὑγρόν. The water is 'living' because the 'everliving fire' of Heracleitus (πῦρ ἀείζωον) retains life under all its changes. Stallbaum rejecting this obvious explanation proposes to read ὕδωρ ἔμψυχρον for the very insufficient reason that the passage refers not to the first element of all things, but to the changes of one element into another.

c 3 ἢ καὶ τρίτης γενέσεως μετειληφότα. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 41 E–42 C.

ἄπειρ' ἂν εἴη. This passage of Plato seems to have been the source of an opinion propounded by Origen, *De Principiis*, ii. 9, the Greek of which is preserved in an epistle of the Emperor Justinian (A. D. 543) to Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople: 'In the beginning which He contemplated God by His own will created as large a number of intellectual beings as He was able to support (διαρκέσαι). For even the power of God we must declare to be limited, and not take away the limitation of it under the pretence of reverence. For if the divine power be unlimited, it necessarily follows that it cannot even understand itself: for by its very nature the infinite is incomprehensible. He has created therefore as many things as He was able to grasp and keep under His hand, and compress under His own providence. As also He prepared as much matter as He was able to adorn.'

The Greek is given in Lommatzsch, Tom. xxi. 215, and a discussion on the passage in Huet, *Origeniana*, L. II. Quaest. i (Tom. xxii, Lommatzsch).

This doctrine of transmutations is ascribed to Heracleitus by Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 712, and by Plotinus, *Ennead.* iv. 8. 468 B, on which passage see Creuzer's note.

c 9 ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὂν γενόμενον, 'was indestructible when once created.'

d 1 καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες θεοί. 'Allevit (haec) verba sciolus aliquis, qui meminisset loci *Tim.* 41 A . . . δι' ἃ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστέ, οὐδ' ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν κ.τ.λ. . . . Haec igitur ille quum recordatus esset, addidit hanc annotationem, eaque doctrinae suae iactatione verbis Platonis gravissimam plagam immisit' (Stallbaum). The reference of τούτοιν to ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα is made more obvious and direct by

omitting the supposed interpolation, which is quite unnecessary to the sense.

635 b 3 Μείζω . . . μεταβάλλῃ, 'undergoes great changes.' 'μείζω, *insigniora*, vel ad virtutem vel ad pravitatem' (Ast).

b 6 τοιαύτῃ, Plato; τοιαῦτα, Eus. codd. 'Dubium non est quin illud τοιαῦτα mendosum sit, et τοιαύτῃ retineri debeat' (Steph.). τοιαύτῃ, 'talis, *divina*' (Stallbaum).

c 4 ἀτυχὴς γενόμενος. Ast refers ἀτυχής to the unhappiness of the criminal, 'qui ita infelix erat ut crimina committeret.' With that meaning we must adopt Stallbaum's construction of θεῶν, either as having been added 'ex abundanti' at the end of the sentence, as if δίκης had not gone before, or rather as joined with δίκης, which he prefers because it is immediately followed by ἣν πασῶν δικῶν κ.τ.λ. In L. and Sc. *Lex.* ἀτυχής has a second meaning, ἀτυχής τινος, 'without a share in,' Ael. *N. A.* 11. 31, and Wyttenbach, *Index in Plut.*, gives 'ἀτυχής τινος, Plat. 672 E,' but I have been unable to verify the reference. Perhaps δίκης ἀτυχής may mean that it is a misfortune to miss a salutary punishment: cf. 643 d 6.

d 2 ἀγριώτερον, Plato. Eusebius has ἁγιώτερον, which is inadmissible, as giving the absurd meaning, 'a place *yet more holy* than earth or Hades.'

636 a 1 πρὸς οὐδέν, 'of no importance.' Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1018. For this Plato has πῶς οὐ δεῖν δοκεῖς, 'h. e. qui tandem videris tibi non debere illam cognoscere' (Stallb.).

a 5 ἡμῶν ἥδε ἡ γερουσία. 'The three interlocutors all of them speak in the character of old men, which forms a pleasant bond of union between them' (Jowett, *Introd.* 7).

BOOK XIII

1] **639 d** 1 See the notes on the same passage 692 c 2.

d 3 ἐκγόνοις. Cod. O has ἐγγόνοις. In late Greek ἐγ was constantly written for ἐκ. Cf. Flinders Petrie, *Papyri*, 1891, Index, ἐγ βασιλικοῦ, ἐγ δεξιῶν. *Tebtunis Papyri*, 1902, Add. **124.** 25 μένειν δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐγγόνοις.

d 5 ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων. 'Facete carpit suae aetatis sophistas ac rhetores, qui τὰ εἰκότα et τὰς ἀνάγκας iactare solebant . . . Theaet. 162' (Stallb.).

640 a 2 *καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων*. This clause though found in all MSS. of Plato is omitted by Eusebius here and in 75 d 5, and 692 c 2.

c 3 Ἐπινομίδι. Cf. 534 b 3, note.

2] **d** 2 *κατὰ τὸν ὕστερον λόγον*. By *ὕστερον* Eusebius seems to refer to the passage last quoted from Plato, *Tim.* 40 D. But in the *Epinomis* 980 C *τὸν ἔμπροσθεν λόγον* clearly means the 'Laws': *εἰ δὴ μέμνησθέ γε, ὦ Κλεινία· ἐλάβετε μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπομνήματα*. 'Epinomidis auctor se ipse prodit, dum fingit Cleiniam et Megillum Legum libros habere scriptos' (Ast).

3] **641 a** 1 Plat. *Rep.* 377 C. Parts of the same passage are also quoted above, 76 c 3, where see the notes, and again 692 d 9.

b 7 *οὐσίαν* is omitted in the chief MSS. of Plato, but in Eusebius may well be governed by *οἷοι*, 'of what nature they are.'

c 8 *χοῖρον*. See note on 76 d 1, and compare Aristoph. *Ran.* 338

ὦ πότνια πολυτίμητε Δήμητρος κόρη,
ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσέπνευσε χοιρείων κρεῶν.

Acharn. 747 *χήσεῖτε φωνὰν χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν*.

642 a 8 *καὶ πρεσβυτέροις γιγνομένοις*, 'and as they grow up, we must compel the poets also to compose for them in a similar spirit' (Campbell). This connexion with the following words gives the best construction and sense.

b 2 *Ἥρας δὲ δεσμούς*. Pausanias, i. 20. 2 'There is a painting also of Dionysus taking Hephaestus to heaven. And this is the story the Greeks tell. Hera exposed Hephaestus on his birth, and he, nursing up his grievance against her, sent her as a gift a golden seat with invisible bonds, so that, when she sat in it, she was a prisoner, and Hephaestus would not obey any of the gods, and Dionysus, whose relations with Hephaestus were always good, made him drunk and took him to heaven.' On the hurling of Hephaestus out of heaven by his father, see Hom. *Il.* i. 590. On both these legends concerning Hephaestus, see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 174 ff. and 177, note 1, where he quotes Sappho *Fr.* 66 (77) *ὁ δ' Ἄρευς φαῖσί κεν Ἄφαιστον ἄγειν βίᾳ*, and Alcaeus *Fr.* 11 (57) *ὥστε θεῶν μηδέν' Ὀλυμπίων λῦσαι ἄτερ σέθεν*.

b 4 *ἐν ὑπονοίαις*. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* *Οὐκ ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ· οὐκ ἐν αἰνιγμῷ, οὐκ ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ*.

643 c 1 *βούβρωστις*. Schol. *Hom. Il.* xxiv. 532 Κυρίως μὲν ὁ μέγας καὶ χαλεπὸς λιμός· νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ (*sic*) μεγάλης ἀνίας καὶ λύπης κεῖται ἡ λέξις. ἔνιοι δὲ βούβρωστιν τὸν οἶκτον ἐξεδέξαντο.

c 2 *ταμίας*. Plato seems to have imitated Homer, *Il.* iv. 84 Ζεύς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

c 4 *σπονδῶν σύγχυσιν*. For the oaths and treaties see *Il.* iii. 275 ff., and for the treachery of Pandarus, instigated by Zeus and Athene, see *Il.* iv. 92 ff.

c 6 διὰ Θέμιδος. In *Il.* xx. 4 Zeus summons the gods to council by Themis, and sends them to take part as they will in the battle between Greeks and Trojans.

c 8 Aesch. *Niobe*, *Fragm.* 160. This and the preceding line of Homer are quoted by Plutarch, *Mor.* 17 B, cf. 1065 E.

d 1 *παμπήδην*. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 729.

d 3 τὰ Πελοπιδῶν ἢ τὰ Τρωϊκά. Milton possibly had this passage in mind when in *Il Penseroso* he described Tragedy as

> 'Presenting Thebes, or Pelops' line,
> Or the tale of Troy divine.'

Compare his *Eleg.* i. 45

> 'Seu maeret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,
> Seu luit incestos aula Creontis avos.'

644 b 3 *ἀπόχρη*. Cf. Arist. *Av.* 1603

> ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπόχρη ταῦτα καὶ ψηφίζομαι.

b 6 *αὐτὸν γιγνόμενον*, 'actually becoming what he seems': this meaning is made clear by the following words.

c 6 *πᾶν φυτόν*, 'every growth,' including therefore animals as well as plants. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 90 A ὡς ὄντας (ἡμᾶς) φυτὸν οὐκ ἔγγειον ἀλλ' οὐράνιον.

d 2 *σκεύη*, 'furniture.' Cf. Lysias 154. 35 οὐχ ὅπως σκεύη ἀπέδοσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ θύραι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀφηρπάσθησαν.

645 b 7 *Πρωτέως*. On the transformations of Proteus see Verg. *Georg.* iv. 396–444; Ov. *Met.* viii. 731–8.

Θέτιδος. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* iii. 60, iv. 62, Dissen: 'Thetis quum varias formas indueret, mutaretur in ignem, aquam, in leonem, draconem, Peleus a Chirone monitus ista omnia cohibuit et domuit.'

c 1 *ἱέρειαν ἀγείρουσαν*. Cf. 79 b 3, note.

c 2 *Ἰνάχου*. Cf. Aesch. *Xantriae*, *Fr.* 159, Pausan. 611 τὸν

Ἴναχον ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αἰσχύλος ποταμὸν καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖον. 'Aeschyli igitur versus fuerunt

Νύμφαις κρηναίαις κυδραῖσι θεαῖσιν ἀγείρω
Ἰνάχου Ἀργείου ποταμοῦ παισὶν βιοδώροις.

Iunonis quae partes in Aeschyli fabula fuerint nescitur. Nos hoc tantum ostendere voluimus, Aeschyli illos esse versus, non Euripidis: e *Xantriis* an aliunde sint in medio relinquimus' (Dindorf). It is evident from Plato's words that Hera appeared in the tragedy disguised as a mendicant priestess.

βιοδώροις, 'life-giving,' i.e. fertilizing, streams were especially valued in Argolis, where Poseidon was said to have dried up the streams because Inachus had made Hera, instead of himself, the patron deity of the country.

c 4 ἐκδειματούντων. Wisd. xvii. 6 ἐκδειματούμενοι.

c 6 ἰνδαλλόμενοι. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 246

ὥς τέ μοι ἀθάνατος ἰνδάλλεται εἰσοράασθαι.

d 7 τῷ κυριωτάτῳ ἑαυτῶν, i.e. to their own soul. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 90 A τὸ δὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχῆς εἴδους διανοεῖσθαι δεῖ τῇδε.

646 a 4 ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, 'in animo' (Ficinus), or 'in such a case,' Plat. *Rep.* 393 C.

b 4 ὥστε μὴ ἄξιον εἶναι μίσους. Compare on this subject Cardinal Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, Appendix, p. 72, 'Lying and Equivocation.'

b 5 τῶν καλουμένων φίλων depends on ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα, 'which the writer already has in mind' (Stallbaum).

c 4 Ποιητὴς . . . ἐν θεῷ ψευδὴς οὐκ ἔνι; Stallbaum compares Plut. *Caesar* i. 1 οὐκ ἔφη νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ παιδὶ τούτῳ Μαρίους ἐνορῶσι.

d 10 τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου πομπήν. Hom. *Il.* ii. 6

πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρείδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι οὖλον Ὄνειρον.

647 a 1 Αἰσχύλου. *Fragm.* 266, known only from Plato's quotation. The translation is borrowed from Davies and Vaughan.

a 3 Ἐνδατεῖσθαι, meaning originally 'to divide' (Aesch. *Septem c. Theb.* 578 τοὔνομ' ἐνδατούμενος), is used in the sense of 'reproaching' by Soph. (*Trach.* 791 τὸ δυσπάρευνον λέκτρον ἐνδατούμενος) and Eur. (*Herc. F.* 217 λόγους ὀνειδιστῆρας ἐνδατούμενος). In the present passage it probably means 'to describe with false praise.'

a 4 μακραίωνος βίου. Cf. Soph. *Oed. R.* 518

οὔτοι βίου μοι τοῦ μακραίωνος πόθος.

a 6 The presence of Apollo at the marriage of Peleus is mentioned by Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 62

'Ye, Gods, attended all the marriage rites;
Thou too, companion base, false friend, wast there,
And, playing on thy lyre, didst share the feast' (Derby).

On the other hand, Catullus, lxiv. 301, says that Apollo and Diana did not deign to be present

'Pelea nam tecum pariter soror aspernata est,
Nec Thetidis taedas voluit celebrare iugales.'

a 12 χορὸν οὐ δώσομεν. 'The Choregi, appointed by the Tribes, were assigned by the Archon to the poets, which was called *giving a chorus.*' 'The office of the Choregus was to provide the chorus in all plays, tragic as well as comic and satyrical.' Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, iii. 22.

c 8 θάνατον οὐκ ἐποίησεν. Wisd. ii. 23, 24 'Because God created man for incorruption . . . But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world' (R. V.).

d 6 ὁμωνύμως. Aristot. *Categ.* i. 1 ὁμώνυμα λέγεται ὧν ὄνομα μόνον κοινόν. Cf. *Eth. Nic.* i. 6. 12.

d 8 οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ. For this and the following allusions to Plato's teaching see above 643 d 6, 644 a 1, &c.

648 b 7 περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι. Cf. 644 d–645 b.

c 1 ἀναφωνεῖ. Cf. 5 d 11, note.

d 3 ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα. Cf. 646 b 6.

d 6 συγγενές τε. The construction is changed, as if τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος had been the subject of the preceding sentence.

d 7 λογικός looks back to τῷ Λόγῳ.

649 a 3 παρατροπήν, 'perversion.' Cf. Clem. Al. 490 ἐκ παρατροπῆς. Here it means the perversion and degradation of men's nature.

b 1 ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος. The words of Plato, quoted above, 646 d 2, are here applied to Christ, by inserting Λόγος after ὁ θεός.

b 8 ὑποστροφήν, literally 'a turning round,' 'conversion.'

c 2 χαλεπανοῦμέν τε. Application to Christians of Plato's words as quoted above, 647 a 12.

4] 650 a 4 τὴν γραφὴν φεύγω. Compare Xenoph. *Mem. Socr.* i. 1 'The indictment against him was somewhat as follows:

Socrates is guilty because he does not believe in the gods whom the State believes in, but introduces other strange divinities.'

b 2 πρὸς Φιλίου. Cf. *Phaedr.* 234 E εἰπέ, πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου. Pausanias, viii. 31, describing the temples of Megalopolis in Arcadia, says: 'Inside the precincts is the temple of Zeus the god of Friendship, the statue being the work of Polycleitus the Argive, and like Dionysus. For the god has buskins on, and holds in the one hand a drinking-cup, in the other a thyrsus, and an eagle sits on the thyrsus: this however does not agree with the legendary description of Dionysus.' For further particulars of the worship of Zeus Philios, see Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 148, note 2.

b 8 καταπεποίκιλται. The construction proceeds as if the text were καὶ οἵοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γραφέων, κ.τ.λ. (Stallbaum).

b 9 Παναθηναίοις. The Panathenaea was the great festival of Athene Polias, instituted by Theseus, and observed every year, but celebrated with especial splendour every fourth year, and then commonly distinguished as τὰ μεγάλα Παναθήναια.

5] **650 d** 1 On Numenius, from whom this fragment is taken, see 411 b 1, note.

651 a 4 κοάλεμον. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Κοάλεμος· ματαιόφρων. Aristoph. *Eq.* 198; Athen. v. 220 B.

6] **c** 8 πλείω . . . μορμολύττηται. Cf. *Gorg.* 473 D 'You are trying to scare me with bugbears' (μορμολύττει). Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Μορμολύττεσθαι est *gestu quodam et pronuncianda voce* Μορμώ *pueros terrere.*' Cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1245; Lucian *Deor. Dial.* xix. 251.

652 a 7 παρακρούοι. 'Metaphora ducta est ab iis qui male ponderant, i. e. ita ut libram impellant et concutiant manu, quo propendeat altera lanx, et alter fraudetur. v. Harpocratio et ex eo Suidas' (Fisch.). Cf. Ammon. *De Divers. Voc.* παρακέκρουσται.

b 9 καὶ τοῦτο πράττων. 'This is the same phrase which the Romans were taught by Numa to use in calling attention in serious business and especially in sacrifices, *Hoc age.* Plutarch, *Numa*, p. 69 d: ὧν ἴχνος τι μέχρι νῦν διασώζοντες, ὅταν ἄρχων πρὸς ὄρνισιν ἢ θυσίαις διατρίβῃ, βοῶσιν 'ΟΚ 'ΑΓΕ. σημαίνει δὲ ἡ φωνή, Τοῦτο πρᾶσσε. Cf. Plut. *Rom. Quaest.* 270 c' (Viger). Plutarch, loc. cit. περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἠσχολοῦντο καὶ τοῦτο ἔπραττον, ὥσπερ ἔτι νῦν προκηρύττουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας βαδίζοντες.

c 2 παιδοτρίβης, 'a trainer,' or teacher of gymnastics. Plat. *Gorg.* 504 A οἱ περὶ τὸ σῶμα παιδοτρίβαι.

d 11 ἐγίνετο. The imperfect tenses refer to the previous conversations of Socrates and Crito, before the former was in danger of death. This explanation seems to be made certain by what follows *Crito* 49 A τό γε ἀδικεῖν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε καλόν, ὡς πολλάκις ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ὡμολογήθη, ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο, where the last words refer to our present passage.

653 b 11 Δόξαν in John v. 44 means either 'glory,' or 'esteem,' 'opinion' as used above by Plato.

c 6 μορμολύττηται. Cf. 651 c 8, note.

7] **654 a** 1 ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο refers to 652 d 10 τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ βέλτιον ἐγίνετο.

a 3 ἄρα. 'Eusebius ἆρα, male. Nam ἄρα hoc quoque loco εἰρωνικῶς positum est, *scilicet*' (Fisch.).

b 10 ἀντικακουργεῖν. Even Pindar prides himself on returning evil for evil: *Pyth.* ii. 83 φίλον εἴη φιλεῖν·
ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρὸν ἅτ' ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι,
ἄλλ' ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς.

Isthm. iii. 66 χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντα μαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν.

Archiloch. *Fr.* 65 ἓν δ' ἐπίσταμαι μέγα,
τὸν κακῶς με δρῶντα δεινοῖς ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς.

8] **655 c** 1 ἐκαλλωπίζου. The laws of Athens are represented as thus reminding Socrates of his former fine professions.

d 2 Ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἂν φαῖεν, ἤ. The common reading, Ἀλλὰ τί οὖν, was corrected by Stephens, and the correction adopted by Buttmann and others in Plato.

658 a 1 The numbering of the pages in Viger passes abruptly from 655 to 658 on the opposite sides of the same leaf.

a 2 δῆλον ὅτι, written thus rather than δηλονότι, refers especially to the addition of ἡμεῖς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ νόμοι ἠρέσκομέν σοι, as is clear from the following words τίνι γὰρ ἂν πόλις ἀρέσκοι ἄνευ νόμων;

a 3 οὐκ ἐμμένεις, 'Do you not mean to abide?' Then ἐμμένεις, or ἐμμενεῖς, is to be understood affirmatively before ἐὰν ἡμῖν γε πείθῃ, 'You will so abide, if you take our advice.'

9] c 5 σκευήν, 'a dress,' especially such as actors wore. *Rep.* ix. 577 B γυμνὸς . . . τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς, 'a tyrant stripped of his tragedy attire.'

d 5 Ὑπερχόμενος, 'cringing to.' Phavorinus Ὑπέρχομαι· τὸ ὑποκάτω τινὸς ἔρχομαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κολακεύω.

10] 659 d 4 ὑπολογίζεσθαι, '*to reckon per contra*' (Riddell).

660 b 5 The line in Homer (xviii. 104) is ἀλλ' ἧμαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης. Plato has substituted παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν from *Il.* i. 170 οἴκαδ' ἴμεν σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν.

b 9 ὑπολογιζόμενον. Cf. 659 d 4, note.

c 3 ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ. On Potidaea see Thucydides i. 56–65, B.C. 432–429. In the *Symposium*, 219 E, Alcibiades describes the exploits of Socrates at Potidaea, especially how he had brought him when wounded safe out of the battle without leaving his shield, and then persuaded the generals to give the rewards of valour to Alcibiades instead of himself.

ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει. The capture of Amphipolis by Brasidas, B.C. 424, is related by Thucydides, iv. 103–107; but we have no mention of Socrates as being there.

ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ. Alcibiades thus describes the conduct of Socrates at Delium (B.C. 424) in Plato, *Sympos.* 221 A 'Again it was a noble sight, Sirs, to see Socrates, when the army was returning in flight from Delium: for I happened to be there on horseback, but he as a hoplite. So when the troops were already dispersed in flight, he and Laches were retiring together: and I fell in with them, and as soon as I saw them, I began to exhort them to be of good courage, and said that I would not desert them. Here then I had a better sight of Socrates than at Potidaea, for I was myself in less fear, because I was on horseback. First I observed how far he was superior to Laches in presence of mind: and next he seemed to me, according to your description, Aristophanes, to be marching along with his head in the air, and turning his eyes about, calmly surveying both friends and foes, plainly showing to every one even at a long distance, that if any one were to touch this man, he would repay him very vigorously.'

c 5 τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ, Apollo, who, in answer to a question of Chaerephon at Delphi, replied that there was no man living wiser than Socrates (*Apolog.* 21).

d 7 Καίτοι Eus. Καὶ τοῦτο Pl. 'Καίτοι πῶς puto profectum esse ab iis qui ignorarent τοῦτο hoc loco dictum esse pro διὰ τοῦτο' (Fisch.). 'Absolute ponuntur τοῦτο et ταῦτα, *idcirco, hanc ob causam*' (Ast, *Lex. Plat.* ii. 494). But the construction is

better explained by Riddell, whose translation of the clause I have adopted. τοῦτο, he says, is 'not pleonastic,' but 'what is this but that very same reprehensible ignorance?'

661 a 4 *καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα.* In Plato *καί* is supplied from Eusebius by most editors.

b 2 *ἂν . . . διαφθαρήσονται.* 'The construction of the fut. indic. with *ἄν* is abundantly established' (Riddell).

c 9 *τῇ ψυχῇ.* 'An intensified form of the dative of reference, equivalent nearly to a genitive' (Riddell).

662 a 9 *Μίνως κ.τ.λ.* 'These judges are an instance of the fact that certain features of the Greek mythology were first the product of the mystery-worship, and thence made their way into the popular mind. . . .' 'All four were connected with the secret rites, or mysteries, of their native places; Minos with the Cretan mysteries, which through the Orphic influence were widely known. Rhadamanthus, his assessor, is his countryman. Aeacus was the hero of Aegina, where there were mysteries of Orphic origin. And Triptolemus was connected, of course, with Eleusis' (Riddell, *Apol. Socr.*, who refers to Döllinger, *Gent. and Jew*, i. 3. 175). Plat. *Gorg.* 523 E, Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* xii Πλάτων μὲν οὖν Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν δικάσειν καὶ κολάσειν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἔφη κ.τ.λ. Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* vi δικάζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ Μίνως οὐδὲ Ῥαδάμανθυς, ὧν πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς οὐδεμία τῶν ψυχῶν, ὡς μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐκρίνετο, δοκιμαστὴς δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς θεὸς γίνεται.

b 1 *Αἰακός.* Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 523 E.

Τριπτόλεμος is mentioned only here as a judge of the dead.

b 6 '*ὁπότε . . . τέθνηκεν.* This depends upon *ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι.* The whole sentence, *ὁπότε . . . ἀηδὲς εἴη*, is a restatement more at length of *θαυμαστὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ διατριβή*, which it follows asyndetically —an instance of Binary Structure: Dig. 207' (Riddell).

Παλαμήδει. Palamedes was falsely accused of treachery by Ulysses, and stoned to death (Xenoph. *Mem. Socr.* iv. 2. 33; Ovid. *Met.* xiii. 56–62; Eurip. *Palamedes*, Fr. viii.). The author of the argument prefixed to the *Busiris* of Isocrates writes that the Athenians forbade any one to mention Socrates in the theatre, but that nevertheless a story is told that, when Euripides wished but yet feared to speak of him, he remodelled the *Palamedes*, that thereby he might get an opportunity of alluding to Socrates and to the Athenians in the words Ἐκάνετε, ἐκάνετε τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν

ἄριστον. And the whole theatre burst into tears when they perceived that he was alluding to Socrates. The inaccuracy of the story is proved by the fact that Euripides died B.C. 404, and Socrates five years later, B.C. 399. Philostratus quotes the passage as follows

Ἐκάνετε, ἐκάνετε τὰν πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί,
τὰν οὐδὲν ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν.

Compare Diog. L. ii. 5. 44. The story of the repentance of the Athenian people is regarded as a late invention by Zeller, ii. 138.

Αἴαντι. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xi. 543.

d 2 ἐκδημοῦντες. 2 Cor. v. 8, quoted apparently from memory and inaccurately.

11] **663 a** 2 τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους. On the golden race, and those which followed, see Hesiod, *Opp.* 110–201.

a 5 Hesiod, ibid. 121. The same passage is also quoted in the *Cratylus*, 397, and by Plutarch, *De Orac. defect.*, 431, with several various readings.

b 1 τιθέναι. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 947 τὸν μακάριον γεγονότα θέντες. The rites of burial for eminent citizens are in that context minutely described.

b 9 τὰς θήκας. The custom of visiting the tombs of martyrs was adopted as early as the death of Polycarp, A.D. 168. Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 15, quotes as still extant a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, which after describing the martydom, and mentioning the tomb of Polycarp, proceeds thus: 'There the Lord will permit us to assemble as we may in joy and gladness to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both for the commemoration of those who have already contended for the prize, and for the training and preparation of those who shall do so hereafter.' Cf. Tertullian, *De Corona*, iii. 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus.'

c 9 Ἀριστοβούλου. Cf. 323 d 6, Schürer, ii. 3. 237.

12] **d** 2 Φανερὸν ὅτι. The following passage has already been quoted in part in 410 d 11 from Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 410. It is very fully discussed by Valckenaer, *Diatr. de Aristobulo*, xvi–xxi, with frequent reference to the earlier work of Archdeacon Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Graecis, et Latina Vulgata*, Oxon. 1705. Though differing from Hody on certain

points, Valckenaer fully agrees with him in rejecting the tradition of the more ancient Greek version mentioned by Aristobulus: 'Both opinions I hold to be mistaken, and herein most plainly agree with Hody (iv. 1), who decides that no such version existed, and that the ancient philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, did not derive their opinions from our sacred books.'

664 a 2 The words *πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως δι' ἑτέρων* are rejected by Valckenaer, loc. cit., xvi, as a spurious addition to the words of Aristobulus. Cf. 410 d 13, note.

b 1 *Ἡ δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία.* Schürer, ii. 3. 160 'The oldest part is the translation of the Pentateuch, of the origin of which the so-called *Epistle of Aristeas* gives a detailed narrative. . . . The historical nature of this account, embellished as it is by a multitude of graphic details, is now generally given up. The only question is whether the foundation of the fictitious embellishment may not perhaps be some historical tradition, the essence of which was, that the translation of the Jewish Law into Greek was projected by Ptolemy Philadelphus at the instance of Demetrius Phalereus. This would in itself be very possible. . . . In favour of this view may also be cited the circumstance, that the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus, in the time of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, relates just what we have designated as the possible essence of the tradition, without betraying any acquaintance with the fictitious embellishments of the *Epistle of Aristeas*, which seems to show that he was following some tradition quite independent of the said Epistle.' Schürer gives up this view also, because Demetrius Phalereus had been banished by Philadelphus immediately after the death of Ptolemy Lagos: 'There remains merely a bare possibility that the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch owes its origin to the literary efforts of Ptolemy Philadelphus.'

c 1 *Πυθαγόρας.* Valckenaer, xxiv 'I am not aggrieved even at his saying that some things were taken by Pythagoras and Plato from the Law of Moses, because it is certain that both were in Egypt, and Palestine bordered on Egypt, and it cannot be denied that they both imported some philosophical opinions from the East into Greece. If however the Christians had taken as little from Plato and the Platonists as Plato took from Moses, that simple wisdom of theirs would not have been so corrupted.'

c 4 Ὀρφεύς. Valckenaer, ibid. 'First Orpheus comes upon the scene, a name always convenient for forgeries. Albeit Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* i. 38, testifies "that Aristotle teaches that a poet Orpheus never existed: and the Pythagoreans say that this Orphic poem was the work of one Cecrops." Now this "Orphic poem" was "The Sacred Legend (Ἱερὸς Λόγος)."' The passage of Aristotle occurs in the *De Anima* i. 5. 18 τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἔπεσι καλούμενος λόγος.

d 1 Φθέγξομαι. The greater part of this passage is quoted by Justin Martyr, or the Pseudo-Justin, in the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, xv, and parts of it by Tatian, *Ad. Graecos*, 39; Clemens Al. *Protrept.* 63, and *Strom.* v. 722. Compare note on 97 d 3; and Hermann, *Orphica*, Fr. ii. 6.

d 5 ἀμέρσῃ. Cf. Milton, *P. L.* i. 609

'Millions of spirits for his fault amerc'd
Of heaven.'

d 6 λόγον θεῖον. Ps.-Justin interprets this of the Divine Logos, and is followed by Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* (i. 504), where Mosheim justly remarks that 'we ought rather to say that Justin lost sight of Orpheus' meaning while endeavouring to discover in it traces of the Christian doctrine.'

d 7 κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 44 A τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαν κύτος. The epithet νοερόν is not appropriate to the body.

665 a 5 κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει. Ps.-Just. xv. θνητοῖσι δίδωσι, Clem. Al. 725 θνητοῖσι φυτεύει. This thought, that God is the author of all things, including natural evils and the effects of human passions, is required by the context, and it seems probable that Eusebius tried to alter it. Cf. *Orac. Sibyll.* Fr. ii. 18

τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὸν προφέρων καὶ πλείονα μισθόν,
τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἀδίκοις τε χόλον καὶ θυμὸν ἐγείρων
καὶ πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.

b 2 πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν, to be connected with what precedes, of which it completes the sense.

c 1 δέκα πτυχαί, altered in Eusebius to δεκάπτυχον, which can only be construed with νέφος repeated from the preceding clause. Ps.-Justin, *Cohort* xv, *De Monarch.* ii, has an entirely different reading

πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.

c 4 Χαλδαίων. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 723. The passage refers not to Moses (Huet), but to Abraham who was sprung from Chaldea, and was represented as intimately versed in astronomy. See Mosheim's note on Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 504.

d 3 Αὐτὸς δή. This description of God on His throne is quoted with many variations by Ps.-Justin and Clement in the places mentioned above.

666 a 3 ⟨ὑδογενής⟩ 'vere corrigunt Scaliger *Emend. in Fr.* viii, Casaub. ad Athen. p. 130' (Lobeck, *Agl.* i. 444). Gesner referred ὑλογενής to the bulrushes in which Moses was hidden.

a 4 δίπλακα. Hom. *Il.* iii. 125

ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην.

Il. xxiii. 252 ὀστέα λευκὰ
ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν.

b 4 Ἐκ Διός. For Διός, the genuine reading in Aratus, θεοῦ was substituted by Aristobulus, as he explains in d 2. Διός, found as a correction in cod. F (θεοῦ with διὸς above), has been adopted by all editors. The passage is quoted by Theophilus *Ad Autolyc.* ii. 8, and Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 709, and the poem of Aratus was translated into Latin by Cicero, by Germanicus (grandson of Livia), and by Rufus Festus Avienus: it is well edited by E. Maas, Berlin, 1893.

d 7 αἵρεσις. Valckenaer thinks that this refers to the Peripatetic School, to which Aristobulus belonged, and which is named below, 667 b 1. But it is more in accordance with the context to refer it to the philosophy contained in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ νόμου. 'In these few words Aristobulus clearly shows that the soul of religion, and the end and aim of the whole Law, is to teach men their duties towards (1) God, (2) men, (3) themselves' (Valckenaer).

667 a 5 ἀνάπαυσιν. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 810 'And the third (fourth) commandment is that which shows that the world has been made by God, and that He has given us the seventh day as a rest because of the trouble of life. . . . The seventh day therefore is proclaimed as a rest, a release from trouble, preparing for the First-begotten Day which is our true rest, which is also in truth the first birth of light, in whom all things are seen

and all inherited. From this day the first wisdom and knowledge enlighten us: for the light of truth is true light.'

a 7 Μεταφέροιτο. The meaning seems to be that the seventh day might metaphorically be called the day of wisdom, as in Clement, who here quotes without acknowledgement the words of Aristobulus ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνθεωρεῖται. This clause refers to Gen. i. 31 'And God saw everything that He had made.'

b 2 λαμπτῆρος. Clem. Al. ibid. λαμπτῆρος ἐπέχον τάξιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐπίγνωσιν· ἀκολουθοῦντες οὖν αὐτῷ δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου ἀπαθεῖς καθιστάμεθα, τὸ δέ ἐστιν ἀναπαύσασθαι. See the remarks of Valckenaer, xxviii. 38, on the interpretation of the seventh day by Aristobulus and Clement.

c 1 καθέστηκεν 'tantundem notat ac ἐστί' (Valckenaer): rather, perhaps, 'stands for.'

ἐπὶ τῷ καταπεπαυκέναι. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 813 Ἔστιν δ' οὖν καταπεπαυκέναι τὸ τὴν τάξιν τῶν γενομένων εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἀπαραβάτως φυλάσσεσθαι τεταχέναι, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀταξίας ἕκαστον τῶν κτισμάτων καταπεπαυκέναι. The general meaning is quite clear, but not the exact construction. If καταπεπαυκέναι refers to God, as κατέπαυσεν does in the original, it must apparently be taken transitively, 'after He had given a rest to the order of the things created, He fixed it so for all time.' But if with Clement we refer καταπεπαυκέναι to the things created, we must give ἐπί a different meaning, 'but with a view to their having rest He fixed the order of things created thus for all time.' There is, perhaps, some confusion in the text.

c 6 ⟨οὐ⟩. The negative οὐ, though omitted in almost every MS. of Eusebius, is quite necessary to the sense.

c 7 τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἑβδόμου λόγου. Cf. Philo. Jud. 28 M., and Ps.-Plut. *de Placitis Philos.* iv. 4 'The Stoics say that the soul is composed of eight parts, five senses, sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch, a sixth speech, a seventh generation, an eighth reason itself (αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ), from which these are all extended through their proper organs, in a similar way to the feelers of a polypus.' Aristobulus puts reason in the seventh place, apparently omitting generation.

c 8 Δι' ἑβδομάδων. This sentence is borrowed from Aristobulus without acknowledgement by Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 713 and again vi. 813. On the supposed virtues of the number seven see

Ps.-Just. *Quaest. et Respons.* lxix, Philo Jud. 21 M. 'I know not if any one could adequately celebrate the nature of the number seven, since it is superior to all description in words.'

d 6 Πρῶτον ἔνη. Hesiod, *Opp. et D.* 770. The verse occurs in Hesiod's calendar of the month, and in the next verse a reason is given for the sacredness of the seventh day, that on it 'Latona bare Apollo of the golden sword.' The verses which follow are all falsely ascribed to Hesiod, Homer, and Linus: in Clement Callimachus is named instead of Linus. Valckenaer is of opinion that Clement was too familiar with the poems of Homer, Hesiod, and Callimachus to be deceived by the forged verses of Aristobulus, and that these had been interpolated in the text of Clement before the time of Eusebius: he admits however that Clement was sometimes deceived by spurious writings. In chapter xxxvi Valckenaer shows that the seventh day was not held sacred by the ancient Greeks or Romans as it was by the Jews, and that neither Philo Judaeus nor Josephus had so stated. He refers to the treatise of Selden, *de Iure Naturae et Gentium iuxta Hebr.* iii. 13–15 et 19.

668 a 7 For προειρημένα Viger suggests προηρημένα, which gives a better sense.

a 8 Λίνος. On Linus see Mullach, i. 155, and Verg. *Ecl.* iv. 55

'Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
Nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.'

13] **d** 6 ἡ γνωστικὴ . . . ἀλήθεια. Ironical.

669 a 2 τὸ ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ. Wisdom vii. 24. 'Grimm notes that the verbs διήκειν and χωρεῖν are used by Stoical writers in connexion with the spirituality and immateriality of the Anima Mundi. Thus he quotes Plutarch, *Plac. Phil.* i. 881 F οἱ Στωϊκοὶ . . . θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται . . . πνεῦμα μὲν διῆκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, τὰς δὲ προσηγορίας μεταλάμβανον διὰ τὰς τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς κεχώρηκε, παραλλάξεις. Athenag. *Suppl.* vi. (pp. 32, 34, ed. Otto) οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς δι' ὕλης . . . φασὶ τὸ πνεῦμα χωρεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . διήκει δὲ δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου' (W. J. Deane).

a 8 τολμηρότερον ἤδη μὴ ὄν, Clement's text, of which μὴ τόδε ἤ (Viger) seems to be a corruption, since τὸ μὴ τόδε is not like Plato's language, but rather like Aristotle. Cf. *Elench. Sophist.* vii. 2 τῷ γὰρ ἑνὶ καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ μάλιστα δοκεῖ παρέπεσθαι τὸ τόδε τι

καὶ τὸ ὄν: *Metaph.* vi. 4. 9 τὸ τόδε τι ταῖς οὐσίαις ὑπάρχει μόνον. Otherwise τὸ μὴ τόδε, 'not an individual thing,' is sufficiently appropriate to the context.

b 7 ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. 'Iren. i. 18. 1 τὸν ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπόκρυφον αὐτῆς μηνύοντα εἰπεῖν Ἡ δὲ γῆ' (Swete, *Introd. to O. T. in Gk.* 465).

c 2 ἡ τοῦ αὐτομάτου παρείσδυσις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 476 C προκατείλημμαί σε, ὦ τύχη, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σὴν ἀφήρημαι παρείσδυσιν, οὐ μοχλοῖς, οὐδὲ κλεισίν, οὐδὲ τείχεσιν † ἐθαρρυνεν † (? θαρρύνων) ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ δόγμασι καὶ λόγοις.

c 4 μέχρι σελήνης. On Aristotle's opinions about Providence compare 800 a 7, 842 c 4, d 8. Cf. Athenag. *Leg.* 134; Tatian, *Or. ad Gr.* 9, 10.

d 5 ἰδίᾳ παραλαβόντες. The better reading in Plato, *Rep.* 615 E, is διαλαβόντες, 'having seized round the middle.' 'There is nothing in what follows answering to ἰδίᾳ' (Stallb.).

d 7 ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες. Cf. Hdt. i. 92 ἐπὶ κνάφου ἕλκων. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Κνάφος· ὄργανόν τι ὂν κύκλῳ κέντρα ἔχον, δι' οὗ τοὺς βασανιζομένους κτείνουσιν· ὅμοιον δέ ἐστιν γναφικῷ κτενί. The ἀσπάλαθος was a prickly shrub.

670 b 4 ὃν εἵλετο δαίμονα. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 107 D ὁ ἑκάστου δαίμων, ὅσπερ ζῶντα εἰλήχει. 'Praeclare Menander ap. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 727

ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστατεῖ
εὐθὺς γενομένῳ μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου' (Stallb.).

c 4 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Eusebius has here abridged the statement of Clement, in whose text we read—ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι σημαίνει καθάπερ υἱόν, πατέρα δὲ αὐτοῦ κεκλῆσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐκ μόνου γενομένου, κ.τ.λ.

d 1 ἐνοικοῦσαν. Cf. 549 d 1, where the same passage is quoted.

671 a 4 Κόσμον τε. Cf. 548 d 1, and the notes there.

c 2 ὃ γήϊνόν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων σκῆνος. See note on 549 b 1.

672 a 2 κἂν τῷ Λύσιδι. Cf. Plat. *Lys.* 214 ἀδικεῖ γάρ· ἀδικοῦντας δὲ καὶ ἀδικουμένους ἀδύνατόν που φίλους εἶναι.

a 5 Πρᾶξιν εἶναι φίλην. Plat. *Legg.* 716 C Τίς οὖν δὴ πρᾶξις φίλη καὶ ἀκόλουθος θεῷ; μία, καὶ ἕνα λόγον ἔχουσα ἀρχαῖον, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ὄντι μετρίῳ φίλον ἂν εἴη. For ὅτι Clem. Eus. codd. have ὅταν.

a 6 τὸ μὲν ὅμοιον. On the saying compare Plat. *Legg.* 837 A φίλον μέν που καλοῦμεν ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ κατ' ἀρετήν.

b 1 Πᾶς γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθός. I have not succeeded in finding this passage.

d 6 Λέγωμεν δή. Plat. *Theaetet.* 173 C, quoted more fully 602 c, where see notes.

673 a 6 γᾶς ὑπένερθεν. In Plato the sentence is as follows: τά τε γᾶς ὑπένερθε καὶ τὰ ἐπίπεδα γεωμετροῦσα, οὐρανοῦ τε ὕπερ ἀστρονομοῦσα. In abridging this Clement has destroyed the proper construction.

b 4 τοῦ ὀμόσαι. In Plat. *Legg.* 917 C the prohibition applies to the sale of goods.

d 4 πηλὸς ὁ ⟨Προμηθῆος⟩. Cf. Lucian, *Prometh. vel Caucas.* xiii. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν λόγον 'γαῖαν ὕδει φύρας' καὶ διαμαλάξας ἀνέπλασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Soph. *Pandora*, *Fr.* 432 καὶ πρῶτον ⟨ἀργὸν⟩ πηλὸν ὀργάζειν χεροῖν. Plat. *Protag.* 320 ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς μίξαντες. Hor. *Od.* i. 16. 13

'Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.'

Juv. xiv. 35 'Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan.' Pausanias 806 ταῦτα ἔτι λείπεσθαι τοῦ πηλοῦ λέγουσιν ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἅπαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ γένος πλασθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

674 a 1 Πῦρ . . . τεχνικόν. Cf. 755 a 6; Diog. L. vii. 156; Athenag. vi. fin.; Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 306 a, note.

a 10 Epicharmus (B.C. 540–450 *circ.*), born at Cos but brought up at Megara in Sicily, spent the latter half of his life at Syracuse. He was said to have been a pupil of Pythagoras, but became famous as a Comic poet. He was imitated by Plautus (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 58 'Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi'), and Ennius gave the name *Epicharmus* to a work intended to commend the doctrines of Pythagoras to his countrymen. See K. O. Müller's *Hist. of Gr. Literature*, 433–35, and J. W. Donaldson's *Theatre of the Greeks*, vi, where references will be found to the passages in which Epicharmus is mentioned by Plato, Aristotle, Theocritus, &c. Diogenes Laertius, iii. 10, says that Plato borrowed much from him. See below, 682 b, 721 a.

b 4 Pindar, *Fr.* 106, known only from this quotation in Clement.

c 1 Ἐκ Διός. Arat. *Phaen.* i. 1. The same passage is quoted

above, 666 b 4, from Aristobulus, and is also quoted by Theophilus, *Ad Autolyc.* ii. 8, before Clement.

d 3 *ἐσκέψατο.* Cf. Grotius, Supplem. ad *Ciceronis Arati Phaen.*

'in totum providus annum
Astra dedit.'

Clement's reading *ἐστέψατο* seems to be taken from Hom. *Il.* xviii. 485 *ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.*

d 4 *ἀστέρας.* Maas reads *ἀστέρες οἵ κε*, making this clause dependent on *ἐσκέψατο*, and refers to Arat. 757

ἀστέρες ἀνθρώποισι τετυγμένα σημαίνουσι.

τετυγμένα, 'prepared,' 'ordained.'

675 a 4 *καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων.* Cf. *Isocr.* 16 b *καὶ τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων.*

a 8 . . . *πάντα Ζεὺς μυθεῖται.* This reading of the MSS. of Eusebius implies that words are omitted between *Ἕλληνες* and *πάντα*: 'Democritus procul dubio scripserat *τὰς εὐχὰς ποιέουσι.* Nam pendent posteriora' (Heinsius ad Clem. *Protrept.* 60). We must then translate: 'who make their prayers with hands uplifted to that place which we Greeks call heaven; all things are mythically named Zeus.' But in my translation I followed the reading *Δία μυθεῖσθαι*, wich I believe to be the original text of Clement, *Protrept.* 59.

b 2 *Ἓν ἀνδρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος*, does not mean that men and gods are together one race, but declares the unity of each race, both deriving the breath of life from the universal mother earth, but with totally different powers.

b 4 *τῆς ὕλης.* So Eusebius interprets *μητρός.* But cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 44–50, where the first parents of gods and men are Gaea and Uranus.

b 5 Pind. *Fr.* vi, *Δωδωναῖε μεγάσθενες, ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ*, a Paean addressed to Zeus of Dodona, quoted by Plutarch, *Sympos.* 618 B; *Praecepta Reip. Ger.* 807 C *ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ἀριστοτέχνας τις ὤν, κατὰ Πίνδαρον*; and in several other passages.

b 7 *ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἔραστόν.* Cf. Strab. 608 'From Scepsis came the Socratics, Erastus, and Coriscus, and the son of Coriscus, Neleus, a man who had been a pupil of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and inherited the library of Theophrastus, in which that of Aristotle also was included.' Diogenes Laertius (iii. 36. 61) states that Plato wrote a letter to Erastus and Coriscus, and the sixth of

the Epistles attributed to Plato professes to be addressed to Hermeias, and Erastus, and Coriscus. The passage quoted by Eusebius is the close of the letter, 323 d. Cf. Caesar Morgan, *The Trinity of Plato*, 50 'αἰτίου πατέρα κύριον must mean the eternal self-existent Being, the Creator of the universe who is called in the *Timaeus* δημιουργός and πατήρ.'

c 6 τρίτον πέρι τὰ τρίτα. Cf. 541 c 9, note.

d 1 τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα μηνύεσθαι. It is remarkable that Caesar Morgan in the work quoted above does not mention this notion of Eusebius; the three principles in the Epistle he describes (p. 44) as τὸ πάντων αἴτιον, τὸ ἄπειρον and τὸ πέρας. On p. 132 he says, 'In the *Timaeus* the three principles are the Creator, Idea which is denominated the pattern, and Matter.' The Ps.-Platonic Trinity is fully discussed by Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* i. 4. 314 ff., and especially 461.

d 5 Ζωρόαστρις. See the notes on 42 a 2 and 563 a 5. Cf. *Clem. Recogn.* iv. 27, where Zoroaster is represented as the son of Ham, Ps.-Just. *Cohort. ad Gr.* xxvii, where the author suggests that Plato derived his knowledge of a future judgement from the Hebrew prophets, but for fear of the Greeks disguised it under the story of Er.

676 a 2 Cf. Heracleit. *Fr.* 69 (Bywater) καὶ τὸ ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω ἕν ἐστι καὶ τὸ αὐτό· ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. This refers to the transmutations not of souls but of matter, fire, water, earth being the way downward, earth, water, fire the way upward. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 621 C τῆς ἄνω ὁδοῦ ἀεὶ ἑξόμεθα; Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 49.

a 7 εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίαν. Cf. Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* i. 3 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς . . ἔφη . . . συνεστάναι ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυθήσεσθαι. In this statement the doctrine of Empedocles is decidedly misrepresented by Hippolytus; see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 129, note 2, and ii. 149, note 7, where he says that the only foundation for such a statement 'is probably the analogy between the doctrines of Empedocles and Heracleitus on the changing conditions of the cosmos, on the strength of which Clement, *Strom.* v. 711, attributes to Empedocles the opinion that all things will be destroyed by fire.'

b 2 τὸν μέν τινα κόσμον ἀΐδιον. 'That which Heracleitus (*Fr.* 20) characterizes as uncreated and imperishable is not the *system*

of the world (i.e. ὁ κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν) . . . but only the πῦρ ἀείζωον, the primitive substance, which in developing itself formed the world, and into which the world resolves itself' (Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 440). Cf. 820 d 3.

b 4 ἀϊδίως [*fort.* ἰδίως] ποιόν (Bywater).

b 5 Κόσμον τὸν αὐτὸν ἁπάντων. 'The ἁπάντων I refer as masculine to the gods and men, so that the words would indicate the reason why none of these can have made the world, namely, because they all, as parts of the world, are contained in it' (Zeller, ibid. ii. 22, note 1).

b 6 οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν. Cf. Bywater, *Heracl. Fr.* xx., who refers to Plut. *De Anim. procreat.* 1014, and Simplicius in Aristot. *De caelo*, 132.

b 7 πῦρ ἀείζωον. Cf. Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* ix. 10 τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός; 'Respic. Cleanthes *H. in Iov.* 9

τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποεργὸν ἀνικήτοις ἐνὶ χερσὶν
ἀμφήκη πυρόεντ' αἰεὶ ζώοντα κεραυνόν.

Justinus Mart. *Apol.* 93 C (cit. Deut. xxxii. 22) καταβήσεται ἀείζωον πῦρ' (Bywater, ibid.).

ἁπτόμενον μέτρα. 'μέτρῳ nescio cuius coniectura est a Stephano edita' (Gaisf.). The change is adopted by Viger and Mullach, but is quite unnecessary: μέτρα is the accusative of quantity (Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 578).

c 2 Πυρὸς τροπαί. 'Conf. Hippolytus, *Refut. Haer.* vi. 17 πάντων (scil. ait Simo Magus τὸν σκοτεινὸν Ἡράκλειτον συλλαγωγῶν) ὅσων γένεσίς ἐστιν, ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς γενέσεως γίνεται . . . ἓν δὲ ὂν τὸ πῦρ στροφὰς στρέφεται δύο κ.τ.ἑ.' (Bywater, *Fr.* xxi.).

c 3 πρηστήρ. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 23, note 1. 'The κεραυνός has already come before us in a connexion (Hippol. *Refut. Haer.* ix. 10) in which it can only signify fire as the creative principle of the world, and not merely lightning in the special sense: πρηστήρ, however, has doubtless the same general significance in *Fr.* 47, and Clem. *Strom.* v. 599 C' (our present passage).

c 3 Δυνάμει . . . λέγει. This use of δυνάμει for the 'meaning' as distinguished from the 'actual words' (ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς) may be compared with the similar antithesis of δυνάμει and ἐνεργείᾳ in the technical language of Aristotle: cf. *Anal. Post.* i. 24 τῶν προτάσεων τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἔχοντες, ἴσμεν πως καὶ τὴν ὑστέραν καὶ δυνάμει ἔχομεν . . . οὔτε δυνάμει οὔτε ἐνεργείᾳ.

c 4 διοικοῦντος Λόγου. Zeller, ibid. ii. 43, note. 'In Clem. *Strom.* v. 711 the διοικῶν λόγος καὶ θεός is not found (as Lassalle thinks, ii. 60) in the citation from Heracleitus, but in the interpretation by the Stoics of Heracleitus's words; this interpretation itself is very inexact, and is expressly described by Clemens as an addition of his own (δυνάμει γὰρ λέγει, "the meaning of his statement is").' Ibid. 'Heracleitus taught indeed that Reason ruled in the world, and called this universal Reason the λόγος.' In Clement's interpretation Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ seems to mean 'the Word which was God,' or 'God the Word.'

c 7 πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνεται. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 65, note 'That these words really refer to the return of the earth into the sea, from which it arose when the cosmos was formed, . . . the distinct language of Clemens forbids us to doubt. There is all the less reason to cancel γῆ, with Lassalle (ii. 61), or with Schuster to substitute γῆν. As the sea then became in its greater part earth, so now the earth must again become sea, in accordance with the universal law of the transmutation of matter (cf. p. 49 sq.).'

d 1 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. Zeller, loc. cit. 'Lassalle, loc. cit., explains the words "according to the same law." But in this the meaning of εἰς is little regarded. It signifies rather "to the same size," or more accurately (since λόγος designates the proportion, in this case a proportion of magnitude), "so that its magnitude stands to that which it had as earth, in the same proportion as previously, before it became earth."'

d 7 ἡμέραν νυκτερινήν, 'darkness visible' (Jowett). Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 521 C ψυχῆς περιαγωγὴ ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἰούσης ἐπάνοδον. Cf. 690 d 4.

d 9 τὴν εἰς σῶμα ὁδόν. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 95 D ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἦν ἀθάνατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐλθεῖν ἀρχὴ ἦν αὐτῇ ὀλέθρου.

d 10 τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ. Cf. Bywater, *Heracl. Fr.* lxiv θάνατός ἐστι ὀκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὀρέομεν, ὀκόσα δὲ εὕδοντες ὕπνος. Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 520 τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος θάνατον τὴν γένεσιν καλεῖ κ.τ.λ. Clement compares it with Ps. iii. 5 'I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the LORD sustaineth me'; which he treats as an allegory of the birth and resurrection of Christ.

677 a 7 καταμαντεύεται, 'foretells': cf. Athen. 686 c.

b 3 *τὴν ἀπλανῆ σφαῖραν*, the supposed sphere of the fixed stars.

b 5 *τῶν ἑπτά*, i. e. of the sun, moon, and five planets.

b 7 *ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄγει.* The passage in Plato proceeds thus: *ἀφικνεῖσθαι τεταρταίους ὅθεν καθορᾶν ἄνωθεν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον φῶς εὐθὺ οἷον κίονα.* There is nothing in Plato about the four elements.

c 3—678 a 5. See the notes on 667 d 4—668 b 8.

d 6 Καλλίμαχος. The line is attributed to Linus in 668 a 8.

678 a 6 Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖαι. The elegiac poem of Solon on the ages of man as measured by ten periods of seven years is quoted at length by Philo J. *De Mundi opificio* 25 M., and by Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 814. The poem has been thought to be a Christian forgery, but Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Gr.* iii. 139, and Valckenaer, *Diatr. De Aristobulo* 103, 108, defend it as genuine.

b 3 Plat. *Rep.* 361 E. See the notes on this passage 583 d 2.

c 1 The same passage of Xenophon (*Mem. Socr.* iv. 3. 13) is quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 61, but neither quotation is verbally accurate (*κατὰ λέξιν*).

c 3 Οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ παμφαής. Xenophon's actual words are *καὶ ὁ πᾶσι φανερὸς δοκῶν εἶναι ἥλιος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ἀναιδῶς ἐγχειρῇ θεᾶσθαι, τὴν ὄψιν ἀφαιρεῖται.*

c 6 Τίς γὰρ σάρξ. Clement adds in the earlier quotation (*Protrept.* 21) 'Whence then does the son of Gryllus learn his wisdom? Is it not evidently from the Hebrew prophetess, whose utterance is of this kind?' The following verses, taken from the *Sibylline Oracles*, Fragm. i. 10–13, are quoted with the rest of the Fragment by Theophilus, *Ad Autolyc.* ii. 36. Some parts are quoted also by Lactantius, *Instit.* i. 6.

d 4 On Xenophanes see 23 a 5, note. Cic. *De Divin.* i. 3 'Colophonius Xenophanes unus, qui deos esse diceret, divinationem funditus sustulit.'

d 9 ἀλλὰ βροτοί. This and the following fragment of Xenophanes are afterwards quoted by Clement, *Strom.* v. 714, and by Theodoret, *Gr. Affect. Cur.* iii. 49, who adds that Xenophanes 'more openly satirizing this imposture, refutes its falsehood from the various colours of the images. For the Aethiopians, he asserted, represent their own gods as black and flat-nosed, just

such as they naturally are themselves. But the Thracians make them blue-eyed and red.'

679 b 2 For an interesting account of Bacchylides, the rival of Pindar at the court of Hiero (*circ.* B.C. 500–430), see Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 222. Cf. Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report*, 1896–7, p. 58; Kenyon, *Bacchyl. Fr.* 61.

b 6 Cleanthes, pupil and successor of Zeno, wrote among many others a treatise Περὶ θεῶν, and a *Hymn to Zeus*, still extant. He was probably one of those to whom St. Paul alludes (Acts xvii. 28) as *certain of your own poets*, since in the *Hymn to Zeus*, v. 5, we read ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, and in Aratus i. 4 τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

d 6 Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, became by Zeus the mother of Amphion and Zethus (Apollod. *Biblioth.* iii. 5. 5, 5). Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 110

'Addidit, ut Satyri celatus imagine pulcram
Iuppiter implerit gemino Nycteïda fetu.'

In the tragedy of Euripides Amphion is represented as telling his mother that he did not believe the story about Zeus. The fragment was preserved by this quotation. Other fragments of the Antiope found among the papyri at Gurob by Prof. Flinders Petrie, and deciphered by Dr. Mahaffy, were published by the Royal Irish Academy (*Cunningham Memoirs*, viii. 1891).

d 8 For the common reading, σοὶ τήνδ' ἐς εὐνήν, Valckenaer ingeniously conjectured σοὶ Ζῆν' ἐς εὐνήν (*Diatr. Eurip.* 63).

680 a 2 Soph. *Fragm.* 708, known only from this quotation. 'These verses seem to have been taken from the Satyric drama of *Hercules ad Taenarum*: for they treat of nothing else than the birth of Hercules, and the secret intercourse of Zeus with Alcmena' (Brunck).

a 4 κόρην Πλευρωνίαν. Leda was so-called as being, according to some authors, a daughter of Thestius, a descendant of Pleuron, the eponymus hero of Pleuron in Aetolia.

a 5 ὑπημβρύωσεν, not found elsewhere.

b 3 ἐθόρνυτο. Cf. Hdt. iii. 109.

b 5 ὁ μὲν Ἡράκλειτος. 'Vide Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5, 6,' Gaisford. In the passage referred to Aristotle says: 'It is difficult to punctuate the words of Heracleitus, because it is uncertain to which they are attached, what follows or what has gone before,

as for example in the beginning of his treatise: for he says "Τοῦ λόγου τοῦ δέοντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται." For it is not clear with which we ought by punctuation to connect the word ἀεί.' Clement, by inserting φησίν after ἀεί connects it with τοῦ δέοντος, as I have translated it. With the other connexion the rendering would be, 'Men are always incapable of understanding the right reason.' Cf. Bywater, *Heracl. Rell.* Fr. ii.

b 7 Melanippides of Melos was a celebrated dithyrambic poet of the fifth century B.C. Cf. Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 4. 6. Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 9) says that Melanippides substituted long preludes for the antistrophic arrangement; for which he was ridiculed by Democritos of Chios in a parody of Hesiod, *Opp. et D.* 265

οἷ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων,
ἡ δὲ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη.

See Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 264 sq. and 275, *Fr.* ii. *β'*.

c 1 Παρμενίδης τε ὁ μέγας. See notes on 23 c.

c 4 μουνογενές, not meaning here 'only-begotten,' but 'sui generis.'

c 6 Hesiod, *Fr.* liii. Gaisf., ciii. Göttling: quoted by Clement only, here and *Protrept.* 63.

c 8 ἐρήρισται. Cf. Buttm. *Irreg. Gk. Verbs*, 101 ἐρίζω 'I know not whether this perf. occurs in any other passage beside the fragment of Hesiod in Clem. Alex. . . . but there, notwithstanding the faults of transcribers, its connexion with the context makes it unquestionable; and by comparing the two quotations, it most probably ran thus

αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοίρανός ἐστιν
ἀθανάτων τε οἱ οὔτις ἐρήρισται κράτος ἄλλος.'

d 3 On Hecataeus of Abdera see above, 351 c, 417 b.

d 5 This fragment, falsely attributed to Sophocles, is quoted by Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gent.* 18, *de Monarchia* ii, by Clem. Al. here and *Protrept.* 63, Athenag. *Legat. p. Christ.* 5, Theodoret, *Gr. Affect. Cur.* vii. 109, and by Cyril. Alex. *adv. Iulian.* 32. See Otto's *Justin M.* ii. 65.

681 a 3 A fragment of an unknown play of Euripides, quoted by Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 41 'When Euripides, unconstrained by the necessity of his dramas, speaks his own opinions, hear how bold his utterance is then; ὁρᾷς κ.τ.λ.' Athenagoras, *Legat.* v, quotes

the lines as an evidence of the poet's belief in the true God, as does also Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 21.

a 7 Eur. *Peirith.* Fragm. ii. Athenaeus, xi. 496, doubts whether the play was written by Critias, one of the tyrants, or by Euripides.

b 9 *Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ.* Aesch. *Fr. Incert.* 295, found only here.

c 3 Heracleit. *Fr.* lxv. (Bywater). Instead of the reading in Eusebius, *λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς οὔνομα*, Zeller (*Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 44, note) adopts the reading *ἐθέλει καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς οὔνομα*, and adds, 'To me the best interpretation seems to be this: "One thing, the only wise wills and also wills not, to be named by the name of Zeus." It wills to be named so because in truth it is that which we honour under that name; but it also wills not, because with this name presentations are connected which are not consistent with that primitive essence. That the form *Ζηνός* is chosen instead of *Διός*, to indicate its derivation from *ζῆν*, I agree with other readers in thinking probable; but do not lay any great stress upon it.' The god of Heracleitus was the *πῦρ νοερόν* (Hippol. *Philosophumena*, civ. Diels).

c 4 *Νόμος.* Bywater, *Herac. Rell.* Fr. cx. This saying agrees with the political opinions of Heracleitus, who hated and despised democracy, and refused on that account to legislate for the Ephesians.

c 6 *'Αξύνετοι.* Heracl. *Fr.* iii.

d 1 Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 20 A 'Here is Timaeus of Locri in Italy, a city extremely well governed, himself inferior to none of his fellow citizens in wealth or birth: he has held the highest offices and honours in the State, and has in my opinion reached the height of all philosophy.' The title of the book which bears his name is *De anima mundi et natura.* It has been regarded as the original source of Plato's *Timaeus*, but is now acknowledged to be an abridgement of it. See Zeller, i. 319.

d 2 *Μία ἀρχά.* I do not find this passage in *Tim. Locr.*, the first sentence of which declares on the contrary that *there are two causes of all things*, mind and necessity. But there is a very similar passage in Plato, *Phaedr.* 245 *ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀγένητον· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον γίγνεσθαι, αὐτὴν δὲ μηδ' ἐξ ἑνός· εἰ γὰρ ἔκ του ἀρχὴ γίγνοιτο, οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γίγνοιτο.* For the last clause

Buttmann conjectures *οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἀρχὴ γένοιτο*, and Ast *οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἔτι ἀρχή*.

d 3 *ἐξ ἧς*. After this a comma is needed to connect it with the preceding *ἐκείνα*, 'that, from which it originated.'

d 6 *Οὗτος ἰδού*. Cf. *Orac. Sibyll. Fr.* i. 28. The longer passage, which begins with this verse, is quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 66, and by Theophil. Antioch. *Ad Autolyc.* ii. 36.

d 7 Eusebius here judiciously omits two fictitious quotations ascribed in Clement to Homer and Orpheus. The former is made up of *Od.* ix. 410 sq. and 275 *οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν*. Of the second I can find no trace in Hermann's *Orphica*, except Hymn. lxix. 2

ἁγναὶ θυγατέρες μεγάλοιο Διὸς χθονίοιο.

Neither passage has the slightest reference to a Divine Father and Son. They may have been late interpolations. In the Orphic *Λιθικά* 257 we find *Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο υἱεῖ κισσοχίτωνι* as a description of Bacchus.

d 8 Xenocrates succeeded Speusippus as the head of the Academy (B.C. 339–313). Of him Plato said that he needed a spur, and Aristotle a bridle. Diog. L. iv. 2.

τὸν δὲ νέατον. *Ζεὺς νέατος*, or *χθόνιος*, is *Δίς*, or Pluto. Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 62, says that Xenocrates made gods of Unity and Duality, in Pythagorean fashion, and called them the father and the mother of the gods. Cf. Ritter and Preller, 297; Zeller, *Outlines*, 51; *Mullach*, iii. 114.

682 b 4 *Ἐπίχαρμος*. See note on 674 a 10, and add Müller, *Lit. of Anc. Greece*, 433, and Menand. *Fr. Incert.* x

ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγει
ἀνέμους, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, ἀστέρας.

b 5 *ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ*. 'Quatuor Epicharmo falso adscripta dramata, Χείρωνα, Πολιτείαν, Κανόνα, et Γνώμας' (Kruseman, *Epicharmi Fragmenta*, 1834, p. 122).

c 1 *ζῶμεν ἀριθμῷ*. Kruseman's conjecture *ζῶμεν δ' ἀριθμῷ* spoils the trochaic metre. There is an apparent allusion to the verses in Plat. *Rep.* 522 C *λέγω δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἀριθμόν τε καὶ λογισμόν. ἢ οὐχ οὕτω περὶ τούτων ἔχει, ὡς πᾶσα τέχνη τε καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἀναγκάζεται αὐτῶν μέτοχος γίγνεσθαι;*

c 3 *κατὰ τρόπον σώζει* . . . The line has been variously com-

pleted: *καὶ τρόπον σώζει μόνος* (Grotius, *Excerpt. Tragoed. et Comoed. Gr.* 105); *κἀκ τρόπων σώζει κακῶν* (Sylburg).

c 4 Εἶτα εἰ. Both words are omitted by Grotius, Εἶτα by Eus. codd., and εἰ alone by Kruseman, which is preferable.

d 3 *πέφυκεν ἀπὸ θείου λόγου.* The insertion of *γε τοῦ* after *ἀπό* in Eus. IO spoils the metre, and is evidently a mistaken repetition from the beginning of the verse. Grotius and Kruseman read *πέφυκ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου*, which the metre does not admit.

d 10 Εἴ *τις δὲ θυσίαν.* The same passage is quoted at greater length by Ps.-Justin, *De Monarch.* iv., who ascribes it to Philemon, the first poet of the New Comedy. Brunck regards it as spurious. Boeckh thinks that some lines are genuine fragments of Menander, others altered or added by an interpolator. Cf. Otto, *De Monarch.* iv. note 2.

683 b 1 *βελόνης ἔναμμα.* Cf. 27 d 7. Here the word seems to mean that which is 'fitted into,' as thread into the needle.

b 7 *μηδὲ βελόνης, ὦ φίλτατ'.* This verse in a mutilated form occurs at a various reading of **b** 1 in the Strasburg MS. of Ps.-Just. *De Monarch.* Meineke, *Menandr. et Philem. Rell.* 308 quotes the common text of Eusebius, *μηδὲ βελόνης,*

ὦ φίλτατ', ἐπιθύμησον ἀλλοτρίας ποτέ,

and adds 'Imperativus Aoristi in tali quidem poeta nihil offensionis habet,' but makes no remark on the metre.

c 2 The words *καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκοις* were rightly regarded by Grotius as a manifest interpolation.

d 1 Diphilus was contemporary with Philemon and Menander, and ranked with them as one of the chief poets of the New Comedy. Terence introduced a literal translation of part of his play *Συναποθνήσκοντες* into the *Adelphi*; cf. *Prolog. vv.* 6–11.

d 3 *Οἴει σὺ τοὺς θανόντας.* Cf. Meineke, ibid. 433. These verses are attributed to Philemon in Ps.-Just. *De Monarch.* ii. 105, where Nicostratus the Comic poet is named instead of Niceratus. The same passage is quoted in part by Theodoret, *Gr. Affect. Cur.* 88.

d 7 *καὶ γὰρ καθ' ᾅδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν.* This reference to the 'Two Ways' is not in Ps.-Justin. It may have been a marginal qnotation which crept into the text of Clement, having been intended to illustrate his line,

εἰ γὰρ δίκαιος κἀσεβὴς ἕξουσιν ἕν.

684 a 1 † καὶ εἰ τοὺς δύο καλύψει ἡ γῆ φασὶ χρόνῳ †. Eus.

κεἰ τοὺς δύο καλύψει γῆ φύσει παντὶ χρόνῳ. Clem. Al.

The line is evidently corrupt in both forms; it is not found in the *De Monarchia*, but seems to be a corruption of the line omitted by Clement after d 4, and found only in Ps.-Justin,

καὶ γῆν καλύψειν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντ' εἰς χρόνον.

a 6 ὃς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι. In Ps.-Justin we find here: Καὶ Εὐριπίδης·

ἄφθονον βίου μῆκος δίδωσι πρὸς κρίσιν.

The lines should probably be arranged thus:

ὃς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἄφθονον βίου
μῆκος δίδωσι πρὸς κρίσιν.

a 8 Εἴ τις δὲ θνητῶν οἴεται, τοὐφ' ἡμέραν. Eur. *Phrix. Fr.* viii. 'Sextus Empir. *adv. Math.* i. 13. 274, et 287 Οἷόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ λεχθὲν ἐν Φρίξῳ, Ὅστις δέ, κ.τ.λ.' (Dindorf).

τοὐφ' ἡμέραν. Eurip. *Cycl.* 336

ὡς τοὐμπιεῖν γε καὶ φαγεῖν τοὐφ' ἡμέραν.

b 3 ὁρᾶθ' ὅσοι νομίζετ' οὐκ εἶναι θεόν. Valckenaer doubts the authorship of Euripides.

b 8 Ἔσται γάρ, ἔσται. Cf. Ps.-Justin, *De Monarch.* 105 D μάρτυρας παραστῆσαι ἔχω, καὶ πρῶτόν γε Σοφοκλέα καὶ περὶ τούτου λέγοντα· Ἔσται κ.τ.λ. Grotius thinks they are the verses of the younger Sophocles.

c 2 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα. There is no interval here in Ps.-Justin, 105, where the line runs on thus, φλέξει μανεῖσ'· ὅταν δὲ ἐκλίπῃ τὸ πᾶν.

d 3 Πάντας γὰρ κρύψας. The whole Hymn, of which these are the last lines, is quoted 100 b 2.

d 8 Ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὁμέστιοι. Empedocles taught that the souls of the righteous after transmigrations and purifications returned at last 'as gods to the gods' (Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 174).

685 a 1 εὔνιες. Cf. Emped. *Epica*, 308 βραχίονες εὔνιδες ὤμων. Hom. *Il.* xxii. 44 ὅς μ' υἱῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐσθλῶν εὖνιν ἔθηκε.

ἀπόκηροι, found only in this passage of Empedocles. For ἀπόκληροι (Clem.) cf. Pind. *Pyth.* v. 71 πόνων δ' οὔτις ἀπόκλαρος.

a 5 Cf. 664 d 6, where see notes.

b 5 Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής. Cf. 665 c 3, and notes.

c 6 Αὐτὸς δή. Cf. 665 d 3, and notes.

d 6 *ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων*. Two lines that follow this in 666 a are omitted here.

686 b 1 *σπιθαμῇ*, 'a span' or 'half cubit.' Cf. Hdt. ii. 106 *μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς*, 'four cubits and a half.'

δρακί. The connexion with *δράσσομαι*, 'to grasp,' points to the meaning 'fist' or closed hand, as *σπιθαμή* means the 'span' or hand stretched open.

b 7 *μητροπάτωρ*. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xi. 224 *μητροπάτωρ ὃς τίκτε Θεανὼ καλλιπάρῃον*, 'a maternal grandfather.'

687 a 2 *τὰς προβολάς*. Cf. 694 d 13. The meaning of the word *προβολή* is explained by Origen, *De Principiis*, iv. 190 'The Father being inseparable and indivisible is Father of the Son not, as some think, by "emission" (*προβαλὼν αὐτόν*). For if the Son is an emission (*προβολή*, *prolatio*) of the Father, and generated out of Him, in such manner as the offspring of animals, then both He who emits, and He who is emitted, are necessarily corporeal.' Cf. Athan. *Expos. Fidei*, i. 1 *οὐ τμῆσιν τῆς ἀπαθοῦς φύσεως οὔτε προβολήν*.

a 4 *διὰ Ὠσηέ*. The first part of the quotation is found not in Hosea, nor in Isaiah (Clement), but in Amos iv. 13, where instead of the following clause *οὗ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελίωσαν* (Clem.), we find *καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ*. The extraordinary reading *χριστόν* arose from a confusion between מַה־שֵּׂחוֹ, '*what is his thought*,' and מְשִׁיחוֹ, '*His anointed*.' From the same cause the LXX read רַעַם, *thunder*, instead of הָרִים, *the mountains*. The meaning of the Hebrew is: *Lo! he that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought* (R. V.).

b 1 *Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο*. Cf. 665 a 5.

b 4 *Ὦ Ζεῦ*. This fragment is part of a poetic version of the fable of 'The Fox and the Eagle,' *Fabulae Aesopicae* (Halm), 5. Cf. Farnell, *Gr. Lyr. Poets*, 118, 300. It is supposed that Archilochus, who turned the fable into verse (*Fr.* vi), directed it against Lycambes. The part quoted by Clement 'is either the fox's prayer to Zeus to punish the offender whom she cannot reach, or her song of grateful triumph after the punishment has been inflicted' (Farnell).

b 6 *λεωργά*, 'knavish.' Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 5 *τὸν λεωργὸν ὀχμάσαι*.

b 7 *Πάλιν*. Cf. 685 d 2.

d 3 Cf. Gaisford, *Poet. Minor. Gr.* Phocylidis *Fr.* xii. The fragment is known only from Clement's quotation. Instead of *ἐπερχομένου κακὸν ἀνέρος ἐκλύσασθαι*, it would be better to read *ἐπερχομένου κακοῦ ἀνέρας ἐκλύσασθαι.*

d 5 Philemon, the earliest and one of the most famous authors of the New Comedy, 'came forward rather earlier than Menander, and survived him many years; he was a great favourite with the Athenians, but was always placed after Menander by those who knew them both' (Müller, *Literature of Greece*, 439). The present passage is *Fr.* xlviii. in Meineke's *Fr. Comic. Gr.* It is quoted also by Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.* vi. 88.

d 10 Sophocles is said to have written other poems besides tragedies, but Clement is perhaps mistaken in ascribing these epic verses to him.

688 a 5 Cf. 100 c 2, where instead of

μέγας οὐρανὸς αἴθων,
ἐν δὲ τὰ πάντα τέτυκται,

the reading is *μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων,*
ἐν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον. . . .

b 3 Pind. *Incert. Fr.* i., known only from this quotation.

b 5 Ibid. *Fr.* ii., quoted more fully by Didymus Alex., *De Trinitate*, iii. 1. 320 *Θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα τεύχων βροτοῖς καὶ χάριν ἀοιδᾷ φυτεύει.* See Donaldson, *Pindar*, 378.

b 7 Pind. *Paean. Fr.* x., quoted also by Stobaeus, *Eclog.* ii. 1. 8, with many different readings.

c 3 Hesiod, *Fr.* lii. (Gaisford, *Poet. Min. Gr.*), known only from this quotation.

c 5 *κατακολουθήσας Ἡσιόδῳ.* Cf. c 3 *Μάντις δ' οὐδείς, κ.τ.λ.*

c 7 Solon. *Fr.* x. (Gaisford), known only from this quotation.

d 2 *ποιητής τις.* It seems as if Clement did not remember at the moment that these verses also are from Hesiod (*Opp.* 174), whom he had quoted just before.

689 a 1 Menand. *Fr. Incert.* xviii. (Meineke). The first part, to *ἀγαθός*, is found also in Plut. *De An. Tranqu.* 474 b, and Schol. xxviii. in Theocr. *Id.* ii. (Gaisford, *Poetae Min. Gr.* Tom. 5). Compare Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2. 187

'Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum-
Quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.'

The last words do not mean that the Genius is sometimes good, sometimes bad, but that he is glad or sorry, according to the wisdom or folly of man's actions.

For an account of the opinions of Greeks and Romans concerning the δαίμων or Genius, see Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* 'Agathodaemon.'

b 1 These verses are quoted as from Aeschylus by Ps.-Justin, *De Monarch.* ii., but they are not believed to be genuine. 'Christiani hominis quin sint, non dubitandum videtur' (Otto).

c 6 *τρέμει.* Sept. Ps. cxiv. 7 *ἐσαλεύθη.*

d 5 Οὐ δύναται Παλλάς. Clement has put together parts of two separate oracles, both of which were given to the same Athenian messengers. The two lines put first by Clement are from the second answer, the others from the first. Both oracles have been already quoted by Eusebius, 216; see the notes there.

690 a 2 Thearidas, or Theoridas, was a native of Metapontium and disciple of Pythagoras: *ἐν Μεταποντίῳ δὲ Θεωρίδην καὶ Εὔρυτον* (Iamblich. *Pythag.* v. 265).

a 5 On Diphilus see above, 683 d 1. Cf. Ps.-Justin, *De Monarch.* § 108 E Μένανδρος ἐν Διφίλῳ. The lines were probably written by some Christian author. Cf. Meineke, *Fr. Com. Graec.* ed. min. ii. 1096 'Paullo plenius haec scripta leguntur, et ex Menandri Diphilo (*sic*) citantur apud Iustinum Mart. *De Monarch.* 41 C. At vero neque Diphili neque Menandri haec esse, cum sententia illis verbis subiecta docet, tum ex tota orationis conformatione intellegitur.'

b 3 The phrase *ὀστράκου περιστροφή* is thus explained by the Scholiast on Plato, *Phaedr.* 241 B 'The saying is derived from a game of the following kind. The boys, having divided themselves so that they may be equal in number on both sides, stand some on the east and some on the west. Then another sitting between both had an oyster-shell painted white on the one side and black on the other, and this he threw straight up. And if the white side came down uppermost, the boys who stood on the east ran after those who were on the west; but if the black was uppermost, those on the west pursued the others till they caught them: and when caught they were carried back by them from the spot where they were caught to the place from which they ran away at first.'

b 4 I have adopted Jowett's translation with the reading of Clement and Eusebius, *εἰς ἀληθινὴν τοῦ ὄντος οὖσαν ἐπάνοδον*. Davies and Vaughan adopt the reading *ἰούσης* instead of *οὖσαν*, and render thus—'the revolution of a soul traversing a road leading from a kind of night-like day up to a true day of real existence.' The passage is probably corrupt. 'The sense is clear, though the style is perhaps a little in fault' (Jowett & Campbell).

c 1 *εἰσ* . . . The text is defective: see the critical note.

c 2 *ἀντιλαμβάνεται*, 'lay hold of mentally.' Cf. Ps.-Plat. *Axioch.* *ὁ δ' οὐκ ὢν οὐδὲ τῆς στερήσεως ἀντιλαμβάνεται.* Diod. Sic. iii. 15 *ἡδονῆς δὲ καὶ πόνου τὴν φυσικὴν μόνον ἀντίληψιν ποιούμενοι.*

c 3 *τὰ μὲν ἤδη ἀθάνατα*, i. e. the sun, moon, and stars regarded as living beings.

d 3 *ἁπτόμενον γόνων*. Clement has *ἀντόμενον*, but that is usually joined with a dative or accusative.

d 8 *τῷ ἀοράτῳ*. This argument from the universality of natural law is treated at length in Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 15.

d 10 *πρόνοιαν*, the reading in Clement, is changed in the text of Eusebius into *προνομίαν*, which means 'pre-eminence' or 'privilege,' as in Plut. *Mor.* 279 B, 296 C. Gaisford notices no various reading for *προνομίαν*, which is also found in Eus. 547 d, where the sense 'privilege' or 'pre-eminence' is quite appropriate.

691 a 2 *περίφρασιν*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 406 F *γλώσσας καὶ περιφράσεις καὶ ἀσάφειαν*; ibid. 408 C.

14] **c** 1 *θεοπρόπια*. Cf. 139 d 6.

d 3 *ἐπικήροις*, literally 'dependent on fate.' Cf. Aristot. *Gen. Anim.* iii. 2. 13 *τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρνέων ἐπικηρότερα.*

εἰκασίαις. Plut. 765 E; Plat. *Rep.* 511 E, 534 A.

d 11 *ἀληθείας προθύρων*. Cf. Plat. *Phil.* 64 C *ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ νῦν ἤδη προθύροις.*

d 12 *ἀνδρείκελον σχῆμα*. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 501 B.

692 a 2 *μεγαλοφωνίας*. Cf. Lucian, 648 *μέτροις τισὶ καὶ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ ποιητικῇ.*

a 8 *προσευξόμενον τῇ θεῷ*. The goddess meant was Bendis, the Thracian Artemis, whose festival was held on the twentieth day of Thargelion: her image was of solid gold (Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 651). Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Βένδις, Drakenborch, *Livy* xxxviii. 41, notes.

b 1 *τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα*. Eusebius seems to have borrowed the whole of this censure on Socrates almost word for word from Orig. *c. Celsum*, vi. 4. For similar censures cf. Tertull. *De Anima*, i; *Apolog.* xlvi; Lactant. *Instit. Div.* iii. 20, Epit. xxxviii; and for a well-deserved rebuke of the last writer's uncharitable revilings see Lommatzsch's note on the passage in Origen. It is generally supposed that by the offering of a cock to Aesculapius, the god of healing, Socrates meant to imply that his soul was on the point of being released by death from all infirmity and disease. A less probable opinion is that he seriously wished to disprove the charge of atheism and unwillingness to worship the gods of his country. From the description in the immediate context of the calmness and fortitude with which he bore the effects of the poison we may perhaps suppose that he wished to express his thankfulness that the pains of death had been no worse than he could endure, and at the same time with a last pathetic touch of irony show the injustice of the charge of atheism and impiety.

c 4 *ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν*. Cf. 639 d 1; Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 697 'I do not think it possible that clearer testimony could be borne by the Greeks that our Saviour and those who were anointed to prophesy (the latter being called "sons of God," and the Lord being his own true Son) are true witnesses of divine things, and therefore Plato also added that we ought to believe them as being inspired.' That Eusebius had a better perception of Plato's humour is shown by his remarks on the passage as previously quoted, 640 a 5–c 1.

d 7 *καθυποκρινάμενος*, 'having caricatured.' Cf. 640 b 6 *παίζειν δ' ἔοικε λέγων, σαφῶς γέ που τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσι.*

d 9 See notes on 641 a 1.

693 a 9 *θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ*, a thought unworthy of Achilles: cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* xv. *ἔφης βούλεσθαι ἐπάρουρος ὢν θητεύειν παρά τινι τῶν ἀκλήρων, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη, μᾶλλον ἢ πάντων ἀνάσσειν τῶν νεκρῶν.*

c 2 *κορύδου δίκην*, not found in any MS. of Plato, but added by Eusebius. The lark makes its nest upon the ground; Aristot. *Hist. An.* vi. 1. 5; ix. 8. 12.

c 10 *καὶ τό τε ἀπιστεῖν*. Cf. 692 c 4. The combination of *καί*

and τε in the same clause is unusual, except in Homer; cf. *Il.* i. 521, *Od.* xiv. 465.

d 3 ἡ ἄλογος . . . πίστις. Eusebius seems to misunderstand the ironical tone of Plato, and to mistake his delicate ridicule of mythological fables for a cowardly pretence of belief.

d 10 Ὅπερ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Cf. 641 b 4.

694 a 4 Πρῶτον μέν. Cf. 641 c 1.

15] d 9 ἀγεννήτους εἶναι. Eusebius appears to be thinking of Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 C ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος: ibid. 246 A ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον ψυχὴ ἂν εἴη.

d 10 ἐξ ἀπορροίας. Neither the word ἀπόρροια nor the Attic form ἀπορροή is applied to the soul in Plato.

d 13 προβολάς, not so used in Plato. See note on 687 a 2: Athan. *De Synod.* ii. 3. 16, note by J. H. Newman. Eusebius applies the current language of theology in his own day to the ideas of Plato.

16] 696 c 3 τῆς τε ταὐτοῦ φύσεως †αὖ πέρι† καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου. 'Istud αὖ πέρι eiiciendum censet Davisius ad Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 8, secutus auctoritatem Sexti Empir. *Pyrrhon. Hypotyp.* iii. 24, et *adv. Mathem.* p. 60' (Stallb.). It is evident that αὖ πέρι is a repetition of the same words two lines earlier. Stallbaum himself would omit πέρι and for αὖ read ὄν. See Cook Wilson, *On the Interpretation of Plato's Timaeus*, 25.

c 4 κατὰ τὰ αὐτά (Eus. codd.), 'in like manner' (Jowett). The meaning is nearly the same with καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα, 'in this manner,' the ordinary reading in Plato.

d 1 αὐτῇ refers to μίαν ἰδέαν, that is to the soul, and the meaning is 'Hence naturally for him (Plato) the passible part, or body, is joined by the soul to the rational part (τῷ λόγῳ) of the essence.'

d 3 ἀπόπτημα. Cf. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Gramm.* i. 80 τῶν Διονυσίου ἀποπτημάτων.

d 5 τὰς οὐρανίους ὑπερπαίουσαν ἁψῖδας. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 247 B ἄκραν ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπουράνιον ἁψῖδα πορεύονται.

d 7 καὶ μύρμηκας. Cf. 697 c 3.

697 a 3 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἤθη. 'Recte Heindorfius ἤθη τοιαῦτα inquit esse h. l. ζῶα τοιούτοις ἤθεσι χρώμενα' (Stallb.).

b 5 τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετήν. On Plato's idea of the virtue thus described see Archer-Hind, *Phaedo*, Appendix I,

where the chief passages bearing on the subject are brought together.

d 2 *τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς δικαιωτήρια.* Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* *Δικαιούμενος· κολαζόμενος.* Pollux. viii. 25 *δικαιωτήρια, τὰ βασανιστήρια, ὡς Πλάτων.* Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* v. 7. 7 *δικαίωμα δὲ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα τοῦ ἀδικήματος.*

698 a 6 Τὴν δὲ ⟨κ'⟩ λαχοῦσαν ψυχήν. It seems certain that *εἰκοστήν*, or more probably the numeral *κ'*, has dropped out of the text since the time of Plutarch, who in *Mor.* 739 E discusses the question, 'Why did Plato say that the soul of Ajax came as twentieth (*εἰκοστήν*) to the lot?' And in 739 F he makes Hylas answer 'that the soul of Ajax having obtained the twentieth lot (*εἰκοστὴν λαχοῦσαν*) in Hades exchanged, according to Plato, for a lion's nature.'

b 5 Ἐπειοῦ. Epeius was the architect of the wooden horse, and, according to some accounts (Hesych.), an arrant coward, hence he takes a woman's nature. Cf. Hom. *Od.* viii. 492

> *ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον*
> *δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ.*

699 a 10 *κομίζει, . . . καὶ οἱ μέν.* Eusebius omits a short sentence, *πρῶτον μὲν διεδικάσαντο οἵ τε καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως βιώσαντες, καὶ οἱ μή.*

d 2 *ἰέναι. . . .* Plat. *Gorg.* 525 C. A long passage is here omitted by Eusebius, in which Plato describes how the souls both of the judges and of those who are to be judged are to be stript of all veils and wrappings of the body by which the true character might be concealed.

17] **700 c** 1 Severus, the author of the following extract from a treatise *On the Soul*, was a Platonist probably of the first or second century A.D. Cf. Porphyr. *Plotini V.* xiv *ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις ἀνεγινώσκετο μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, εἴτε Σεβήρου εἴη, εἴτε Κρονίου κ.τ.λ.* The best account of Severus is given by Mullach, iii. 175. Zeller (*Outlines*, 299) regards him as an Eclectic.

701 a 2 *μίαν ἄλλην πάντων κοινωνίαν.* The qualities of matter, having first been combined each with its opposite, are then all of them formed into one other single combination, the passible with the impassible, that is, body with soul.

a 5 ὑποκείσεται. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 3. 6 ὑπόκειται ἄρα ἡ ἀρετὴ εἶναι ἡ τοιαύτη περὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας. Ibid. v. 1. 3.

18] **702 b** 6 ⟨Ἐπινομίδι⟩, an obvious correction for Ἐπιμενίδῃ.

d 1 διαπορείας. Cf. Plat. *Critias*, 106 A ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λόγου διαπορείας ἀπήλλαγμαι: 'longas disputationis ambages' (Ficinus). Here it seems to mean a passing to and fro of heavenly messengers.

d 9 δι' ἀναλογίας ὁμολογῆσαν, 'ea constrictum comparatione qua dixi,' Cic. *Tim.* v. 15. The quotation is preceded by a statement that the most complete union is formed in a geometrical proportion, and that four terms are required for the combination of a solid body. Cic. ibid. 13 'quae Graece ἀναλογία, Latine (audendum est enim, quoniam haec primum a nobis novantur) **comparatio proportiove** dici potest.'

703 b 2 ἡ θατέρου περίοδος. Cf. *Tim.* 36 D 'This entire compound he divided lengthway, into two parts, which he joined to one another at the centre like the figure of an X, and bent them into a circular form, connecting them with themselves and each other at the point opposite to their original meeting point; and comprehending them in an uniform motion on the same spot around a centre, he made the one the outer and the other the inner circle. Now the motion of the outer circle he called the motion of "the same," and the motion of the inner circle the motion of "the other" or diverse' (Jowett).

704 b 4 κόσμον, '*array*,' Heb. צָבָא. Cf. Gen. ii. 1 (Sept.) ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν.

c 7 ἐπιστασίαν. Cf. Plut. *Luculli V.* 492 δεκτικώτερον ἐπιστασίας.

d 3 μεθαρμόζεται. The middle voice implies that the new knowledge is not in them, but in himself: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 793 B ἐπὶ τὰ . . . προσῳδὰ πρεσβύταις πολιτεύματα μεθαρμοττομένους, 're-adapting themselves,' &c.

d 7 προόδοις. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1029 C κατᾴδουσι τῆς ἱερᾶς προόδου καὶ χορείας ὀκτάχορδον ἐμμέλειαν, where Plutarch refers to Plat. *Rep.* 617 B.

705 a 4 ἀνήνυτον, 'endless'; cf. Plat. *Legg.* 714 A ἀνηνύτῳ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ κακῷ νοσήματι ξυνεχομένην.

a 6 αἴσθησις ὑποδιάκονος νοῦ, an unusual application of the ecclesiastical title.

b 2 ἀειδοῦς, 'invisible.' Plat. *Phaed.* 79 B ὁρατὸν ἢ ἀειδὲς (ἡ ψυχή);

b 3 Θεὸς θεῶν ἐστι νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν. Philo has been speaking above of those who regarded the heavenly bodies as visible gods. The omission of θεῶν by Eusebius impoverishes the sense.

b 5 θεραπείαν ἄλλῳ προσνέμῃ νεωτέρῳ καὶ γεννητῷ. There seems to be an allusion here to the Christian doctrine of the Son of God. Philo's embassy to Rome was in A. D. 39.

19] **706 b** 2 ἀτελῆ, this is part of the quotation from Pind. *Fr.* 227 ἀτελῆ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπειν, with the sense—'reaping unripe fruit of wisdom from his laughter.'

b 9 κόρῃ καὶ δέσποινα, 'the virgin Queen' is Athena Polias.

b 10 κεναῖς χερσὶν ἀθύρειν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xv. 364

ἂψ αὖτις συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων.

c 5 οἰκοῦντας ξένους. 'Pro οἰκοῦντας lectio alia affertur οὐκ ὄντας' (Steph.). Viger preferred οὐκ ὄντας, adding 'ne peregrinos ritus . . . in Rempublicam inveheret. Idem etiam Lacedaemone cautum.' But οἰκοῦντας is rightly retained in Plato.

d 8 διεξόδων τακτικῶν, 'tactical evolutions,' 'acierum ordinationes' (Ficinus). Cf. 707 a 6 διεξόδων καὶ τάξεων, 'evolutions and formations.'

d 9 στρατοπέδων is connected by Stallbaum with πορείας, 'marching of armies.'

707 b 8 κόραις μὲν ἀνήβοις γυμναῖς. 'Non vidit bonus Eusebius quo sensu istud γυμναῖς dicatur. . . . Cf. Demosth. *Mid.* 583 γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι' (Stallb.).

c 2 πρεπούσῃ δὲ στολῇ. 'Apertum est philosophum adultiores virgines velle **stola indutas** certare, quae totum fere corpus velet et obtegat; puellas autem **levius vestitas**, nec tamen omni veste nudatas iubere incedere' (Stallb.).

708 b 9 πάντων πάσας εἶναι κοινάς. This proposal is condemned by Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 2, and referred to by Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 431, vi. 751; Diog. L. vii. 131; Ps.-Clem. *Recogn.* x. 5.

21] **712 a** 7 ἀπενιαυτεῖν. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 866 C μέτοικος δὲ ὢν ἀπενιαυτησάτω: ibid. Schol. ἐνιαυτὸν φευγέτω. On the form ἀπενιαυτίζω see Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.*

b 8 ὧν ἀδελφούς τε ἀδελφῶν κ.τ.λ. The connexion of this

clause is disputed. 'Ad ὧν refertur τούτοις αὐτοῖς, et intelligenda est ante ὧν particula explicans, velut *nempe*; praegressa enim his illustrantur; et ὧν cum ἀδελφῶν et παίδων coniungendum: *quibus vel fratribus aut sororibus fratrem aut sororem vel filiis patrem aut matrem eripuit, cum his igitur . . . ne in eadem habitato domo*' (Ast). This is rejected by Stallbaum, who, with Ficinus, retains the older punctuation: 'Insigni errore nuper editores quidam ante ὧν sustulerunt interpunctionem. Apparet enim haec per epexegesin subiungi superioribus hoc sensu: *nam quorum fratres fratribus aut parentes liberis quis orbavit, huic cum iis nunquam esto communio foci aut sacrorum.* Quocirca ὧν neutiquam pertinet ad superiora, sed respondet potius insequenti τούτοις δέ. . . . Quamquam nolumus diffiteri pro ὧν potius οὕς scribendum videri.'

d 6 νόμος ἀπαγορεύει. Eusebius here omits an emphatic sentence: καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀεὶ φαίνεταί τε καὶ φανεῖται.

προαγορεύων. The full phrase occurs in Antiphon, 145. 23 προαγορεύειν ἐμοὶ εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων.

d 7 εἰργέσθω. Eusebius has abridged the passage in Plat. *Legg.* 871 B and altered the construction rather than the sense ἢ μὴ προαγορεύων εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν προσήκων τῷ τελευτήσαντι, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μίασμα εἰς αὑτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔχθραν δέχοιτο κ.τ.λ. The latter part of the passage shows that the kinsman who fails to denounce the murderer is to suffer the same penalties as the murderer himself. Therefore εἰργέσθω as applied to him does not really alter the sense.

τὸ δὲ δεύτερον points to a previous clause omitted by Eusebius: πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μίασμα εἰς αὑτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔχθραν δέχοιτο, ὡς ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην προτρέπεται.

713 c 3 πληγαῖς ἀπαραιτήτοις. Cf. Tim. Locr. 104 D κολάσιες ἀπαραίτητοι ἀπόκεινται δυσδαίμοσι νερτέροις.

c 5 τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλήν. Cf. Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 2. 4 ἔκ τε τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γενναίας ἀγεννής. Jer. ii. 21 (LXX) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφύτευσά σε ἄμπελον καρποφόρον, 'I had planted thee a noble vine' (A. V., R. V.). From the words νῦν λεγομένην it is evident that in Plato's time the expression γενναία had but recently come into use; and it was applied, as the preceding

context shows, to the earlier and finer of two crops (διττὰς ἡμῖν δωρεὰς ἡ θεὸς ἔχει χάριτος αὕτη), the former of which was to be used at once, and the latter to be dried and stored.

σταφυλήν. Cf. Athen. xiv. 653 Βότρυς δὲ ὅτι μὲν κοινόν, δῆλον. σταφυλῆς δὲ μέμνηται, καίτοι δοκοῦντος τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἀσιαγενοῦς εἶναι, Κράτης ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου. Athenaeus proceeds to quote the present passage of Plato.

c 8 μὴ κινεῖν ὅ τι μὴ κατέθετο. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* xi. 913 C οὐδαμῇ ἀγεννοῦς ἀνδρὸς νουθέτημα, ὃς εἶπεν, ἃ μὴ κατέθου, μὴ ἀνέλῃ. Hdt. vi. 73; Luke xix. 21. Diogenes Laertius, i. 57 attributes the law to Solon, and adds the penalty: εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατος ἡ ζημία.

d 1 κατὰ ῥᾶγα βοτρύων, 'for every berry in the bunches.' Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn. Ep.* 75 Ἡ ῥάξ ἐρεῖς· ὁ γὰρ ῥὼξ δύο ἔχει ἁμαρτήματα, i.e. both the gender and the vowel are wrong. Lobeck's note is long and exhaustive. Rutherford (*New Phryn.* 149) suggests that ῥώξ may possibly have come from some dialect.

d 8 ἀμητόν, the standing corn ready for reaping. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xix. 222

πλείστην μὲν καλάμην χθονὶ χαλκὸς ἔχευεν,
ἄμητος δ' ὀλίγιστος, ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα
Ζεύς.

714 a 1 καλαμήσασθαι, properly 'to gather the stubble,' see the preceding note: but here it means 'to glean,' as in Plut. *Mor.* 182 A ἐκεῖνος (Ἀλέξανδρος) μὲν γὰρ ἐθέριζε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καλαμῶμαι.

a 9 διεξωδευμένων. Cf. 789 d 4 τὸ λεῖπον τοῖς διεξωδευμένοις ἀποδώσομεν.

BOOK XIV

3] 720 a 6 ἐπὶ βραχέσι σαλεύσαντα. Cf. Thuc. ii. 91 ἐς βραχέα ἀπειρίᾳ χωρίων ὤκειλαν.

b 6 Eusebius seems here to have followed the statement of Epicurus, preserved by Athenaeus (viii. 354), that Protagoras was at first a porter and then a scribe of Democritus; but according to better authorities Democritus was not born till B.C. 460, and Protagoras about twenty years earlier. Plutarch, *Adv. Colot.* iv, expressly states that Democritus wrote much against the opinions of Protagoras. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 408.

b 8 Περὶ μὲν θεῶν. It was for this preface to his work that Protagoras was banished by the Athenians, who sent round a crier to collect his writings and burned them in the Agora. Cf. Diog. Laert. ix. 8; Zeller, ibid. ii. 481, note 1.

c 2 τὸ κενόν. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 4. 9; Zeller, ibid. ii. 217.

c 6 Ἡράκλειτος. Cf. Bywater, *Heracl. Rell. Fr.* xx, xxii Πυρὸς ἀνταμείβεται πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἁπάντων, ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός. Plut. *De EI Delphico* 388 E; Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 89; Idem *De Incorr. Mundi*, 21. 508; Diog. Laert. ix. 8; Plotinus, iv. 8. 468 C; Iamblichus, ap Stob. *Ecl.* i. 41.

4] **723 a** 1 In Viger's edition there are no pages 721, 722; he passes in his numbering from 720 to 723.

a 3 συμφερέσθων. Most of the MSS. of Plato have συμφέρεσθον, but the dual is here inadmissible, and there is hardly a more common error in MSS. than the change of ω into ο.

a 5 On Epicharmus see 674 a 10, 682 b 4.

τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος. Cf. Twining, *Aristot. Poet.* iv. 12 'Thus these old poets were divided into two classes—those who used the *heroic*, and those who used the *Iambic* verse. And as in the *serious* kind Homer alone may be said to deserve the name of poet, not only on account of his other excellencies, but also of the *dramatic* spirit of his representations; so was he likewise the first who suggested the idea of *Comedy*, by substituting *ridicule* for *invective*, and giving that ridicule a *dramatic* cast.'

b 8 διακρούοντα, 'by sounding.' Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 722

ἀλλὰ καλλίστοις ἁπάντων, ὡς δοκεῖ, νομισμάτων,
καὶ μόνοις ὀρθῶς κοπεῖσι καὶ κεκωδωνισμένοις.

Lucian, *Paras.* 4 εἰ συνᾴδει σκοπῶμεν καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ αἱ πονηραὶ χύτραι διακρονόμεναι μὴ σαθρὸν ἀποφθέγγηται. Viger compares Persius, *Sat.* iii. 21

'Sonat vitium percussa, maligne
Respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.'

c 1 χορηγοῦσι τούτου τοῦ λόγου. This construction of the verb is rare.

c 4 ὑποτείνονται. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 448 E 'Just as Chaerephon traced out (ὑπετείνατο) the line for you before' (Cope).

d 1 τὸ οὐδ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ σμικρόν. The direct negation οὐδ' οὐδέν is stronger than the hypothetical μηδὲ σμικρόν, and so is a better expression of their entire want of self-control. τὸ

μηδὲ σμικρόν is the equivalent of *ἧττον ἢ τὸ μηδέν*, and *πρός* means 'in comparison with.' Campbell's long note is confusing.

724 a 4 *τὰ τοιαῦτα*. 'Scilicet *εἰρηνικά*' (Heindorf). '*τὰ βέβαια ἐν τοῖς λόγοις*' (Campbell).

a 6 *Ποίοις μαθηταῖς*, 'Disciples indeed!' Cf. Plat. *Euthyd.* 291 A *ποῖος Κτήσιππος;*

a 9 *ὅπερ ἦα ἐρῶν*. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 562 C *ὅπερ ἦα νῦν δὴ ἐρῶν*. *Theaet.* 198 E *ὅταν ἀριθμήσων ἴῃ ὁ ἀριθμητικός.*

b 3 *τῶν πάντων*. Cf. 723 b 1 *πάντα εἴρηκεν ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως*. '*τῶν ἄλλων* apud Eusebium non exstat: nec video certe quis hic sit eius usus' (Steph.). *ἄλλων* is omitted in O.

c 3 *Οἷον*. The reading *Οἷον* gives a better sense, and is confirmed by the quotation in Simplicius (f. 7, a) *ἀκίνητον αὐτὸ ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ μόνον ὡς πάντων ἐξῃρημένον*. Cf. Zeller, ibid. i. 587 'The unanimous testimony, therefore, of later writers that according to Parmenides Being exists and nothing besides, and that the All was regarded by him as one eternal immoveable essence, is in fact correct.' Zeller, ibid. 586, note 'How Parmenides proved the immobility of Being we are not told. The passage in *Theaet.* 180 E leaves it undecided whether the reason there given belongs to him, or primarily to Melissus.' Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 5. 12 *οὗτοι δὲ ἀκίνητον εἶναί φασιν, . . . Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τοῦ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἑνὸς ἅπτεσθαι, Μέλισσος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην.*

d 2 *διὰ γραμμῆς παίζοντες*. The game *διελκυστίνδα*, 'pulling across,' as described by Pollux ix. 112, was exactly like 'The tug of war': '*δύο δὲ μοῖραι παίδων εἰσὶν ἕλκουσαι τοὺς ἑτέρους οἱ ἕτεροι, ἔστ' ἂν καθ' ἕνα μεταστήσωνται παρ' αὐτοὺς οἱ κρατοῦντες*' (Heindorf).

725 a 1 *ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία τὰ ὄντα*. Cf. Aristot. *de Gen. et Corr.* ii. 3 *ἅπαντες οἱ τὰ ἁπλᾶ σώματα στοιχεῖα ποιοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἕν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τρία, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρα ποιοῦσιν*. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 51 'We are therefore fully justified in maintaining that Heracleitus considered fire, water, and earth as the fundamental forms which matter assumed in its transformation.' 'Non ad Pythagoreos nec ad unum aliquem ex priscis philosophis, . . . sed ad Ionicam scholam pertinere haec statuit Schleiermacher in Prolegg. ad hunc dial.' (Heindorf).

a 2 *πολεμεῖ*. Cf. *Heracl. Fr.* xliv, xlvi, lxii (Bywater). Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* viii. 1. 6 *Ἡράκλειτος τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν*

διαφερόντων καλλίστην ἁρμονίαν, καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι. 'The opposite conduces, and from the different comes finest harmony, and all things are produced by strife.' Plut. *Is. et Osir.* 369 B *παλίντονος γὰρ ἁρμονίη κόσμου, ὅκωσπερ λύρης καὶ τόξου καθ' Ἡράκλειτον.* In Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9 (al. 4) the very words of Heracleitus are given *πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς.* Cf. Zeller, loc. cit. i. 31 sq. on the meaning of Heracleitus as to strife and harmony.

a 4 *δύο δὲ ἕτερος.* This opinion is attributed to Parmenides by Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 5 Παρμενίδης ... *ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς φαινομένοις, καὶ τὸ ἓν μὲν κατὰ τὸν λόγον, πλείω δὲ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι, δύο τὰς αἰτίας καὶ δύο τὰς ἀρχὰς πάλιν τίθησι, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, οἷον πῦρ καὶ γῆν λέγων.* According to Diog. Laert. ii. 4. 16 Archelaus, who introduced the physical philosophy of the Ionians at Athens, used to teach that there were two causes of generation, heat and cold. As the Eleatic School, to which Parmenides belonged, is mentioned immediately afterwards, Heindorf thinks that Archelaus is here meant.

a 5 Τὸ *δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν.* The speaker is the Stranger from Elea or Velia in Italy.

a 8 Μοῦσαι. Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Empedocles all wrote in verse. The last is probably designated as one of the Σικελικαὶ Μοῦσαι, but it is not clear who are meant as the Ἰάδες. Parmenides is excluded as a native of Elea, and Xenophanes, an Ionian born at Colophon, by the word *ὕστερον.*

b 2 Zeller, ibid. ii. 138, note 2 'That he (Empedocles) was the first who taught the duality of the efficient causes is noticed by Aristotle, *Metaph.* i. 4.' Ibid. 'In his representation Empedocles personifies these two forces as Love and Hate.' See the fragment quoted by Ritter and Pr. 169

> *καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει*
> *ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα,*
> *ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει.*

b 3 *Διαφερόμενον.* Cf. Plat. *Symp.* 187 A *τὸ ἓν γάρ φησι διαφερόμενον αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ ξυμφέρεσθαι.*

b 8 *οὕτω μεγάλα κλεινοῖς κ.τ.λ.* Hermann would join these words as meaning 'men of so great reputation.' But the adverbial use of *μεγάλα*, except with verbs, is very questionable.

c 2 *ἴδωμεν*, Eus. codd., Schanz. *εἰδῶμεν* Plat. vulg. 'Apud

Eusebium scriptum est ἴδωμεν ὅτι etc. quam scripturam malo' (Steph.). So Heindorf thinks that the sense requires a word expressing the idea not of 'knowing,' but of 'learning.'

d 5 συχνοῖς, Plat. The corrupt reading πλέον οἷς in Eusebius may have arisen from a marginal gloss πλείοσι, intended as an explanation of συχνοῖς.

726 a 1 ἄπλετος. Plat. Gaisf. '*vastus, immanis*' (Heind.). Cf. Plat. *Legg.* iii. 683. 'Euseb. ἄπλητος, quod veterum est poetarum ut Hesiod. *Theog.* 709' (ὄτοβος δ' ἄπλητος ὀρώρει) (Heind.). Ibid. 153 ἰσχὺς δ' ἄπλητος; 151 ἄπλατοι, Schol. ἀπροσπέλαστοι, διὰ φόβον δεινοί. Viger reads ἄπλητος.

b 1 διατριβήν. The Academia, named from the hero Academus (*Hecademus*, Diog. L. iii. 9), lay outside the walls of Athens on the north-west, under the hill of Colonos, and close to the other Cerameicus, 'the most beautiful suburb of the city' (Thuc. ii. 34), and the burial-place of the illustrious dead. Plato, who resided on a small estate in the neighbourhood, 'began to study philosophy in the Academy, and afterwards in the garden near Colonos' (Diog. L. iii. 8). Not far from the Academy is the tomb of Plato (Pausan. i. 76).

b 4 ⟨Ποτώνης⟩. Cf. Diog. L. iii. 1 'Plato of Athens, son of Aristo and Perictione [or Potone], who traced back her family to Solon. . . . His brothers were Adeimantus and Glauco, and his sister Potone, who was the mother of Speusippus.' On these successors of Plato in the Old Academy see Diog. L. iv. 1–5; Cic. *Acad. Post.* i. 9. 34; Zeller, *Outlines*, 51.

b 6 ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρξαμένους, 'beginning with one of his own family,' i. e. Speusippus.

b 7 παραλύειν. Cf. Ps.-Plato, *Axioch.* 367 B τὸ γῆρας . . . παρέλυσεν, ἐλωβήσατο, παρήρθρησεν.

c 5 οὐδένας. On this use of the plural cf. Plat. *Tim.* 20 B, *Alc.* II. 148 E, *Euthyd.* 305 E.

c 7 ἐπιπλάστου σοφιστείας. Cf. 495 b 1, 337 a 4.

d 1 'Arcesilaus of Pitane in Aetolia (315–241 B. C.) . . . was the first to alter the dialectic delivered by Plato, and to render it more contentious by question and answer. . . . And because he suspended judgement (ἐπέχειν) about all things, he did not even write a book' (Diog. L. iv. 28). Sextus Empiricus says that, though apparently a Pyrrhonist, he was in reality a dogmatist,

and taught the doctrines of Plato to the more intelligent of his pupils, and hence was described by Ariston as πρόσθε Πλάτων, ὄπιθεν Πύρρων, μέσσος Διόδωρος, because he employed the dialectic of Diodorus, but was actually a Platonist. See Ritter and Pr. *H. Ph.* 438.

d 8 *νόον*. The reading in Hesiod, *Opp.* 42 is *βίον*, by which the scholiasts rightly understand 'the means of life'; these are not to be gained without labour and search. Proclus understood it of 'the virtuous life,' which requires study. This latter interpretation may have led to the alteration of *βίον* into *νόον* in Eusebius.

d 12 Ἔνιοι δέ. This passage is borrowed word for word from Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 220.

727 a 4 On Numenius see 411 b 1, note, Diog. L. ix. 11. 102 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύρρων οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ μέντοι συνήθεις αὐτοῦ Τίμων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος καὶ Νουμήνιος καὶ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι.

5] **b** 6 παραλύοντες. Cf. 726 b 7 παραλύειν.

c 2 ἂν φιλοτίμῳ, 'Abfuit tamen, opinor, omnis ambitiosa contentio.' But Toup's conjecture ἀφιλοτίμῳ gives a better sense.

c 5 ὁμοδοξίαν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 433 C.

d 1 πολυτιμητίζεσθαι, a word apparently coined by Numenius.

728 a 6 ἐστασίασται. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics* 62, on the points in which Aristo, the pupil of Zeno, differed from the rest of his School: 'to judge from his controversial tone, the opposite views were those almost universally entertained by Stoics.' Plutarch, ii. 1034 *Repugn. Stoic.* mentions a special treatise of Antipater περὶ τῆς Κλεάνθους καὶ Χρυσίππου διαφορᾶς.

a 7 Ἐλέγχουσι δὲ ἀγαπώντως ὑπὸ δυσμενοῦς ἐλέγχου. This being the reading of all the MSS. of Eusebius, Mullach re-writes the whole sentence by conjecture as follows: ἐλέγχονται δὲ ἀγαπητῶς ὑπὸ δυσνοήτου ἐλέγχου. On the censoriousness of the Stoics see Zeller, *Stoics*, 268 ff.

b 5 μικρολόγοι. On the minuteness and formality of the Stoic dialectic see Zeller, ibid. 120.

b 6 ⟨σκαριφισμοῖς⟩, Viger's conjecture for σκαριφηθμοῖς which is not found elsewhere, occurs in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1497 σκαριφισμοῖσι λήρων.

c 1 οἱ Μεγαρικοί. The Megarian School was founded by

Eucleides, a pupil of Socrates, and one of the interlocutors in Plato's *Theaetetus*, which is represented as being a written report by Eucleides of a conversation between Socrates and Theaetetus. On the death of Socrates Eucleides retired to his native city Megara, and there taught philosophy. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 59; Diog. L. ii. 106 sq.

c 2 Ἐρετρικοί. The School of Eretria in Euboea was founded by Menedemus, a pupil of the Eleatic School, who had also been a hearer of Stilpo. Diogenes Laertius makes him a hearer of Plato, but this is apparently an anachronism, and quotes lines in which his preternatural gravity was ridiculed by Crates and by Timon (Diog. L. ii. 17).

c 3 τρεῖς θεούς. Compare the passage of Porphyry quoted by Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Iulian.* viii. 271 A (ed. Spanh). 'For Plato said that the essence (οὐσίαν) of God extended unto three persons (ὑποστάσεων): and that the Supreme God was Goodness, and next to Him the second, the Creator (Δημιουργόν), and the soul of the universe third: for deity extended to soul.' Ritter and Pr. *H. Ph.* 530.

c 7 τὸν Σωκράτην. In Plat. *Rep.* vii. 530 Socrates alludes to the Pythagorean notion of the music of the spheres, and (ibid. 600) to the veneration in which Pythagoras and his mode of life were held by his followers. But these passages seem insufficient to support the statement of Numenius.

d 1 οὔτε . . . οὔτε †δέ†. I can find no other instance of δέ thus used. It is omitted by Mullach. If retained it might be rendered 'nor yet.'

729 a 2 Πυθαγόρειον. Numenius being a Neo-Pythagorean himself was naturally anxious to represent Plato as a follower of the same School.

a 7 τὸ κομψὸν τοῦτο καὶ παιγνιῆμον. Cf. Hdt. ii. 173 κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων.

b 2 δημοτικώτερος. Xen. *Mem. Socr.* i. 2. 60 Σωκράτης γε τἀναντία τούτων φανερὸς ἦν καὶ δημοτικὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὤν.

c 2 Stilpo of Megara (370–290 B.C.), 'who had Diogenes the Cynic for his teacher as well as Thrasymachus, showed himself a pupil of the former by his ethical tendencies, by the apathy and self-sufficiency of the wise man which he inculcated in word and deed, by his free attitude to the national religion, and the

assertion that no subject admits a predicate differerent from it' (Zeller, *Outlines*, 36, 116). See 756 c 1.

d 1 ὑπὸ δὲ Πύρρωνος. Zeller, *Sceptics*, 529, says that it is not asserted here by Numenius that he (Arcesilaus) was a pupil of either Pyrrho, Menedemus, or Diodorus. 'If Eusebius seems to imply it, it would seem to be a misunderstanding of the statement that he made use of their teaching.'

d 2 παραγωγόν, 'parodied.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* vi. 181 *πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα.*

d 5 Τίμων. Cf. 759 b 6, note.

d 7 Μενεδήμου. Diog. L. ii. 17 gives a long and amusing account of Menedemus the philosopher of Eretria. See also Athen. ii. 59; iv. 168; x. 420.

d 8 τὸ πᾶν κρέας. 'Similiter apud Theocritum Id. iii. 18 τὸ πᾶν λίθος, sermo est de puella' (Menag. *Annott. in Diog. L.* iv. 33).

730 a 3 φλήναφον. Lucian, *Demosth. Encom.* 516 *αἱ μὲν τριήρεις καὶ ὁ Πειραιεὺς καὶ τὰ νεώρια λῆρος ἔμοιγε καὶ φλήναφος.*

κατεστωμυλμένον. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1160

οὐ δῆτα τοῦτό γ', ὦ κατεστωμυλμένε.

a 5 παλινάγρετος. Cf. 819 b 2; Hom. *Il.* i. 526

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν κ.τ.λ.

a 6 παλίμβολος. Plat. *Legg.* 705 A *ἤθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα.* Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* *παλίμβολος· ὕποπτος καὶ ὕπουλος, πολυμετάβολός τε καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ μένων.*

b 1 σκιαγραφίας. Cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12. 5 *Ἡ μὲν οὖν δημηγορικὴ λέξις καὶ παντελῶς ἔοικε τῇ σκιαγραφίᾳ.*

6] **b** 2 ὁποτέροις μετείη. Hom. *Il.* v. 85

'But of Tydides none might say to whom
His arm belong'd, or whether with the hosts
Of Troy or Greece he mingled in the fight:
Hither and thither o'er the plain he rush'd' (Derby).

c 5 Ἔμπουσαι. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 293

Δ. Ἔμπουσα τοίνυν ἐστί. Ξ. πυρὶ γοῦν λάμπεται
ἅπαν τὸ πρόσωπον.

c 6 ἐφάρματτεν, ἐγοήτευεν. Cf. Plat. *Meno*, 80 A *γοητεύεις με καὶ φαρμάττεις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπᾴδεις.*

d 1 εἰς τὰς ψυχάς. The plural seems to mean that he was of many minds at once.

d 3 ἀμφότερα ἀλλήλων δυσκρίτως. To make a regular con-

struction Viger suggests ἀλληλίζων. Hesych. Ἀλληλίζων· ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως λέγων.

d 6 ἐπεί τε. The combination is rare, except in the Ionic dialect; but Viger's conjecture ἐπεί τοι is unnecessary.

731 a 2 Theophrastus died *circ.* 287 B.C. at the age of eighty-five, when Arcesilaus (315–241 B.C.) was about twenty-eight years old.

τὰ ἐρωτικά. Cf. Diog. L. v. 2. 7 Νικομάχου φησὶν ἐρωτικῶς διατεθῆναι.

a 3 Κράντορος. On the relations between Arcesilaus and Crantor see Zeller, *Sceptics*, 529, note 3.

a 6 ⟨πιθανά⟩. I have adopted Viger's conjecture in place of πιθάνια, an unusual word, irregularly formed. A few lines below Numenius adds that Arcesilaus was regarded by some of the Sceptics as even denying probability (τὸ πιθανόν). By Sextus Empiricus however he is represented as saying, 'The man therefore who attends to what is reasonable (τῷ εὐλόγῳ) will succeed and be happy.' To reconcile the two statements we must suppose that Arcesilaus made a distinction between τὸ εὔλογον and τὸ πιθανόν. See Ritter and Preller, 441. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 270 (Arcesilaus) 'did not allow that the possibility of action must be given up with the possibility of knowledge. The presentation sets the will in motion, even though we do not consider it knowledge, and in order to act rationally it is sufficient to follow probability, which forms the highest criterion for practical life.'

b 6 ⟨ἂν αἰτίᾳ⟩ Heinichen's emendation for ἀναίτια: 'Though he would on account of his Pyrrhonistic doctrines be called a Pyrrhonist.'

τοῦ ἐραστοῦ. Crantor was an Academic, but Theophrastus a Peripatetic and successor of Aristotle.

b 9 Diocles and his Lectures (Διατριβαῖς) are known only from this passage.

d 1 διαστάντες, an imperfect quotation of Hom. *Il.* xii. 86

οἱ δὲ διαστάντες, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες.

d 3 The quotation is made up of four separate passages of the *Iliad*. The word ἐδνοπάλιζεν is taken from *Il.* iv. 471

οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὣς
ἀλλήλοις ἐπόρουσαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδνοπάλιζεν.

732 a 6 Ἡ μὲν δὴ ἀρχή. The principle (ἀρχήν) in the former sentence is that of the Academic defence, in this latter it is the principle of the Stoic attack.

a 7 For ἣν εἶπον, which is evidently corrupt, read with Viger, ἣν εἴ που, or with BO, ἣν εἴπερ.

a 8 τῆς καταληπτικῆς φαντασίας. Zeller, *Outlines*, 68, *The Stoic Logic*: 'The concept then (κατάληψις, as distinguished from the ἔννοια . . .) has the same contents as the simple presentation, but is distinguished from it by the consciousness of its agreement with the object. A presentation which carries this consciousness with it is called by Zeno "a conceptual presentation" (φαντασία καταληπτική), which in the first instance doubtless means a presentation which is suited to become a κατάληψις. Consequently he maintains that conceptual presentation is the *criterion* of truth.'

b 2 Διαστάντες. Cf. 731 d 1 above and the quotation from Hom. *Il.* xii. 86.

b 4 Κηφισοδώρου. Cf. Athen. ii. (60) 'Cephisodorus the disciple of Isocrates, in his work against Aristotle, which consists of four Books, censures the philosopher for not having thought it worth while to make a collection of proverbs, whereas Antiphanes had made a whole drama that was entitled *Proverbs*.'

c 8 Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶν κ.τ.λ. The construction of εἰ with a participle instead of a finite verb is much disputed. See Hermann on Viger, *De Idiotismis*, 829; Donaldson on Pind. *Ol.* ii. 56; Paley on Eurip. *Electra*, 533. It is easy to supply some finite verb, such perhaps as ἐπολέμει, from the preceding context.

d 1 ὡς ἐξ ὧν. In the text of Viger, Gaisford, and Dindorf, ὡς ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ ἀντέγραψεν ἐλέγχεται, ὅτι ἐποίησεν, there is no construction left for ὅτι ἐποίησεν, but this is easily supplied by placing the comma before ἐλέγχεται, as Heinichen does, instead of after. There is then an elliptical and idiomatic construction in ὡς ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ ἀντέγραψεν, as in Plat. *Alcib.* I. 127 D ὡς ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου.

d 9 εἰς Πλάτωνα . . . νεωτερισθέντων. Cf. Thuc. iv. 51 ὑποπτευσάντων ἐς αὐτούς τι νεωτεριεῖν.

733 a 4 ἀξιόνικον. In Xen. *Cyr.* i. 5. 10 ἀσκητὴς πολλὰ πονήσας καὶ ἀξιόνικος, the meaning is active, 'worthy to gain a victory.' Here the passive sense seems to be preferable, 'worthy to be conquered.'

b 1 τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν. See above, 732 a 8. Cf. Sext.

Empir. *adv. Math.* vii. 150 'Now these being the statements of the Stoics, Arcesilaus opposed them by showing that the "conception" is no criterion intermediate between knowledge and opinion. For this which they call "conception," and "assent to the conceptual presentation," occurs either in a wise or in a weak man; but if it occur in a wise man, it is knowledge, and if in a weak man, opinion, and besides these nothing else is communicated except only a name.' Zeller, *Stoics*, 530 'The principal object of his attack was however the Stoic theory of irresistible impressions (conf. Numen. in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* xiv. 6. 12), and in overthrowing that theory Arcesilaus, it would seem, believed he had exploded every possibility of knowledge.'

b 3 ⟨'Αρκεσιλάου⟩. Wyttenbach. *Animadv. in Plutarch.* ii. 190 A has the following passage: 'Numenius as quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* xiv. 733 b, in a singularly elegant passage of his graceful narrative has received from the transcribers a blemish which should be amended as follows. Correcting one word ('Αρκεσιλάῳ) and reading 'Αρκεσιλάου, we may interpret the meaning thus: "But Zeno, who would have been esteemed the weaker, if he had remained quiet, although he could suffer no injury, disregarded Arcesilaus, against whom he would have had much to say, but was unwilling to say it, or rather perhaps from some other reason." There is a special point in the ambiguity of the word ἀδικεῖσθαι, which has also a reference to the Stoic maxim that "the wise man can suffer no injury."' Viger gives a different meaning to the passage by omitting ὤν, and referring ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστέρῳ to Arcesilaus: 'Alter (Zeno) interea adversus infirmiorem, quasi nihil ab eo laedi posset, movebat nihil.'

b 5 ἐσκιαμάχει. Compare Plat. *Apol.* 18 D, where Socrates complains that he has to fight with shadows, because he cannot make his accusers come forward.

τὴν ἀπὸ ἁμάξης πομπείαν πᾶσαν κατεθορύβει λέγων. Gaisford wrongly connects λέγων with the following sentence. Cf. Bentley, *On Phalaris*, 289 'They generally used carts in their pomps and processions, not only in the festivals of Bacchus, but of other gods too; and particularly in the Eleusinian feast the women were carried in the procession in carts, out of which they abused and jeered one another.'

c 1 ⟨ᾔδη⟩ or ᾔδει (Mullach), is a certain emendation of ᾖδε, the reading of the MSS. The stratagem of Agathocles is described by Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* xx. 3. Having been defeated by Hamilcar at Himera, he retired to Syracuse, and leaving a garrison in the city transferred the best of his troops into Libya (B.C. 310), and so changed the seat of war.

c 3 μοῦσα. 'A passage imitated from Pindar, *Isthm.* ii. 10

ἁ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδής πω τότ' ἦν
οὐδ' ἐργάτις' (Gaisford).

c 4 ἐργάτις χαρίτων. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 174 ἐργάτιν εὐκλώστου νήματος ἠλακάταν.

c 5 περικρούων, used by Plutarch, ii. 234 D, of a wrestler who throttles his adversary by throwing his arms round his neck. This meaning is here confirmed by ὑποσκελίζων below.

κατεγλωττίζετο. Cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 353

τὴν πόλιν . . . κατεγλωττισμένην σιωπᾶν.

d 3 Πιταναίῳ. Pitane, the birth-place of Arcesilaus, was an ancient city of Aeolis.

d 5 ῥηματίσκια. Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 180 A ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρέτρας ῥηματίσκια αἰνιγματώδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξεύουσι.

7] 734 a 1 Lacydes of Cyrene succeeded Arcesilaus as president of the New Academy, a position which he resigned after twenty-six years (B.C. 241–215). It is needless to say that the story told by Numenius gives no idea of his real character. Diogenes Laertius (iv. 8) says that he died of paralysis brought on by drinking.

a 2 ὑπογλισχρότερος. In the passage of Diog. L. for γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι Gataker conjectures γλισχρότατα.

ὁ λεγόμενος Οἰκονομικός. The word seems to have become proverbial. Both Xenophon and Aristotle had written treatises on the right management of a household.

b 2 τὸ ταμεῖον. Cf. Aristot. *Oecon.* i. 6. 2 καὶ ἡ τοῦ ταμιείου θέσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς μικροτέραις οἰκονομίαις.

b 5 ὁπόσοι γοῦν, 'some at all events,' i. e. whether many or few.

b 6 τὸ ἡδὺ διηγήσομαι. Plut. *Mor.* 63 C has another amusing story about Lacydes and a ring.

d 4 τὴν ἀκαταληψίαν. Cf. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 1 τοῖς ζητοῦσί τι πρᾶγμα ἢ εὕρεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰκὸς ἢ ἄρνησιν εὑρέσεως καὶ ἀκαταληψίας ὁμολογίαν ἢ ἐπιμονὴν ζητήσεως. Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* xiii. 19 'quae erant contra ἀκαταληψίαν praeclare collecta ab

Antiocho, Varroni dedi.' Zeller, *Sceptics*, 531 'The Stoic arguments in favour of irresistible impressions Arcesilaus met by asserting that an intermediate something between knowledge and opinion, a kind of conviction common to the wise and the unwise such as the Stoic κατάληψις, is inconceivable.' Cf. 733 b 1, note.

735 b 5 *καγχάζων*. Cf. Babrius, *Fab.* 99. 8

λύκος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καγχάσας 'ἐγὼ τοίνυν
χαίρειν κελεύω' φησί.

c 1 *θατέρᾳ λῃπτοί*. Cf. 136 b 4, note, and Galen's description of the slaves introduced by Menander in his comedies—*Δακοῖς τισι καὶ Γέταις οὐδὲν ἡγουμένοις σφίσι πεπρᾶχθαι γενναῖον, εἰ μὴ τρὶς ἐξαπατήσειαν τὸν δεσπότην*. Meineke, *Fr. Menand. Incert.* 517.

c 2 The Getae were afterwards called Dacians, and the name Dacus is the same as Davus. Strab. 304 *Δακοὺς δὲ . . . οὓς οἶμαι Δαύους καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπεπόλασε τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀνόματα, Γέται καὶ Δαῦοι.*

c 3 *τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς . . . ἤκουσαν*. The construction is not very usual; but see Hom. *Il.* xvi. 515

δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσ' ἀκούειν
ἀνέρι κηδομένῳ.

Soph. *El.* 226 τίνι γάρ ποτ' ἄν, ὦ φιλία γενέθλα,
προσφορον ἀκούσαιμ' ἔπος;
τίνι φρονοῦντι καίρια;

d 9 *ἀδοξάστῳ*. Cf. Diog. L. vii. 162 *μάλιστα δὲ προσεῖχε Στωϊκῷ δόγματι τῷ τὸν σοφὸν ἀδόξαστον εἶναι.* Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 15 'Opinationem autem, quam in omnes definitiones superiores inclusimus, volunt (Stoici) esse imbecillam assensionem.'

736 c 5 *ὑπειδόμενος*, an incorrect form for *ὑπιδόμενος*. Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1023 *πῶς; ἆρ' ὑπείδου τοῦθ' ὃ κἄμ' εἰσέρχεται;*

d 2 *ὁ Κυρηναῖος Ἀρίστιππος*. This could only be the younger Aristippus, grandson of the more famous disciple of Socrates; see below, 764 a. The remainder of the chapter, concerning the successors of Lacydes, is supposed by Gaisford to have been abridged by Eusebius from the work of Numenius.

d 4 *Εὔανδρος*. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 270 'Arcesilaus was succeeded in the chair by Lacydes of Cyrene. Before his death the latter handed over the headship of the School (B.C. 215–4) to the Phocaeans Telecles and Evander, who were followed by Hegesinus (Hegesilaus). But neither of these, nor of the rest of the Acade-

micians who are mentioned from this period, do we know more than the general fact that they remained true to the direction struck out by Arcesilaus. The greater is the importance of Carneades, who on this account is called the founder of the third or new Academy.' Cf. Ritter and Pr. 442.

8] **737 b** 1 *ἐκδεξάμενος παρήγησιν, οὗ χρεών*. No such word as *παρήγησιν* is found elsewhere, and Dindorf (*Praef.* xiii, note) rightly adopts the neglected emendation of Stephens, placed among his *Corrigenda*, *παρ' Ἡγησίνου*, 'quae verissima est, nisi quod servato *οὗ* scribere debebat *παρ' Ἡγησίνου, οὗ*.' The meaning will thus be: 'Carneades having succeeded Hegesinus, whose doctrines he ought to have defended, both those which were unassailable and those which had been assailed, neglected this, &c.' It is not necessary to retain *οὗ*, since *χρεών* is used like *δέον, ἐξόν, προσῆκον*, &c., as an accusative absolute: Hdt. v. 50 *χρεών* (v. l. *χρέον*) *μιν μὴ λέγειν*; Thuc. iii. 40 *ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε*.

b 6 *Ἦγε . . . καὶ ἀπέφερεν*, i. e. would deny what he had just affirmed.

b 7 *ἐξαρνητικός τε καὶ* ⟨*καταφατικός*⟩. Wyttenbach in Plut. *Mor.* 19 D 'Καταφατικὸς et ἀποφατικός, *affirmans et negans*, trita sunt apud dialecticos: illud restituendum Numenio apud Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* xiv. 8. 737 B de Carneade scribenti, *ἐξαρνητικός τε καὶ καταφαντικὸς ἦν*, legendum enim *καταφατικός*.'

c 6 *περιερχόμενος*. Hdt. iii. 4 *σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης*. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1142 *εἰ σοφῶς αὐτοὺς περιέρχομαι*.

τῇ φαρμάξει. (1) 'medical treatment,' Plat. *Phileb.* 46 A *οὐκ ἄλλης δεόμενα φαρμάξεως*; (2) 'witching,' 'flattery,' *Sympos.* 194 A *φαρμάττειν βούλει με, ὦ Σώκρατες*.

c 7 *συγκορυβαντιῶντας*. Plat. *Phaedr.* 228 B *ἕξει τὸν συγκορυβαντιῶντα*.

c 7—**d** 2 *ἔλαθεν . . . χρημάτων*. The construction and meaning of this difficult sentence may be best determined by beginning at the end. By *τῆς ἀπαξαπάντων ἀναιρέσεως χρημάτων*, 'the overthrow of all things,' is meant 'the denial of all certain truth,' which was the favourite doctrine of Arcesilaus: cf. Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 18. 67 'Arcesilas . . . hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit.' Then the infinitive sentence *μὴ ἡσθῆσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι δὲ κ.τ.λ.* is the epexegesis of *ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν . . . ἐξηπατηκώς*, and the point of the criticism is that 'he

unconsciously deceived himself in this, that, though he did not perceive it, he was convinced of the truth of the arguments which he used in the course of overthrowing all truth.'

d 5 *θετικάς*, 'positive.' Cf. Diog. L. ix. 75 *λέγεται δὲ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ θετικῶς, ὡς ὁμοίων τινῶν ὄντων.*

738 a 1 ⟨*προυδέδοκτο*⟩. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 88 D *καὶ αὐτῷ μοι τοῦτο προυδέδοκτο.* Thuc. vii. 18.

a 8 *εἰς τὰς ἴσας*, sc. *πλάστιγγας*, 'having brought them to an even scale.' Plat. *Tim.* 63 B *ἰσταίῃ τιθεὶς εἰς πλάστιγγας.*

b 4 *Καρνεάδης*. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* vii. 159 'But Carneades opposed not only the Stoics, but also all who were before him in regard to the criterion. In fact his first and common argument against all is that in which he assumes that there is absolutely no criterion of truth, neither reason, nor sense, nor presentation, nor anything else in the world: for all these taken together deceive us.'

ἐψυχαγώγει. Cf. Xen. *Mem. Socr.* iii. 10. 6 *ὃ δὲ μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὸ ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι, πῶς τοῦτο ἐνεργάζῃ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν;*

c 1 *Ἀντίπατρος.* Plut. *Mor.* 514 D 'For the Stoic Antipater was, seemingly, neither able nor willing to come face to face with Carneades when rushing with full flood upon the Porch, but by writing and filling his books with arguments against him he got the surname of Calamoboas,' i. e. one who shouts with his pen.

c 2 ⟨*ἀγωνιῶν*⟩, Viger's marginal conjecture for *ἀγωνιᾶν*, is capable of two meanings: (1) 'striving earnestly,' as in Demosth. *Mid.* 53 *ἀναλίσκοντας ἀγωνιῶντας*, Diod. Sic. xiii. 53 *ὑμεῖς δὲ τῆς θαλάττης οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας πεζῆς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως ἀγωνιᾶτε;* (2) 'being anxious,' 'distressed,' 'frightened,' as in Plat. *Lys.* 210 E *κατιδὼν . . . αὐτὸν ἀγωνιῶντα καὶ τεθορυβημένον.* In the latter sense here it may be rendered, 'was intending, though in great fear, to write something.'

c 5 *οὐδὲ γρῦ.* Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 17 *ἀποκρινομένῳ οὐδὲ γρῦ.*

c 6 *βιβλία κατέλιπε.* Cf. Cic. *Fr.* 469 'Cum eo (Carneade) digladiatus est Antipater pluribus voluminibus.'

c 8 *καταδόξαντα.* The intransitive sense of this form is rare, but the transitive sense occurs frequently in Herodotus. The passive occurs twice in Antiph. *Or.* ii. 116. 34 *καταδοχθεὶς φονεὺς εἶναι*: ibid. *εἰκότως ὑφ' ὑμῶν καταδοκοῦμαι*, 'I am naturally

suspected by you.' Cic. *De Orat.* ii. 38. 161 'Carneadis vis incredibilis dicendi et varietas, qui nullum umquam in illis suis disputationibus rem defendit quam non probarit, nullum oppugnavit quam non everterit.' It is implied in καταδόξαντα that this formidable power was regarded with some suspicion.

d 6 Cf. Diog. L. iv. 9. 6. The account of Carneades in Diogenes is chiefly made up of silly stories, very unlike the full and careful account of his system in Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* vii. 159.

d 9 τῆς διατριβῆς, 'the School,' i. e. the place of study. Athen. 350 init. ἀναστήσας δέ ποτε τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ.

739 a 5 καπηλικώτερον, literally, 'in a rather huckstering way.'

a 9 Zeller, *Outlines*, 273 'After Carneades the Academy was conducted by his pupils, first the younger Carneades, then Crates—by both for but a few years, and then by the most distinguished of the body, Clitomachus the Carthaginian, who cannot have been born after 175 B. C., and died after 110.'

a 10 Ibid. 280 'Philo of Larissa, who fled to Rome about 88 B. C., where he was the teacher of Cicero, and appears to have died about 80 B. C., (was) the pupil and successor of Clitomachus. . . . Although he joined Carneades in controverting the Stoic doctrine of the criterion, and regarded an absolutely certain knowledge, a conception of things, as impossible, yet he would not deny all power of knowledge, and maintained that Arcesilaus and Carneades did not intend to deny it. There was an obviousness (ἐνάργεια) which created a perfectly sure conviction, though it did not attain to the absolute certainty of the concept.' Cic. *Brut.* 89; *Tusc.* ii. 3, v. 37.

9] c 3 ἐξιτήλου. Cf. Hdt. i. 1 ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται κ.τ.λ.

c 6 διαίσθησιν. The substantive is rare. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 250 A ἀγνοοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἱκανῶς διαισθάνεσθαι.

740 d 7 ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων στοχασμῶν κ.τ.λ. Cf. 22 a 2.

d 10 On the *Epistle to Anebo* see 92 b 1, note.

10] **741** c 2 τὸ μέρος τοῦτο, namely, the nature of 'the good.'

c 4 Philo Jud. *de Incorrupt. Mundi*, 497 (Mangey) 'Boëthus, and Poseidonius, and Panaetius, men of great learning in the Stoic doctrines, as if suddenly inspired, abandoned the theories of conflagration and regeneration, and came over to the more

divine doctrine of the incorruptibility of the world.' Cf. ibid. 502 on the opinions of Boëthus.

d 4 Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας. Cf. 123 c 9, note.

742 a 1 Χαλκόδετος γάρ. See 413 b 2–b 6, and the notes there.

b 3 στοχασμῶν. Cf. 471 b 4, Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i. 4. 5 εὖ γὰρ καὶ Πλάτων ἠπόρει τοῦτο καὶ ἐζήτει, πότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς ἐστιν ἡ ὁδός.

b 7 παρ' αὐτῶν εἰρημένα. Cf. 741 d 1.

d 6 ἐπανατεινάμενοι. Cf. 738 c 6 ἀντιγραφὰς δὲ ἐπανετείνατο: but here in the strict middle sense it means 'having stretched themselves up,' i. e. in an arrogant manner.

11] **743 c** 5 ἐπιστάμενον ἀπιέναι. 'Verbum ἀπιέναι additum est ut in Latino: *discedere victorem* similibusque' (Kühner).

d 3 ἀστρονομίας Eus., ἀστρολογίας Xen. 'Sic ἀστρολογία idem est quod ἀστρονομία. Sic etiam Latini aureae aetatis scriptores dicunt *astrologus* et *astrologia*, non *astronomus*, *astronomia*. Quamquam etiam vocabulum ἀστρονομίας in usu fuit' (Kühner).

d 8 νυκτοθηρῶν. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 1. 25 'Manet sub Ioue frigido venator.'

744 a 3 ἀσταθμήτους ἀστέρας. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 893 B Τῶν ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τινὲς μὲν ἀστέρα φασὶν εἶναι τὸν κομήτην τὸν οὐκ ἀεὶ φαινόμενον κ.τ.λ.

c 5 λίθον διάπυρον. Cf. 836 b 9 μύδρον ἢ πέτρον διάπυρον.

d 4 Ἐπιστολῇ. 'As to the seven Epistles attributed to Xenophon, among the one and forty so-called Socratic Epistles, the same remark applies to them as to most of the Greek literary remains of that class; they are mere rhetorical essays' (G. Long, in Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* iii. 1303 a).

d 5 Αἰσχίνην. Cf. Zeller, *Socr. Schools*, 246, note. Aeschines was a disciples of Socrates (Plat. *Apol.* 33 E) and author of certain Socratic Dialogues not now extant. One of the Dialogues contained an amusing description of a conversation between Aspasia and Xenophon and his wife, preserved by Cicero, *De Inventione*, i. 31. 51.

12] **745 b** 3 ἄγασθαι . . . διαπονουμένῳ. Cf. Hdt. iv. 75 ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ. Plat. *Sympos.* 318 A ἀγασθέντες τῷ ἔργῳ. The accusative is much more usual.

b 4 φέρει. There being no subject for φέρει, the construction is incomplete, and the text probably corrupt.

d 1 Plat. *Apol.* 20 E τῆς γὰρ ἐμῆς, εἰ δή τίς ἐστι σοφία καὶ οἵα, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. . . . Ἀνεῖλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι.

d 5 Σικελιῶτις . . . τράπεζα. Plat. *Rep.* 404 C 'Then as it seems, my friend, you do not approve of a Syracusan table, and a Sicilian variety of dishes.' Athen. xii. 527 C.

d 6 Πλάτωνα αἰνιττόμενος. The allusion is to Plato's Pythagorean tendencies, his visit to Egypt, and his residence at the court of Dion. Cf. *Epist.* vii. 326 ἐλθόντα δέ με ὁ ταύτῃ λεγόμενος αὖ βίος εὐδαίμων Ἰταλιωτικῶν τε καὶ Συρακουσίων τραπεζῶν πλήρης οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσε.

13] **746 a** 1 ψυχῆς ὁλκόν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 527 B ὁλκὸν . . . ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἴη ἄν.

b 4 τετεύτακε. The corrupt reading τέτευχε in Plato has been corrected from Eusebius and the codex Parisinus. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Τευτάζων· πραγματευόμενος, ἐνδιατρίβων. Among many instances of the use of τευτάζω there given see *Phileb.* 91 A; Phrynich. *Mystae* μάστιγα δ' ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων τευτάζεται; Plat. (Comicus) *Xantriae* ἦν δὲ θόρυβος τευταζόντων.

c 6 ἄγον. 'Apud Eusebium scriptum est ἄγον, quod participium multo magis quam nomen illud (ἀγαθόν) mihi placet' (Steph.). 'Sic ex Eusebio reposuimus pro ἀγαθόν, postulante sensu et praepositione πρός, quae e voce μάθημα pendere non potest' (Ast). 'Tenenda est lectio vulgata; recte enim dicitur ἀγαθὸν πρός τι' (Stallb.). 'ἀγαθόν is to be taken with τοιοῦτον and not with μάθημα. . . . The v. r. ἄγον Π^mg. deserves consideration' (Jowett, Campbell).

d 6 πάντα δεῖ ἀνήκειν. ἀφήκειν (Plato). 'Apud Eusebium legitur ἀνήκειν, quinetiam πάντας pro πάντα. Sed ἀνήκειν quidem recipi potest, at πάντας non item' (Steph.).

747 a 1 πυκνώματα. Smith's *Dict. Gk. and R. Antiq.* 775 a 'When the two lowest intervals of the tetrachord taken together were less than the remaining one, these two were said to form a *condensed interval* (πυκνόν).' See the exhaustive note of Stallbaum on Plat. *Legg.* 812 D.

a 7 κολλόπων. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Κόλλαβοι· τὰ τῶν χορδῶν ἐπιτόνια. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xxi. 406

> ὡς ὅτ' ἀνὴρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς
> ῥηϊδίως ἐτάνυσσε νέῳ περὶ κόλλοπι χορδήν.

Cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* Κολλάβους τοὺς ἐν τῇ λύρᾳ ἡ μὲν ἄλλη διάλεκτος λέγει· οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ φασί· σὺ δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος λέγε κόλλοπας.

b 4 *ἐρήσεσθαι*, corrupted in the MSS. of Eusebius into *εἰρῆσθαι*, which is quite inappropriate.

b 8 *πρὸ ὁδοῦ κείσθω.* Cf. Aristot. *Polit.* viii. 3. 11 *νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸ ὁδοῦ γέγονεν.* Ibid. *De Caelo*, ii. 12. 10 *πάντα πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἐστι πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον.*

c 9 *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων.* On Plutarch, *de Placitis Philosophorum*, see Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, Prolegomena, 1–43, who clearly proves that the real author of the collection epitomized by Plutarch was Aëtius, a rhetorician who lived in the time of Augustus, and whose authorship was forgotten through the greater reputation of Plutarch. Cf. Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 35. 7 *Πλούταρχος δὲ καὶ Ἀέτιος τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐκπαιδεύουσι δόξας.*

c 10 *ἐξ ὧν παραθήσομαι ταῦτα.* On the accuracy and fidelity of the extracts made by Eusebius see Diels, ibid. 5–10. Much of the following extract had been previously quoted by Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gentiles*, iii.

14] **d** 2 'Eandem accurationem (Eus[i].) in ceteris excerptis admirari licet. Nam rarae sunt pro excerptorum ambitu mutationes. Velut, *Plut.* i. 3. 1 post Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος addit εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν. Mox ἀπεφήνατο auctum est addito εἶναι, capituloque finito claudit ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Θαλῆς, de qua formula similibusque egit G. Dindorfius praef. edit. I. xix.' (Diels, ibid. 8).

d 3 *Δοκεῖ . . . Μίλητον.* 'Plutarchus ut principio statim suam sapientiam ostentaret importune post ὕδωρ haec interpolavit' (Diels, ibid. 61).

748 a 3 The original reading of Aëtius was *γάρ*, which in consequence of the distance from *ὕδωρ* Eus. changed into *δέ* ('inepte,' Diels, ibid.).

πάντα . . . ἀναλύεσθαι. On this passage cf. Diels, 179.

a 5 *πάντων ⟨τῶν⟩ ζώων ἡ γονή.* Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 3. 5.

b 3 Cf. Diels, 95; Ps.-Just. *Or. ad Graec.* v.

b 5 Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 227 'Whereas Thales had declared water to be the primitive matter of all things, Anaximander defined this original element as the infinite or the unlimited. By the infinite, however, he did not understand, like Plato and the Pythagoreans, an incorporeal element, the essence

of which consists exclusively in infinity; but an infinite matter.' Cf. Zeller, ibid. 257. The theory of Anaximander is criticized by Aristotle, *Nat. Ausc.* iii. 8. 1.

b 8 γίνεται. Cf. Diels, 50, who suggests γίνεσθαι.

διότι, preferred by Wyttenbach to the reading διὰ τί; which is found in the MSS. of Plutarch.

c 1 μηδὲν ἐλλείπῃ. Cf. Diels, 180; Zeller, ibid. 'According to the unanimous testimony of later authors, Anaximander's main argument for his theory was that the infinite, and the infinite alone, does not exhaust itself in constantly producing.'

c 4 τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀναιρῶν. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 247 'That Anaximander's primitive matter was not a qualitatively determined matter is, therefore, certain.'

d 3 Ἁμαρτάνει. Cf. Diels, 180.

d 4 συνεστάναι τὰ ζῶα. Zeller, ibid. i. 270 'It appeared to him (Anaximenes) . . . that in men and animals the inspiration and exspiration of the air is the cause of cohesion, and of the life of the body; for when the breathing ceases or is hindered, life becomes extinct, the body decomposes and perishes.'

d 8 ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ ξύλων. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 3. 11 οἷον οὔτε τὸ ξύλον οὔτε ὁ χαλκὸς αἴτιος τοῦ μεταβάλλειν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν.

d 9 Ἵππασος. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socrat. Philos.* i. 526. Of Hippasus 'the ancient writers seem to have known no more than is to be found in Aristotle—namely that, like Heracleitus, he held fire to be the primitive matter. The further statements, that he declared fire to be the Deity; that he made derived things arise out of fire by rarefaction and condensation, . . . all these must be mere inferences from the comparison of him with Heracleitus, since the scholars of the Alexandrian epoch possessed no writing of his.' Cf. Aristot. ibid. 8.

749 a 3 παχυμερέστατον. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 29, note 2 'Only the later writers ascribe to him (Heracleitus) rarefaction and condensation.' According to Zeller the order of change was not fire, earth, water, but 'fire is changed into moisture, and moisture into earth.'

a 7 ἀρχὴ . . . πάντα. 'Plutarchi additamentum ex initio repetitum' (Diels, ibid. 284).

a 9 In Plutarch the paragraph begins differently: 'Epicurus,

son of Neocles of Athens, having studied philosophy in the School of Democritus, said that the primitive substances of all things are indivisible bodies.' Diels, 8.

b 1 σώματα ἄτομα. On the nature of the atoms of Democritus see Zeller, ibid. ii. 220.

ἀμέτοχα κενοῦ. 'Where there are no parts, and no empty interspaces, no displacement of parts can occur' (Zeller, ibid.).

c 5 περιληπτά, οὐκ ἄπειρα, Eus. codd. Cf. Diog. L. x. 42 καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ σχηματισιν ἁπλῶς ἄπειροί εἰσιν αἱ ὅμοιαι, ταῖς δὲ διαφοραῖς οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἄπειροι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀπερίληπτοί. From this quotation it would appear that the better reading is ἀπερίληπτά, meaning 'indeterminable,' as distinct from 'infinite.' But Aristotle, a far better authority, distinctly asserts that the shapes themselves are infinite: cf. *Gen. et Corr.* i. 2. 5 ἐπεὶ δ' ᾤοντο τἀληθὲς ἐν τῷ φαίνεσθαι, ἐναντία δὲ καὶ ἄπειρα τὰ φαινόμενα, τὰ σχήματα ἄπειρα ἐποίησαν. Ibid. i. 1. 4 Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Λεύκιππος ἐκ σωμάτων ἀδιαιρέτων τἄλλα συγκεῖσθαί φασι, ταῦτα δὲ ἄπειρα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι καὶ τὰς μορφάς. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 224, note.

d 3–d 5 ὥστε . . . μονάς. Diels, ibid. 61, regards this passage as an interpolation by Plutarch in the work of Aëtius.

d 5 καὶ ζῷα κενὰ κ.τ.λ. 'Difficile dictu quid in his ineptiis lateat' (Diels, 286).

ἡ μονάς. Cf. Zeller, ibid. i. 391 'The Pythagoreans exalted the Deity above the opposition of principles (matter and form), and derived the principles from Deity. Unity, as Deity, and antecedent to this opposition, was called the One. Unity as opposed to duality, and as a member of the opposition, was called the Monad.'

d 6 On Empedocles see 24 c 1, note.

'Ακραγαντῖνος. The addition πολιστὴς Σικελίας (Eus. codd.) is evidently a gloss, πόλις τῆς Σ., which has crept into the text.

d 7 δύο δὲ ἀρχικὰς δυνάμεις. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 138 'In his representation Empedocles personifies these two forces as Love and Hate; on the other hand he treats them as corporeal substances which are mingled in things.'

750 b 1 'Αναξαγόρας. 'Among the Greeks there was a faint recognition by Anaxagoras of active Reason as the supreme cosmic principle . . . apt to suggest a religious conception of the relations of the whole' (A. C. Fraser, *Philos. of Theism*, 45).

b 4 *μηλόβοτον*. Cf. Isocr. 302 C *τὴν χώραν ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον*. Viger quotes Plat. *Hipp. Mai.* 283 A *τοὐναντίον γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ φασὶ ξυμβῆναι ἢ ὑμῖν· καταλειφθέντων γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλῶν χρημάτων καταμελῆσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι πάντα.* Cf. Diog. L. ii. 3. 2 'He was distinguished for noble birth and wealth, and also for magnanimity, since he gave up his patrimony to his friends. For when they blamed him for his carelessness, he said, "Why then do not you attend to it yourselves?"'

b 8 *Ἦν γάρ*. Quoted before on 504 b 4.

c 2 *ἄθεος εἶναι*. Cf. Diog. L. ii. 3. 9 'There are different stories about his trial; for Sotion in his "Succession of Philosophers" says that he was brought to trial by Cleon for impiety, because he said that the sun was a mass of fire; and though Pericles, his disciple, pleaded in his defence, he was fined five talents and banished. But Satyrus in his "Biographies" says that the suit was instituted by Thucydides, who opposed Pericles in politics: and he was charged not only with impiety but also with aiding the Persians, and was condemned to death in his absence.'

15] **d** 2 *νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ διακοσμῶν*. Cf. Diog. L. ii. 3. 1 'Anaxagoras was the first who set mind over matter, and thus began his book, which is expounded in a graceful and sublime style:—"All things were mingled together: then came Mind and arranged them in order."' Cf. Hippol. *Ref. Haeres.* i. 7.

751 a 6 *περὶ αὐτοῦ*. The reading of the best MSS. of Plato is *αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου*, for which Schanz reads *ἐκείνου*, Stallbaum and Wohlrab *αὐτοῦ*. This latter is the reading adopted by Ficinus, 'vel de se ipso vel de aliis,' and by Cope 'in his own case and in that of everything else.' Archer-Hind, retaining *αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου*, renders it thus: 'he will seek this cause both for the particular object of his inquiry and for everything else.'

d 8 *οὐδέ τινας αἰτίας ἐπαιτιώμενον*. Some recent editors of the *Phaedo* regard these words as an unmeaning interpolation, chiefly on the ground that there is but one real cause, that is *νοῦς*. But the meaning of Plato's complaint against Anaxagoras is well explained in the passage quoted by Wyttenbach from Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.* 435 E *ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἄγαν ἐνδεδυμένος αἰτίαις . . . τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ ὑφ' οὗ βελτίονας αἰτίας οὔσας καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀφῆκεν.* Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 4. 8 *Ἀναξαγόρας τε γὰρ μηχανῇ χρῆται τῷ νῷ πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιίαν, καὶ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστί,*

τότε παρέλκει αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιᾶται τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ νοῦν. See also 752 a 3, also Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii. 435, and Creuzer's note on Plotin. *Enn.* ii. 4. 162 (al. 289).

752 c 2 νὴ τὸν κύνα. Cf. μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν, *Gorg.* 482 B; 461 A; 466 C; *Rep.* 399 E. Porphyr. *de Abstinentia* iii. 16 'For the Cretans it was a law of Rhadamanthus to swear by all the animals: nor was Socrates mocking when he swore by the dog, and the goose, but he wished to take his oath by the son of Zeus and Justice (Rhadamanthus).' Scholiast in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 83 'It is said that he (Rhadamanthus) was the first who forbade any one to take oaths by the gods, but bade them swear by the goose, or dog, or rain, or such like things.' The reason why Socrates so sware is given by Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 19 ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα, οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι. Suidas assigns the same motive under the word Χῆνα ὀμνύναι. The Christian Fathers suggest that the purpose of Socrates was to show his contempt for the gods of his countrymen. Cf. Tertull. *Apologet.* xiv; *Ad Nationes*, i. 10 'Socrates in contumeliam eorum quercum et canem et hircum iurat.' Lactant. *Institut.* iii. 20 'If he wished to overthrow those public superstitions I do not disapprove of this; yea, I shall rather praise it, if he shall have found anything better. But the same man swore by a dog, and a goose. Oh! buffoon (as Zeno the Epicurean says), senseless, abandoned, desperate man, if he wished to scoff at religion; madman, if he did this seriously, so as to esteem a most base animal as God.' See Oehler's good note on Tertull. *Apologet.* xiv.

c 3 περὶ Μέγαρα ἢ περὶ Βοιωτούς. Cf. Plat. *Crito*, 53 B ἐὰν . . . ἔλθῃς ἢ Θήβαζε ἢ Μέγαράδε.

d 5 δίνην. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo* ii. 13. 21 οἱ δ' ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορὰν κύκλῳ περιθέουσαν καὶ θᾶττον φερομένην τὴν τῆς γῆς φορὰν κωλύειν. Καίτοι μήτε τῆς δίνης κωλυούσης, μήτε τοῦ πλάτους κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 379; Diog. L. ix. 45; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* ix. 14; Wyttenb. ad loc. *Phaedonis.*

d 6 καρδόπῳ. Aristoph. *Nub.* 699 seqq.; Aristot. ibid. 16 'Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and Democritus say that its breadth is the cause of its stability: for it does not cut through the air beneath but covers it over like a lid, as broad bodies evidently do: for against the winds these are difficult to move because of their resistance.'

d 11 τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δέον, an allusion to the fact that Anaxagoras dealt only with physical forces, paying no heed to moral causes, whereas Plato made 'the idea of the good' the supreme cause—πάντων ὀρθῶν τε καὶ καλῶν αἰτία, *Rep.* vii. 517 B. Cf. *Rep.* vi. 508 E τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρέχον . . . τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν φαθὶ εἶναι, αἰτίαν ἐπιστήμης οὖσαν καὶ ἀληθείας.

753 a 1 Cf. 504 c 3; Hippol. *Haeres. Refut.* i. 8 (Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 563).

a 4 On Xenophanes see 23 a 3. Cf. Hippol. ibid. xii. (Diels, ibid. 565).

16] **b** 3 Cf. Diels, ibid. 58 'Continet superstitionis irrisionem, qua acerbior vix unquam ex Epicuri hortis retinniit.'

⟨Μήλιος.⟩ Diels, ibid. 14 'Diagoram unus *Melium* (Galenus) novit, quem prono errore vulgata Eusebii Byzantinorumque *Milesium* vocant.'

c 2 ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις. The iambic poems of Callimachus are lost, but Ps.-Plutarch here quotes three lines omitted by Eusebius:

εἰς τὸ πρὸ τείχευς ἱερὸν ἁλέες δεῦτε,
οὗ τὸν πάλαι Παγχαῖον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα
γέρων ἀλαζὼν ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι θεούς.

c 4 Σίσυφον εἰσήγαγε. Euripides exhibited a Satyric drama called *Sisyphus*, Ol. 91. 1. But the verses which Ps.-Plutarch proceeds to quote (Diels, ibid. 298) are ascribed by Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* ix. 51, to Critias, the leader of the Thirty, and author of a play called *Sisyphus*, 'in which the belief in gods is explained as the discovery of a politician who employed it as a means to terrify men from evil' (Zeller, *Outlines*, 97, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 481, note 3).

c 6 πρῶτον φάσκων αὐτόν. At this point the later hand of cod. I begins, and continues to 818 d 10 μηκύνοι; Cf. *Praef.* xv.

d 2 ὡς τάξις. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 30 A εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐξ ἀταξίας, ἡγησάμενος ἐκεῖνο τούτου πάντως ἄμεινον.

d 5 ἐπιστρεφόμενον. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 599, Anthol. Palat. v. 47 τῆς λευκῆς καλάμης οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφομαι.

d 9 ἀνεπιστρεφές. Cf. Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gent.* ἀνεπιστρεφὲς τὸ θεῖον οἰόμενοι εἶναι, where the context requires the meaning 'inflexible' rather than 'unobservant.'

754 b 1 τὸ ἐγγὺς θανάτου. The interpolation of ὕπνου as an

explanation of this phrase led to the confusion of the text in the MSS. of Eusebius.

c 2 *μοιχαλίδος*. 'Quod excusat Schol. ad Gregor. Naz. *in Iul.* i. 73 ed. Mont. hoc addens: *ἡ μοιχὰς (ἡ μοιχαλίς) οὐκ εἴρηται· χρῶνται δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ μετοχῇ οἱ συγγραφεῖς οἷον ἡ μοιχευομένη*' (Diels, ibid. 59).

ἐδολοφονήθη. Cf. Polyb. ii. 36 *Ἀσδρούβας δ' ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς . . . ἐτελεύτησε δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καταλύμασι νυκτός.*

c 5 *νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν θεόν*. The substitution of *τὸν κόσμον* for *νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου* in the MSS. of Eusebius is directly opposed to all testimony concerning the opinion of Thales. Cf. Diog. L. i. 1. 35 *φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε· πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός, ἀγένητον γάρ· κάλλιστον κόσμος, ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ· μέγιστον τόπος, ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ· τάχιστον νοῦς, διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.* Athenag. xxiii *πρῶτος Θαλῆς διαιρεῖ, ὡς οἱ τὰ ἐκείνου διακριβοῦντες μνημονεύουσιν, εἰς θεὸν εἰς δαίμονας εἰς ἥρωας· ἀλλὰ θεὸν μὲν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ἄγει.*

c 6 *τοὺς ἀστέρας οὐρανίους θεούς*. The true reading of Plutarch, *τοὺς ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς θεούς*, is confirmed by Stobaeus, and by Cyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 28 C. Cf. Diels, ibid. 11.

c 7 *θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδῆ*, Eus. codd. The better reading is found in Stobaeus *νοῦν τὸν θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδεῖ.*

τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν. The opinion of Diogenes, Cleanthes, and Oenopides is here wrongly ascribed to Democritus. Cf. Diels, ibid. 64.

d 1 *τὴν μονάδα θεόν*. Cf. 749 d 5. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 362, distrusts the testimony of later writers, especially of Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists, concerning the opinions of Pythagoras. 'The testimonies in question are valueless (363); and neither the doctrine of Unity and indefinite Duality, nor the identification of the primal Unity with Deity, and all that depends upon it, can any longer be attributed to the ancient Pythagoreans.'

καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν. Heinichen has rightly removed the colon by which in other editions these words are separated from the preceding. The statement is that 'the Monad is god and is the good.' Cf. 754 d 8.

d 3 [*ἐστὶ καὶ ὁρατὸς ὁ κόσμος*] is omitted in some MSS. of

Eusebius and bracketed by Gaisford, who rightly remarks: 'et haec inseruisse videntur editores ex Plutarcho.' Diels rejects it from Plutarch.

d 7 *Σωκράτης καί*, added by Eusebius.

τὸ μονοφυές. Cf. Aristot. *Part. Anim.* iii. 7. 1 *σπλάγχνων τὰ μὲν εἶναι μονοφυῆ, καθάπερ καρδία καὶ πλεύμων, τὰ δὲ διφυῆ καθάπερ νεφροί.*

d 11 *εἶδος χωριστόν*, 'a separable form,' in other words, 'an abstract idea,' as contrasted with a form embodied in matter: thus the objects of mathematical science are described in Aristot. *Metaph.* v. 1. 9 as *ἀκίνητα μὲν οὐ χωριστὰ δ' ἴσως ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὕλῃ· ἡ δὲ πρώτη* ('the first philosophy') *καὶ περὶ χωριστὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα.* Cf. Zeller, *Socrates and Socratic Schools*, 50 'Whilst denying the independent existence of the Platonic ideas, he (Aristotle) nevertheless asserts that reality consists not in matter but in form, and that the highest reality belongs to mind free from matter.'

ἐπιβεβηκότα τῇ σφαίρᾳ τοῦ παντός. Cf. Zeller, ibid. 50 'Aristotle will not remove the idea out of the phenomenal world because in a state of separation it cannot serve as a connecting link between individual things, nor yet be the cause and substance of things.' Thus *ἐπιβεβηκότα κ.τ.λ.* seems to imply a sort of pantheism, an immanence not only of divine power but also of God himself. This view of Aristotle's doctrine is less accurately presented in Athenagoras, *Legat.* vi 'Aristotle and his followers recognizing God as one speak of him as a sort of compound animal, consisting of soul and body, supposing his body to be the ethereal space and the planets and the sphere of the fixed stars, moving in circular orbits, and his soul the reason which presides over the motion of the body, not itself subject to motion, but becoming the cause of motion to the body.'

755 a 3 *ζῷον εἶναι*. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* xi. 7. 9 *φαμὲν δὲ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ζῷον ἀΐδιον ἄριστον, ὥστε ζωὴ καὶ αἰὼν συνεχὴς καὶ ἀΐδιος ὑπάρχει τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ θεός.* Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 193.

a 6 *νοερόν*. This correction of *κοινότερον*, the corrupt reading retained by Wyttenbach in Plutarch, is noticed by Diels, *Proleg.* 9, as one of many examples of the accuracy of the extracts in Eusebius.

πῦρ τεχνικόν. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, 153 'God, according to Stoic principles can only be invested with reality when He has a

material form. Hence, when He is called the Soul, the Mind, or the Reason of the world, this language does not exclude, but rather presupposes that conceptions have bodies; and such bodies the Stoics thought to discern in that heated fluid which they at one time call the all-penetrating Breath, at another Ether or primary Fire.' Idem, *Outlines*, 240 'It penetrates all things as the πνεῦμα, or artistic fire (πῦρ τεχνικόν), enlivening them and containing their germs in itself (λόγοι σπερματικοί).' Cf. Athenag. *Legat.* vi; Diog. L. vii. 68. 69 (134).

b 1 δι' ὅλης τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς κεχώρηκε. Some MSS. of Plutarch add παραλλάξεις, which led to various corruptions of the passage. Cf. Diels, ibid. 5, and 51.

b 6 εἰδώλων, not 'images,' but 'unsubstantial forms,' as in Hom. *Od.* xi. 476 βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων.

λεπτομέρειαν. Cf. Lucret. v. 146

'Tenuis enim natura deum longeque remota
Sensibus ab nostris animi vix mente videtur.'

Compare also Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 18. 48 'Quodsi omnium animantium formam vincit hominis figura, deus autem animus est, ea figura profecto est, quae pulcherrima sit omnium. . . . Hominis esse specie deos confitendum est. Nec tamen ea species corpus est, sed quasi corpus, nec habet sanguinem, sed quasi sanguinem' (Munro). See also Lucr. v. 1161 sqq.

b 7 κατὰ γένος ἀφθάρτους. The genus cannot perish, though individuals may. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 19. 50 'Ex hac (ἰσονομίας) igitur illud efficitur, si mortalium tanta multitudo sit, esse immortalium non minorem, et si quae interimant innumerabilia sint, etiam ea, quae conservent, infinita esse debere.'

b 9 ὁμοιομέρειαι. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 334 'Empedocles and the Atomists hold that the organic is formed from the elementary; Anaxagoras, conversely, that the elementary is formed from the constituents of the organic. Aristotle usually expresses this by asserting that Anaxagoras maintained the bodies of similar parts (τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ) to be the elements of things, and late writers call his primitive substances by the name of ὁμοιομέρειαι.' This theory of Anaxagoras is here wrongly attributed by Plutarch to Epicurus. It is criticized by Lucretius in a well-known passage, i. 830 sqq.

'Nunc et Anaxagorae scrutemur homoeomereiam.'

d 8 πάλαι ἀπέδειξε. Cf. 32 d 11, 45 b 3.

17] **756 b** 1 On Aristocles see 510 a 9, note; Zeller, *Outlines*, 86. Viger remarks that 'his whole argument against the Stoics is both subtle and solid.'

b 2 φαντασίας. Cf. Sext. Empir. 67 fin. 'Since therefore some say that the senses have impressions of no objective reality (for the things which they seem to perceive have no underlying substance), while others say that all things by which they think they are impressed have an underlying substance, and others that some things have an underlying substance, and some not—we shall have no means of coming to an agreement. For we can neither determine the dispute by sense, since the very subject of our inquiry is whether that has unreal or true perceptions, nor by anything else, since according to the aforesaid hypothesis there is no other criterion by which to judge.'

b 4 On Melissus see 724 c 4, 757 b 5.

c 1 On Stilpo see 729 c 2.

d 5 εἴη ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ἕτερον, 'the said (or, so-called) "other" (cf. c 2) would exist'; that is, the object, as distinguished from our sensation, would have a real being.

757 a 1 διότι. Viger's substitution of ὅτι is unnecessary. Cf. Philipp. ap. Demosth. 284 πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν. Schweigh. *Lex. Polyb.* 'Διότι frequentare Polybius solet pro simplici ὅτι, *quod*: pro διότι vero passim a librariis nonnullis et e itoribus ὅτι temere erat invectum, ut monui ad i. 10. 7 (διότι δὲ ταχέως ὑφ' αὐτοὺς ποιήσονται τὴν Σικελίαν . . . προφανὲς ἦν), v. 33. 3 (μνησθήσομαι διότι . . . φασὶ τὰ καθόλου γράφειν).' Most of the supposed instances of this usage quoted from earlier writers by L. and Sc. *Lex.* (ed. vii.) are very questionable.

b 5 Μέλισσος. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 533 'We possess a treatise, under the name of Aristotle, which expounds and criticizes the doctrines of two Eleatic philosophers. . . . There can be no doubt, however, that the first section treats neither of Xenophanes nor of Zeno, but of Melissus.' The usual title of the treatise is 'Concerning Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias.' On the doctrines of Melissus, and the extant fragments of this treatise 'On Being,' see Zeller, ibid. 629 ff. The passage here quoted is from *Fr.* 17.

b 7 Εἰ γάρ ἐστι γῆ. On this argument of Melissus cf. Zeller, ibid. 633 'If the so-called many things really were what they seem to us, they could never cease to be so. Since our perception shows us change and decease, it refutes itself, and consequently deserves no faith in regard to what it says about the multiplicity of things.' Cf. Mullach, i. 264; Ritter and Pr. *Hist. Philos.* 165.

18] **758 c** 1 Ἀναγκαίως. 'Subtilis ac solida est tota haec ab Aristocle contra Scepticos suscepta disputatio' (Viger).

c 7 Τίμων. Timon of Phlius, the Sceptic, and author of the 'Silli,' must not be confounded with Timon of Athens, the Misanthrope, described by Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 808–20), and introduced by Lucian as the chief speaker in the dialogue which bears his name. On Timon the Sceptic see 759 b 6, note; Zeller, *Outlines*, 77. 268; *Sceptics*, 520.

d 3 ἀνεπίκριτα, literally, 'that cannot be determined,' and therefore 'inaccessible to knowledge' (Zeller, *Sceptics*, 521). Cf. Sext. Emp. *Hyp. Pyrrh.* i. 112. 114.

d 5 ἀδοξάστους, 'without forming opinions.' Cf. Sext. Emp. ibid. 231 ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι καὶ τοῖς φυσικοῖς πάθεσιν ἑπόμενοι βιοῦμεν ἀδοξάστως. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 84 A τὸ ἀδόξαστον.

d 9 ἀφασίαν. Cf. Sext. Emp. ibid. 192 ἡ οὖν ἀφασία ἀπόστασίς ἐστι τῆς κοινῶς λεγομένης φάσεως, ᾗ ὑποτάσσεσθαι λέγομεν τήν τε κατάφασιν καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὡς εἶναι ἀφασίαν πάθος ἡμέτερον δι' ὃ οὔτε τιθέναι τι οὔτε ἀναιρεῖν φαμεν. By 'speechlessness' therefore is here meant abstaining from either assertion or denial.

d 10 Αἰνησίδημος. Cf. 760 b 8, note.

759 b 2 τί μαθόντες. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 872 k 'τί μαθών, τί παθών . . . always used in a bad sense. The former signifies an *intentionally*, the latter an *accidentally* wrong action.'

b 3 εἰ καί δοίημεν. This is one of the instances in which εἰ καί certainly does not imply that the condition is true. See Hermann on Viger, *De Idiotismis Gr.* 830.

b 6 Τίμων. Diog. L. ix. 12 'Apollonides of Nicaea . . . says that Timon was a son of Timarchus, and native of Phlius, and being left destitute in his youth used to dance in a chorus, and afterwards, despising that, travelled to Megara to join Stilpo, and after spending some time with him came back again to his home and married. Then he joined Pyrrho in Elis. He was

to clear up. . . . The error in question is that of confounding a mere description of a set of observed phenomena, with an induction from them.' This is evidently the sense in which ἐπαγωγή is here used by Aristocles, and is identical with the first sense mentioned by Sir W. Hamilton.

761 a 1 ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι. A poem in hexameter verse. Cf. Diog. L. ix. 11. 105 'Timon also in the *Python* says that he has not gone beyond custom. And in his *Appearances* (Ἰνδαλμοῖς) he thus speaks: "Where'er appearance comes, it has all power." Also in his books *Concerning the Senses* he says, "I do not assert that honey is sweet, but I admit that it seems so."'

b 8 στοιχειώσεις. Cf. 4 b 8. Other works of Aenesidemus mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, ix. 11 (106), are treatises *Against Wisdom*, and *Concerning Inquiry*. See also 760 b 7, note.

c 7 ἀσυγκατάθετοι. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1057 A περὶ τοῦ μήτε πράττειν μήτε ὁρμᾶν ἀσυγκαταθέτως.

d 1 Cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 223 οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆΐ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.

d 2 Coroebus and Meletides were the typical examples of stupidity. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 991

τέως δ' ἀβελτερώτατοι,
κεχηνότες Μαμμάκυθοι,
Μελητίδαι καθῆντο.

Eurip. *Rhes.* 539 Μυγδόνος υἱόν φασι Κόροιβον. Lucian, *Amores*, 53 Μελητίδην ἢ Κόροιβον οἴει με, πρὸς θεῶν, ἵνα τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ δικαίως κριθεῖσιν ἐναντίαν φέρω ψῆφον; In Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 3 ταῦτα Κοροίβου τινὸς ἢ Μαργίτου νομίζοι τὸ πείθεσθαι, Coroebus is coupled with Margites, the stupid and ridiculous hero of the epic poem which bore his name, and of which only a few lines remain

πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.
τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἂρ σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα
οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν· πάσης δ' ἡμάρτανε τέχνης.

762 b 1 καθαρτικά. Cf. Diog. L. ix. 11. 76 κατ' ἴσον τοῖς καθαρτικοῖς ἃ τὴν ὕλην προεκκρίναντα καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπεκκρίνεται καὶ ἐξαπόλλυται.

c 6 ἐπηλυγάσατο. 'Propria verbi potestas est *adumbrandi*, atque adeo *occultandi*.' 'Λύγη γὰρ λέγεται ἡ σκιά' (Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.*). Cf. 777 a 5.

c 9 κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 68 'By conclusions

Aristippus.' It is evident from this passage that Eusebius does ascribe it to the elder.

d 15 τὰς ἀφορμάς. Epicurus agreed with Aristippus in making feeling (πάθος) the criterion of good and evil, and pleasure the final object of life. But by pleasure he did not mean the momentary sensation (ἡδονὴ μονόχρονος), but the happiness of the whole life (ἡ τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότης). These views are very clearly explained in the letter of Epicurus to Menoeceus, Diog. L. x. 128. Cf. Zeller, ibid. 76, Ritter and Pr. 386.

764 a 2 ὑγρὸς πάνυ. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 99

'Quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? qui servos proiicere aurum
In media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
Propter onus segnes.'

Epist. i. 17. 13

(Diogenes) 'Si pranderet olus patienter, regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus.'
(Aristippus) 'Si sciret regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus qui me notat.'

Ibid. 23 'Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
Temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum.'

a 8 σὺν ἄλλοις. Migne, following Viger's corrupt reading Σύναλλος, gives as the translation: 'Aristippe eut pour disciple un nommé Synallus.' 'σὺν ἄλλοις coniec. Menag. ad D. Laert. ii. 83, probante Fabricio B. G. iii. 615, ed. Harles' (Gaisf.).

b 1 τὴν κατὰ κίνησιν. Zeller, *Outlines*, xxxviii. 123 'All feeling consists in motion (Protagoras).'

19] **764 c** 1 οἱ λέγοντες, the Cyrenaic School founded by Aristippus. Cf. Zeller, ibid. 122.

d 11 ''Αθήνησιν sine iota scribendum esse docent Born. *Comm.* ii. 9. 1; Kuehn. *An.* iv. 8. 4.' Cf. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 324 ζ' (Sauppe, *Ind. Xenoph.*).

765 d 5 Cf. 758 a 4; Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 313 'Of Nessus or Nessas, the disciple of Democritus, we know nothing but his name. A disciple of this Nessus, or perhaps of Democritus himself, was Metrodorus of Chios, who seems to have been one of the most important of these later Atomists.' Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 57; *Strom.* i. 353, ii. 498, v. 732 'Hear also Metrodorus who though an Epicurean has spoken thus by divine

inspiration: Remember, O Menestratus, that, though thou art a mortal whose life is limited, thou hast ascended in thy soul to eternity and to the infinity of things: thou hast seen both what shall be, and what has been; when with the blessed choir, according to Plato, we shall behold the beatific sight and vision, we following with Zeus, and others with other gods, to be initiated, as we may rightly say, into the most blessed mystery, which we shall celebrate, being ourselves perfect and untroubled by all evils which awaited us in after time, and admitted to perfect and true visions, and contemplating them in a pure light, being pure ourselves and unmarked by that which we now carry about and call our body, being bound to it like an oyster to his shell.' Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 250 C.

d 10 Diog. L. ix. 10. 58; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Dogmat.* 88. Cic. *Acad.* ii. 23. 73 'Metrodorus initio libri, qui est de Natura: "Nego," inquit, "scire nos sciamusne aliquid an nihil sciamus, &c."'

766 a 2 *πάντα ἐστίν, ὃ ἄν τις νοήσαι.* Cf. 768 b 4, and on the optative see 17 a 4.

On Protagoras see above, 620 a, 718 d, 720 b, and Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 408.

a 4 Cf. Diog. L. ix. 51.

20] c 6 Cf. 766 a 2. Cic. *Acad.* ii. 46 'Aliud iudicium Protagorae est, qui putat id cuique verum esse quod cuique videatur.'

d 1 Plat. *Theaet.* 152 A; 161 C; 166 C.

767 c 6 *τὸν κανόνα.* The 'Canonic' was the name which Epicurus gave to that part of his system which concerned inquiries into the criterion of truth. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 74 'Epicurus in his Canonic primarily regards perception as the criterion of truth in theory, and in practice (see 76) the feeling of pleasure and pain. Perception is the Obvious (*ἐνάργεια*) which is always true; we cannot doubt it without rendering knowledge and action impossible . . . Out of perceptions arise concepts (*προλήψεις*), since that which is repeatedly perceived becomes stamped upon the memory. As these concepts relate to earlier perceptions, they are always true; hence besides conceptions (*αἰσθήσεις*) and feelings (*πάθη*) concepts can be counted as criteria.'

d 5 *χρωμένων*, genitive absolute, 'when men use it.' *χρώμενον* IO: but in this sense of 'using' the passive voice is rarely, if ever, employed.

768 a 5 τῶν γραφῶν, 'drawings' or 'pictures.'

a 6 ἡ αἴσθησίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀπατῶσα. It is not the sight that is the source of error in this case, but the object presented to it has been changed by refraction. This is correctly explained 769 d 1.

c 9 On Epicurus see 137 d.

21] **d** 5 On Aristocles see 756 b 1.

769 a 5 τὸ πάθος, 'the sensation.' Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 432 D τὰ ἐν τοῖς κατόπτροις τῶν ὀμμάτων πάθη.

22] **770 c** 5 ἀλαζονίστατον. Cf. Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* 'Αλαζών· ψευδής.

c 6 τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν. Cf. Callimach. *Epigr.* xxv

Ὤμοσε Καλλίγνωτος Ἰωνίδι μήποτ' ἐκείνης
ἕξειν μήτε φίλον κρείσσονα μήτε φίλην.
ὤμοσεν· ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι
ὅρκους μὴ δύνειν οὔατ' ἐς ἀθανάτων.

Tibull. *Eleg.* i. 4. 21

'Nec iurare time; Veneris periuria venti
Irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt.
Gratia magna Iovi; vetuit pater ipse valere,
Iurasset cupide quidquid ineptus amor.'

d 1 In Plato the reading of ς* was ὡς οὕτως. 'Eusebius diserte ὡσαύτως, idque Steph. et Bekk. merito in textum receperunt' (Stallb).

σκέψαι. 'Euseb. σκέψῃ pro σκέψαι. Quod non probo' (Stallb.).

d 4 περιχαρείας. 'Pollux, iii. 97 ἡ δὲ περιχάρεια τὸ ἀμέτρως χαίρειν δηλοῖ' (Stallb.).

d 10 Ἆρ' οὖν. Stallbaum conjectures ἀλλ' οὖν, 'quod satis constat in responsionibus usurpari.' But Protarchus prefers to answer by another question: 'Is it not surely the fact that no one, &c.?' The various readings in the text of Eusebius, ἆρ' οὖν οὐ O, ἆρ' οὐ I, indicate the meaning required: but this is sufficiently expressed without οὐ. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 477 A ἆρ' οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου ἀπαλλάττεται κακοῦ; ibid. 479 C ἆρ' οὖν συμβαίνει μέγιστον κακὸν . . . τὸ ἀδικεῖν; *Phaedr.* 65 E ἆρ' οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἂν τοῦτο ποιήσειε καθαρώτατα;

d 11 οὐδαμοῦ οὐδαμῶς. 'Ex Eusebio reduxi. Omnes Plat. editt. οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς' (Stallb.).

d 12 γενόμενον. 'Mireris editorum pertinaciam qui unanimi consensu vulgatam γιγνόμενον οὔτε ὄντα tueantur' (Stallb.).

771 a 7 Πάντῃ. Stallbaum needlessly conjectures πᾶσι. All the MSS. of Plato and of Eus. have πάντῃ.

b 1 καίριον. 'In Hesiod καιρός is coupled with μέτρον, and seems to express what was afterwards called the Golden Mean. Hes. *Opp. et D.* 692 μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι, καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος' (Poste).

ἡρῆσθαι, the reading of 'the best MSS. of Plato' (Gaisf.). Stallbaum has a long note on the passage, but even with the reading which he proposes, πάντα ὁπόσα τοιαῦτα ὄντα χρὴ νομίζειν, there is no improvement. The meaning is well rendered by Poste: 'Whatever similar attributes the eternal nature must be supposed to have combined.'

b 1–**772 b** 10 This whole passage is well summed up in Jowett's Introduction to the *Philebus*, p. 28 ff.

c 6 *Orphic Fr.* xiii, quoted also in Plut. *Mor.* 391 C, with θυμόν instead of κόσμον.

d 1 τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτῆρι. Cf. Plat. *Charm.* 167 A, where the Scholiast explains that three is a perfect number as having beginning, middle, and end, and as Zeus also is perfect (τέλειος), the third libation and the third bowl were dedicated to his honour. Hence the phrase is used in the case of those who are bringing any matter to conclusion. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 583 A; Pind. *Isthm.* vi. 10

εἴη δὲ τρίτον
σωτῆρι πορσαίνοντα Ὀλυμπίῳ Αἴγιναν κάτα
σπένδειν.

772 b 8 For λόγων, the reading in Bekker's and Stallbaum's texts, and in all the printed editions of Eusebius, the MSS. have λέγων, λόγῳ, or λόγον. Ficinus appears to have read λόγῳ: 'ferarumque amores locupletiores testes asserunt quam amores eorum qui in philosophica musa ratione (λόγῳ) vaticinantur.' The sense seems to require λόγους agreeing with τούς: 'and deem the lusts of animals better witnesses than the reasonings (λόγους) of those who have spoken in the inspiration of divine philosophy.'

b 11 On Dionysius see 333 c 4, note.

23] **d** 1 'This beautiful fragment of the holy father's work, which is continued to the end of Book xiv, we owe to the care of Eusebius, without which we should have lost this and very many records preserved by that most prudent man' (Viger).

The fragment of the book 'On Nature,' addressed by Dionysius to his son Timotheus, was edited by Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* iv. 393, before the publication of either Heinichen's or Gaisford's edition of the *Praep. Evang.*

d 5 παραφοραῖς. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 249 παραφορὰν τῆς διανοίας.

προφοραῖς, literally 'utterances.' Sext. Emp. *Hyp. Pyrrh.* i. 15 ἐν τῇ προφορᾷ τῶν φωνῶν τούτων τὸ ἑαυτῷ φαινόμενον λέγει: ibid. 203.

d 6 κατακερματίζειν. Cf. 337 c 5.

773 a 1 ἀπρονόητον. Cf. Athenag. *Legat.* 134 τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη ἀπρονόητα εἰπεῖν τὰ κατωτέρω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐποίησεν: ibid. 262.

a 6 πολυσχήμονας. Cf. Strab. 121 ἡ μὲν οὖν Εὐρώπη πολυσχημονεστάτη πασῶν ἐστιν.

b 2 ἀνεπαισθήτους. Cf. *Tim. Locr.* 100 B τὰς δὲ ὑπ' ἀντίλαψιν μὴ πιπτοίσας ἀνεπαισθήτως.

b 8 Diog. L. ii. 111 'There have been also other hearers of Eubulides, and among them Apollonius called Kronos, whose disciple Diodorus, son of Ameinias, of Iasus, was also surnamed Kronos, and of whom Callimachus in his Epigrams, says—

"Momus' self | Would write upon the walls, Kronos is wise."

He too was a dialectician, and was thought to have been the first inventor of the argument of *The veiled man* and *The horned man*, as some say. While staying at the court of Ptolemy Soter he was asked by Stilpo some dialectic problems, and not being able to solve them immediately he was reproached by the king in other ways, and especially was called in mockery Kronos. So he went out from the banquet, and after writing a treatise on the problem put an end to his life in despondency.' Diogenes adds an epigram of his own, the point of which is that Diodorus deserved to be called not Κρόνος, but Ὄνος. Cf. Zeller, *Socratic Schools*, 253, note 1, 270.

Ἡρακλείδης. For a full and amusing account of Heracleides Ponticus see Diog. L. v. 86.

b 9 Asclepiades of Bithynia, the famous physician, applied the theory of atoms (ὄγκοι) to the treatment of diseases.

24] **774 a** 8 ἐπιβολάς. Cf. Thuc. iii. 20 ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων.

b 2 τρόπις. Cf. Hom. *Od.* xii. 420 ὄφρ' ἀπὸ τοίχους
λῦσε κλύδων τρόπιος.

b 4 *τὰ λεγόμενα.* Hesiod, *Opp.* 454 ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούρατ' ἀμάξης.

b 6 *ἑκατέρας*, i.e. the builder of the ship or of the wagon. Routh suggests *ἑκάτερα*, meaning 'the timbers (*ξύλα*) of each.'

c 1 *ῥύμης.* Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 1. 31 τοὺς μὲν ὀρθοὺς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῇ τῶν ἵππων παίοντες ἀνέτρεπον.

c 5 Τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν σου. Dionysius has the reading of LXX[A, B]; in the English versions the pronouns are transposed.

d 2 *εὐήτρια*, 'well-woven.' Cf. Plat. *Polit.* 310 E λεῖον καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον εὐήτριον ὕφασμα ξυνάγοντα ἐξ αὐτῶν.

d 3 *ἐρίθους*, restored by Gaisford in place of the corrupt *ἀρρύθμους* Vig., or *ἀριθμούς* I. Cf. 855 c 7, where also *ἔριθος* has been corrupted.

25] **d** 7 *καλούμενον κόσμον.* Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 508 A καὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο διὰ ταῦτα κόσμον καλοῦσιν.

775 a 3 *τὴν παναρμόνιον τῶν οὐρανίων χορείαν . . . συνᾴδειν.* For the meaning of *χορείαν*, 'dance-music,' compare Pratinas, i. 6 ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δωρίαν χορείαν (L. and Sc. *Lex.*), and Aristoph. *Ran.* 247

ἐν βυθῷ χορείαν
αἰόλαν ἐφθεγξάμεσθα.

Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1

'Still *quiring* to the young-ey'd cherubins.'

b 7 *περσέαι.* Cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 2. 1 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γάρ ἐστιν ἴδια δένδρα πλείω, ἥ τε συκάμινος καὶ ἡ περσέα καλουμένη. Ibid. 5 τῷ σχήματι δὲ πρόμακρος ἀμυγδαλώδης, i.e. the fruit of the *περσέα* is 'long like an almond.' It is in fact difficult to distinguish the double-blossoming peach from the almond. Cf. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, iii. 119 'That the Persea and Peach were often confounded by ancient authors is very evident: and the fact of the former being the sacred tree on whose fruit (which resembles the human heart) the gods inscribed the name of a favourite king, sufficiently proves that Plutarch (*De Iside*, 378 C) had in view the Persea, or at least the sacred tree of Athor, when he speaks of the peach-tree resembling the heart.' The word in Plutarch is Περσέα.

c 8 *πιλήματα.* Cf. Athen. 535 πίλημα λαμβάνων τῆς πολυτελεστάτης πορφύρας.

d 5 *φυλοκρινῶν.* Cf. Thuc. vi. 18, with Arnold's note; Clem. Al. *Strom.* ii. 448.

776 c 6 τύρβης. Cf. Polyb. i. 67. 3 ἦν ἀμιξίας καὶ θορύβου καὶ τῆς λεγομένης τύρβης.

c 8 'The poet,' as usual, is Homer, and the passage referred to is quoted by Routh, — *Od.* xvii. 218

> καὶ μὲν δὴ μάλα πάγχυ κακὸς κακὸν ἡγηλάζει,
> ὡς ἀεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς εἰς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

d 3 ἀποτετορνευμένων. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 234 E; Plut. *Mor.* 45 A τῶν ὀνομάτων σαφῶς καὶ στρογγύλως ἕκαστον ἀποτετόρνευται.

777 a 5 ἐπηλυγαζούσῃ. Cf. 762 c 6.

b 2 τροπὰς ἀπαρατρέπτους, i. e. the summer and winter solstices, recurring with perfect regularity.

c 2 ἐπικάρποις. This anomalous form is found in all the printed editions, and apparently in all the MSS., without being noticed. ἐπικάρπιος, the proper form, is a title of Zeus: cf. Preller, *Gk. Myth.* 130. 3.

c 9 γειτνίασεις. Cf. Aristot. *Part. Anim.* iii. 10. 5 ὅταν γὰρ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἑλκύσωσιν ὑγρότητα κ.τ.λ. Here the word seems to mean the duties of neighbourhood, 'border laws.'

d 5 ἐκόσμησεν. A. V. 'garnished'; but the thought is of order rather than of beauty.

d 6 τὰς ἀρχάς. Their original laws are to remain unchanged as long as the works continue.

d 9 ἐμποδοστατοῦντος. Cf. Judg. xi. 35 (LXX) οἴμοι θύγατέρ μου, ἐμπεποδοστάτηκάς με (Field). The texts of the MSS. vary very widely. ἐμπεποδεστατη (sic) και σεμνοτατη A (Swete).

d 10 συνασπιδοῦντες. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 4. 23 οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες.

d 11 ἀόχλητος. Cf. Lucian, *Paras.* 11 πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀόχλητον.

778 a 1 ἀνεμπόδιστος. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* vii. 13 εἴπερ ἑκάστης ἕξεώς εἰσιν ἐνέργειαι ἀνεμπόδιστοι. Polyb. x. 11. 3.

a 2 ἐκνεύσεσι. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 815 τάς τε εὐλαβείας πασῶν πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν ἐκνεύσεσι καὶ ὑπείξει πάσῃ.

a 3 καιροφυλακοῦσι. Cf. Demosth. 678. 17 καὶ ἔργῳ ἑαυτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὅτι καιροφυλάττει τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν.

a 5 τῶν ἀσυνθέτων συναγωγεῖς. Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 78 C; *Sympos.* 191 D.

a 7 κυκλοφορικὴ συνοδία καὶ περιοδία, 'Synodical revolution and

period (or "recurrence") of the heavenly bodies.' Cf. Herschel, *Astronomy*, 418.

b 3 ἀνενδείκτοις, 'unexampled.' I have not found the word elsewhere. 'It is perhaps a corruption for ἀνενδέκτοις, for which cf. S. Luke xvii. 1' (H. A. Redpath).

26] **779 a** 3 ⟨ηὐξήθησαν⟩, a necessary correction for ηὐξήνθησαν I.

a 6 ὀστωθείσαις. I have not found the verb elsewhere. Cf. Xen. *Eq.* i. 8 ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ ὀστώδης.

νευρορραφουμένη. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 2. 5 ἔστι δὲ ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευρορραφῶν μόνον τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων.

a 7 ἔγκατα. Cf. Lucian, *Lexiph.* 3 καὶ τοῦ βοὸς τὸ πολύπτυχον ἔγκατον. Hom. *Il.* xi. 438 μιχθήμεναι ἔγκασι φωτός. Plut. *Mor.* 684 A τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν τὰ κρέα ὑπέρτερα τὰ ἔξω τοῦ ἱερείου, ὥσπερ ἔγκατα τὰ ἐντός. Hesiod, *Theog.* 538

ἔγκατα πίονι δημῷ
ἐν ῥινῷ κατέθηκε καλύψας γαστρὶ βοείῃ.

c 4 ὁλοσχερῆ. Cf. Polyb. iii. 37. 8 τὸ μὲν ὁλοσχερέστατον καὶ βαθύτερον μέρος.

c 7 φορολογοῦσα. Cf. Polyb. i. 8. 1 καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς Σικελίας ἐφορολόγουν.

d 4 τὸν δοκοῦντα λογιώτερον. 'Dionysius, it seems, was intending to argue against some philosopher who was thought to be more learned and elegant than Epicurus, who was commonly regarded as unlearned' (Routh).

780 a 5 διαμονῆς. Cf. Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* vii. 5. 5 τὰ δὲ ἀσθενέστερα πρὸς διαμονήν.

c 3 εὐαίσθητον. Cf. Aristot. *Part. Anim.* ii. 17. 2 ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος εὐαισθητότατος τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων.

d 1 πρωτότυπα. Cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 16 πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφάς.

d 5 τὴν Πανδώραν. Cf. Hesiod, *Opp.* 60–80, 81

Πανδώρην, ὅτι πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
δῶρον ἐδώρησαν.

27] **782 a** 4 Ὑποθηκῶν. This title does not occur in the long list of the works of Democritus by Thrasylus preserved by Diogenes Laertius, 45 sq. But the work is supposed to be the same as the Ὑπομνήματα Ἠθικά there mentioned.

a 6 *γνώμῃ τύχῃ μάχεται.* Routh would read *γνώμῃ τύχῃ μ.* as better suited to what follows.

b 4 *αὐτῶν προκάμνουσιν.* Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1270

οὗ σὺ πολλάκις
τὴν σὴν προτείνων προὔκαμες ψυχὴν δόρει.

c 2 *θυμηδίαν.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 713 D *πολλῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυμηδίας παρούσης.*

c 6 Cf. Hom. *Od.* viii. 325 *θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων.*

c 8 *τεκμηριοῦνται.* Cf. Thuc. i. 3 *τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος.* Ibid. 9. The middle voice means 'find evidence.'

d 2 *διὰ τὸ θέειν.* Cf. 517 d 6.

783 b 2 *ὁρκισμούς.* Cf. Polyb. vi. 33. 1 *ἐλευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ δούλους ὁρκίζουσι, καθ' ἕνα ποιούμενοι τὸν ὁρκισμόν.*

b 7 *παράρτημα.* Cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 8 *ἐπῳδαῖς τισι τὰ τοιαῦτα παύεσθαι ἢ τοῖς ἔξωθεν παραρτήμασι.*

c 7 *προσεκτικός.* Cf. Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5. 5 *φόβος προσεκτικωτέρους . . . ποιεῖ.*

d 5 Ecclus. xvi. 29, 30. *Ψυχήν*, the reading of both the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. of the LXX, is difficult to construe grammatically. The accusative can only be explained as one of cognate signification: 'He covered the face of the earth with life.'

d 10 An allusion to Gen. i. 31, and perhaps also to Ecclus. xxxix. 18.

784 a 1 *ἐξήνθισται.* Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 661 F *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξανθίζεται τοῦ λειμῶνος.*

BOOK XV

1] **788 b** 8 *ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς πρώτοις συγγράμμασι.* In the following passage we have an excellent summary of the whole argument of the work, which should be compared with the *Introduction*, vi.

d 6 ⟨*κομψείας*⟩. For *κομπίας* Eus. codd., or *κομπείας* Dindorf, both unknown words, read *κομψείας*, as in Plat. *Phaed.* 101 C *τὰς ἄλλας τὰς τοιαύτας κομψείας ἐῴης ἂν χαίρειν.* Another possible reading would be *πομπείας*: cf. 733 b 6.

d 10 *ἐν ἑτέροις τρισί.* Books iv, v, vi.

789 a 2 *ἐπιχειρήμασιν* seems here to be used in its technical sense, as defined by Aristot. *Top.* viii. 11. 12 *ἔστι δὲ φιλοσόφημα*

μὲν συλλογισμὸς ἀποδεικτικός (*a demonstrative conclusion*), ἐπιχείρημα δὲ συλλογισμὸς διαλεκτικός (*a probable conclusion*): cf. *Top.* i. 1. 2.

a 8 ἰσαρίθμοις . . . λόγων συντάξεσι. Books vii, viii, ix.

a 9–**b** 4 Εἶθ' ἑξῆς . . . εἰς φῶς ἀγαγών. Book x.

b 4 τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τριῶν. Books xi, xii, xiii.

c 3 ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι, i.e. Book xiv.

c 5 ἀδέκαστον. Cf. 387 b 7, note on δεκασθέντες.

c 7 ἀσκόπως. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 157

οὔτε γάρ ἐστ' ἄφρων οὔτ' ἄσκοπος οὔτ' ἀλιτήμων.

d 3 τὸν ὕστατον. Book xv.

790 b 8 τοὺς τὴν ἐποχὴν εἰσηγουμένους. On this doctrine of 'suspension' see Diog. L. ix. 107 τέλος δὲ οἱ Σκεπτικοί φασι τὴν ἐποχήν, and Sext. Emp. *Hyp. Pyrrh.* i. 28 τινὲς δὲ τῶν δοκίμων Σκεπτικῶν προσέθηκαν τούτοις καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσιν ἐποχήν.

c 7 τῶν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατεινομένων. Cf. Menand. *Andria, Fr.* iv.

εὑρετικὸν εἶναί φασι τὴν ἐρημίαν
οἱ τὰς ὀφρῦς αἴροντες.

d 12 On Aristocles see 510 a 9, note.

2] **791 b** 5 τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιπάτου. Cf. 726 b 1, note.

παραβαλεῖν. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* viii. 556 C ὅταν παραβάλλωσιν ἀλλήλοις οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι. These statements of Epicurus are mentioned in Athenaeus, *Deipn.* viii. 354: they were not supported either by Eubulides or Cephisodorus, who both wrote against the great Stagyrite.

c 2 Aristoxenus, a disciple of Aristotle, and voluminous writer on history, philosophy, and especially on music. A new edition of his *Harmonics* by H. S. Macran has been recently published by the Clarendon Press.

c 4 The 'Peripatos' here meant was one of the shady walks of the Lyceum, the great gymnasium outside Athens on the east. Here Aristotle used to deliver the more abstruse doctrines of his philosophy during his morning walk (ἑωθινὸν περίπατον), and his exoteric discourses in the evening (δειλινὸν περίπατον). See Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* xx. 5.

d 2 Nicagoras, an Athenian sophist, who lived about A.D. 250.

d 5 Hermeias, or Hermias, who made himself ruler of Atarneus and Assos, was an intimate friend of Xenocrates and of Aristotle, and married Pythias the niece or adopted daughter of his friend

and benefactor (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* ii. 410 b). Aristotle was accused of impiety for a poem in memory of Hermias, which is preserved in Athenaeus, xv. 696.

d 8 Demochares, sister's son to Demosthenes, was a leader of the Anti-Macedonian party at Athens, which may account for his dislike of Aristotle. He also supported a decree forbidding philosophers to teach without permission from the state.

792 a 2 *Στάγειρα*. 'Posterioris aetatis scriptores, ut observát Wasse ad Thuc. iv. 88, dicunt quoque *τὰ Στάγειρα*' (Bähr, *Hdt.* vii. 115). It is more commonly *Στάγειρος*, or *ἡ Στάγειρα*.

a 6 *Κηφισόδωρος*. Aristotle's criticisms of contemporary rhetoricians, and of Isocrates in particular, brought on him the bitter enmity of Cephisodorus, a disciple of Isocrates, who wrote a work against Aristotle in four books. Cf. Athen. ii. 60 b; viii. 359 c.

τένθην. Cf. Cratin. *Fr. Incert.* xiv

τρίγλην δ' εἰ μὲν ἐδηδοκόη τένθου τινὸς ἀνδρός.

Aristoph. *Pax* 1120 *τένθης εἶ σὺ κάλαζῶν ἀνήρ.*

c 1 *ἐριστικοί*. The followers of the Megarian School founded by Eucleides, a disciple of Socrates, were called 'Eristics,' because they conducted their arguments by question and answer (Diog. L. ii. 106). See above, 756 b 4; Zeller, *Socratic Schools*, 266 ff.

793 a 3 Theocritus of Chios was an orator and sophist and collector and author of witty sayings of the time of Alexander the Great. See the notice of him in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* 77, and the epigram prefixed to the works of Theocritus the poet:

Ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος· ἐγὼ δὲ Θεόκριτος, ὃς τάδ' ἔγραψα,
εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰμὶ Συρηκόσιος.

b 1 *Βορβόρου*. Borborus ('Marsh') was the name of a lake near Pella, the residence of king Philip.

b 4 On Apellicon, the Peripatetic (*ob.* B.C. 84), see Strab. 608. 9 'Aristotle made over his own library to Theophrastus, to whom he also left his School, being the first whom we know that collected books, and taught the kings of Egypt how to arrange a library. Theophrastus gave them over to Neleus, who carried them to Scepsis, and handed them down to his successors, men of no learning, who kept the books shut up, and lying about without care. But when they perceived the eagerness of the Attalidae, the kings to whom the city was subject, who were

seeking books to establish the library at Pergamos, they buried them in a certain trench, where they were damaged by damp and bookworms. Their descendants at a later period sold the books of Aristotle and Theophrastus for a large price to Apellicon of Teos. He being more of a bibliophile than a philosopher, and wishing to restore the parts that were eaten away, transferred them to new copies, filling up the text badly, and published the works full of errors.' Cf. Diog. L. v. 52 τὰ δὲ βιβλία πάντα Νηλεῖ (διατίθεμαι), part of the will of Theophrastus.

b 6 Πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον Ἐπιστολαῖς. A fragment of a letter to Antipater, in which Aristotle explains the reasons of his withdrawal from Athens, and alludes to the false charges made against him, is still extant (Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.* i. 320 b). ἐπιστολαῖς may mean a single letter, as in Thuc. i. 132.

c 5 Θεοφράστῳ. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xiii. 5, relates how Aristotle, when near his end, was asked by his pupils to name a successor. The two most distinguished of his disciples were Theophrastus of Lesbos, and Eudemus of Rhodes. The aged Master, saying that the wine which he was drinking did not suit his health, asked for some of a different kind, Rhodian or Lesbian. Of the Rhodian he said that it was a strong and pleasant wine: then after tasting the Lesbian, 'Both,' he said, 'are extremely good, but the Lesbian is the sweeter.' Diogenes Laertius (v. 38) and Strabo (xiii. 618) say that Aristotle changed his name from Tyrtamus to Theophrastus, to avoid the ill sound of the former, and to indicate his admiration of his language.

3] **794 a** 4 τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδεύσας ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης. Cf. A. Grant, Aristot. *Eth.* i. 109–216 'Aristotle's Dissent from Plato.' Cf. 509 a 5.

4] **c** 1 The quotation which follows is from a lost work of Atticus, a Platonist of the second century of the Christian era, under the emperor M. Aurelius. Cf. 509 a 3.

795 c 8 The Aloadae, Otus and Ephialtes, were of gigantic size and daring spirit, as described by Homer, *Od.* 313–16

οἵ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπειλήτην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
φυλόπιδα στήσειν πολυάϊκος πολέμοιο.
Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

d 9 Εὐδήμιοί τε καὶ Νικομάχειοι. On the authorship of these treatises see Grant, ibid. i. 20. 40.

796 a 3 Hom. *Il.* i. 526

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ᾽ ἀπατηλὸν
οὐδ᾽ ἀτελεύτητον, ὅ τι κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω.

a 6 εὐδαίμονας. Cf. Aristot *Eth. Nic.* i. 7. 5 τοιοῦτον δ᾽ ἡ εὐδαιμονία μάλιστ᾽ εἶναι δοκεῖ· ταύτην γὰρ αἱρούμεθα ἀεὶ δι᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ οὐδέποτε δι᾽ ἄλλο, τιμὴν δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴν καὶ νοῦν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν αἱρούμεθα μὲν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτά (μηθενὸς γὰρ ἀποβαίνοντος ἑλοίμεθ᾽ ἂν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν), αἱρούμεθα δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας χάριν, διὰ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες εὐδαιμονήσειν. τὴν δ᾽ εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδεὶς αἱρεῖται τούτων χάριν, οὐδ᾽ ὅλως δι᾽ ἄλλο.

b 2 οὐχ ἱκανή. Cf. Aristot. ibid. 8 φαίνεται δ᾽ ὅμως καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν προσδεομένη (sc. ἡ εὐδαιμονία).

c 1 ἐπὶ τροχόν. The construction of this passage is strangely misunderstood by the Latin and French translators, who join εὐδαίμονα with τροχόν, 'the wheel of happiness,' whereas Aristotle, in the passage alluded to, speaks of a man 'being broken on the wheel.' See *Eth. Nic.* vii. 13. 3 οἱ δὲ τὸν τροχιζόμενον καὶ τὸν δυστυχίαις μεγάλαις περιπίπτοντα εὐδαίμονα φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἐὰν ᾖ ἀγαθός, ἢ ἑκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες οὐδὲν λέγουσιν. Cf. Antipho, 134. 10 πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν τροχὸν ἀναβῆναι. Demosth. 856. 14.

c 2 Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i. 10. 14 εἰ δ᾽ οὕτως, ἄθλιος μὲν οὐδέποτε γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ὁ εὐδαίμων, οὐ μὴν μακάριός γε, ἂν Πριαμικαῖς τύχαις περιπέσῃ.

797 a 1 κῆρες, μυρίαι δὲ αὗται. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 326

νῦν δ᾽, ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτόν, οὐδ᾽ ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν.

Simon. *Fr.* ccxxxi. 20 ἀλλὰ μυρίαι
βροτοῖσι κῆρες.

b 5 σταυρός. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 361 E 'They will tell you that the just man who is thought unjust will be scourged, racked, bound—will have his eyes burnt out; and, at last, after suffering every kind of evil, he will be impaled.' Ibid. 613 A οὕτως ἄρα κ.τ.λ., 'Then this must be our notion of the just man, that even when he is in poverty or sickness, or any other seeming misfortune, all things will in the end work together for good to him in life and in death: for the gods have a care of any one whose desire is to become just and to be like God, as far as man can attain the divine likeness, by the pursuit of virtue.'

b 6 Ὑπὸ κήρυκι. Cf. Hesiod, *Sc.* 283 ὑπ' αὐλητῆρι. Plut. *Mor.* 41 C, note, and *Sulla*, 460 D.

c 2 ποίκιλλε τριχῇ. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i. 6. 9 δῆλον οὖν ὅτι διττῶς λέγοιτ' ἂν τἀγαθά, καὶ τὰ μὲν καθ' αὑτά, θάτερα δὲ διὰ ταῦτα.

d 4 In the *Nicomachean Ethics* ἕξεις and διαθέσεις are synonymous, as in ii. 8. 1–2. But in *Categ.* viii. 3. 4 they are distinguished, the former being more permanent, the latter more variable.

d 5 ἐνέργειαι. Cf. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 1. 7 καὶ ἑνὶ δὴ λόγῳ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνεργειῶν αἱ ἕξεις γίνονται.

5] **798 d** 3 Πότερον δίκᾳ. Cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* xiii. 38 'Nunc me iuva, mi Attice, consilio πότερον δίκας τεῖχος ὕψιον, id est aperte hominem asperner et respuam, ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις; ut enim Pindaro, sic δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν.' The last line completes the quotation.

d 8 εὐθείᾳ περαίνειν. Cf. 531 a, notes; 'Archytas ap. Iamblich. *Protr.* iv. 160 ὁ θεὸς ἀρχά τε καὶ τέλος καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ δίκαν περαινομένων' (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 530).

περιπορευόμενον. In Plato this word is preceded by κατὰ φύσιν, and is explained by Stallbaum thus: 'Istud . . . declarat accuratius quid sit antegressum εὐθείᾳ περαίνει. Dicitur enim Deus hoc habere proprium, quod, dum recta pergat, simul etiam κατὰ φύσιν, *naturae convenienter*, id est quoniam principium, medium et finem complectatur, libero motu in orbem circumeat.' But see note 531 a 4.

d 9–13 Cf. 542 b 5, and 814 b 3, note.

799 b 8 πάνυ χρηστός, used of course ironically, as in Plato, *Theaet.* 161 A; Demosth. 330. 27 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε.

d 1 ὁ Περιπατητικός. 'We can never, perhaps, adequately comprehend Aristotle's philosophical conception of the Deity. The expression of his views that has come down to us seems so incomplete, and contains so much that is apparently contradictory, that we are in great danger of doing Aristotle injustice' (Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle*, i. 288). Cf. *Eth. Nic.* x. 8. 13 εἰ γάρ τις ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπὸ θεῶν γίνεται, ὥσπερ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴη ἂν εὔλογον χαίρειν τε αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀρίστῳ καὶ τῷ συγγενεστάτῳ (τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ νοῦς) καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας μάλιστα τοῦτο καὶ τιμῶντας ἀντευποιεῖν ὡς τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελουμένους καὶ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ καλῶς πράττοντας. See also Hampden, *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, 49.

800 b 3 αἰσχυντηλότερον. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iv. 9. 3 καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν τῶν μὲν νέων τοὺς αἰδήμονας, πρεσβύτερον δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν ὅτι αἰσχυντηλός.

b 6 ἔξω που τοῦ κόσμου καθίδρυσε. On the theology of Epicurus cf. Diog. L. x. 123; Sext. Emp. ix. 25; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 16; i. 37; Lucret. v. 1161–1240; Zeller, *Epicureans*, chap. 18.

c 5 μαντεύονται. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 349 A ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη, μαντεύει. On this opinion of the motive of Epicurus see Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 30. 85 'Video nonnullis videri Epicurum, ne in offensionem Atheniensium caderet, verbis reliquisse deos, re sustulisse.'

d 10 ἀκρίβειαν παραιτησάμενος, literally 'by deprecating any diligent care,' which is tantamount to 'excusing them from diligent care.'

801 a 1 χρεοκοποῦντα (vel χρεωκοποῦντα), 'cancelling debts,' 'novas tabulas facientem,' hence 'repudiating.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 829 C ἐν τῷ δανείζειν χρεωκοποῦντες· ὁ γὰρ οὗ γράφει λαμβάνων ἔλαττον χρεωκοπεῖται. Aristotle, however, did not wholly repudiate providence, but, if we may believe Atticus (cf. 798 c 4), limited it to the regions above the moon, thus 'discounting' rather than 'repudiating' it. Cf. Tatian, *Or. Contra Gr.* ii. Ἀριστοτέλης ἀμαθῶς ὅρον τῇ προνοίᾳ θείς. Cf. 669 c 4.

6] **c** 4 ἵνα μὴ ἀποστερήσῃ τὸν κόσμον τῆς προνοίας ἀφεῖλε τὸ ἀγένητον αὐτοῦ. Gaisford alone follows the text of cod. I, omitting μή and reading γενητόν. In this way the passage would describe the doctrine of Aristotle, who, 'in order to deprive the world of providence, denied that it was created': cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* ii. 4 ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε ἀΐδιον οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐδὲ γένεσιν εἶναι δυνατόν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί τι τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, εἴπερ ἵσταταί τε καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον. But in fact the whole context 801 c 1–802 b 5 refers to Plato and his doctrines, and the omission of the negatives in cod. I destroys the argument.

c 6 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑστίας, 'those of the same family,' i.e. the professed followers of Plato. Cf. Hdt. i. 176 οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἱστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες.

802 a 7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκοήν. Viger's translation of this is 'uti nostris ipsimet auribus docentem audivimus.' But if this, and the expression τῷ στόματι διείλεκται in 801 d 2, were to be taken literally, Atticus would represent himself as a contemporary and hearer of Plato, whereas in fact he lived in the time of Marcus Aurelius. Cf. 509 a 3, note; Mullach, iii. 178.

c 2 τὴν εἰς ὄλεθρον μεταβολήν. See the note on 809 c 7.

c 3 Ἀριστοτέλους. See note on 809 c 7. Cf. Aristot. *De Anima*, iii. 12. 1 ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ γενόμενον αὔξησιν ἔχειν καὶ ἀκμὴν καὶ φθίσιν.

c 4 τηνάλλως. Plat. *Legg.* 650 A τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὴν ἄλλως ἄνευ μισθοῦ ζημιώδους θεωρεῖν.

'Est *temere*, nullo certo consilio' (Ast).

'"Ἄλλως pro *frustra* tritissimum est' (Ruhnk. *Tim. Lex.* Οὐκ ἄλλως).

c 5 τό τε γενόμενον εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ ἀπολέσθαι περιστάντος. Cf. Aristot. *Metaph.* ii. 4. 4 τὰ γὰρ αἰσθητὰ πάντα φθείρεται. 'The assumption that the world, though it has come into being, will last for ever, overlooks the fact that origin and decay mutually condition each other' (Zeller, *Outlines*, 58).

803 d 9 ἀνάγκης. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 47 E 'We have spoken of the acts and operations of intelligence. We must now add those that arise through *necessity*: for the world is the result of the combination of necessity and intelligence; intelligence governing and persuading necessity to produce all things in the most perfect way, necessity yielding to the wisdom of intelligence.' Ibid. 48 A 'We must consider the nature of fire, and water, and air, and earth, which were prior to the creation of the heavens, and what happened before there were elements, &c.' In the last words Plato rejects τὸ ἀγένητον: see 801 c 4, note, and Archer Butler, *Ancient Philos.* ii. 178.

7] **804 c** 7 τὴν πέμπτην οὐσίαν. This phrase seems to occur first in Ps.-Aristot. *De Mundo*, ii. 2. 6 οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄστρων οὐσίαν μὲν αἰθέρα καλοῦμεν . . . στοιχεῖον οὖσαν ἕτερον τῶν τεττάρων ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον. This is followed by a full description both of the αἰθήρ and of the usual four elements (ibid. 7–iii. 4), and the conclusion πέντε δὴ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* i. 10. 22 'Aristoteles . . . quum quattuor nota illa genera principiorum esset complexus, e quibus omnia orirentur, quintam quandam naturam censet esse, e qua sit mens.' Ibid. 41 'Quinta illa non nominata magis quam non intellecta natura.' See Mosheim's note in Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* iii. 470, on Aristot. *De Gen. An.* ii. 3. 11 πάσης μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς δύναμις ἑτέρου σώματος ἔοικε κεκοινωνηκέναι καὶ θειότερου τῶν καλουμένων στοιχείων.

805 d 2 ἐστί τις οὐσία νοητή. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 35 A τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐχούσης οὐσίας κ.τ.λ. The passage is quoted

696 c 1. 'Est igitur haec abstracta essentiae sive existentiae notio atque species, quam philosophus (Plato) iam tanquam extrinsecus menti obiectam et per se constantem spectavit, sive, ut barbare dicam, est mera *essendi possibilitas*' (Stallb. ad loc.). Cf. *Sophist*. 248 B.

8] **806 c** 2 Cf. Plat. *Tim*. 40 A 'The species of the divine he made for the most part out of fire.' On this passage Viger says that 'Proclus and Alcinous add that Plato thought this most excellent body to be composed of the flower and choice, as it were, of the elements, yet so that fire held the chief place in this commixture': see below, 839 b. Most of the Christian Fathers both Greek and Latin were of the same opinion: especially Basil, Hom. 3 in *Hexaëmer*., Theodoret. *quaest. in Genesin* 11, Ambros. Lib. ii. in *Hexaëmer*. 1. 3, August. in many passages, as *de Genesi ad Liter*. ii. 3, where in accordance with the common opinion, which he by no means calls in question, he thus speaks, 'So above the air the heaven is said to be pure fire, out of which the conjecture that the stars also and luminaries were formed.'

c 4 Plat. *Tim*. 39 B.

c 7 Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 7.

d 1 κατ' εἶδος, literally 'as to form.' In this respect they are immortal and unchangeable, but not as to their 'matter,' which is capable of increase and decrease.

d 2 ἀποχωρήσεις τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ προσχωρήσεις. Cf. Plat. *Tim*. 81 A, where the same terms are applied to the human body: 'Now the process of repletion and depletion (τῆς πληρώσεως ἀποχωρήσεώς τε) after the manner of the universal motion of all things' (Jowett).

d 4 ἀποκρίσεις, 'secretions,' a medical term employed by Plat. *Defin*. 415 καθάρσις ἀπόκρισις χειρόνων ἀπὸ βελτιόνων.

d 5 προσκρίσεις, 'accretions' or 'assimilations,' a rare word not occurring in Plato.

807 a 4 According to Aristotle, *De Caelo*, ii. 8. 7, the heavenly bodies have no motion of their own, either of rotation or of revolution, but are fixed in spheres which revolve in a diurnal orbit. Ibid. 11 'Moreover that the heavenly bodies do not revolve is manifest: for that which revolves must turn, but the same so-called face of the moon is always visible. So that since things that move of themselves must have the motions proper to

them, and it appears that they have not these, it is evident that they cannot move of themselves.' The mistaken notion that the moon does not turn on its axis once in each monthly revolution has been confidently maintained in our own day.

a 5 ὡς ἔμψυχοι. Aristotle, *De Caelo*, ii. 1. 4 and 6, refutes this notion of the heavenly bodies having a soul as the source of their motion.

b 1 πάθος εἶναι τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 8. 9 'Further it would be reasonable that all should have the same motion, but the sun alone of the heavenly bodies seems to do so, at rising or setting, and he not of himself, but through the distance of our sight: for the sight, when directed too far away, is made to roll because of its weakness. . . . And its trembling makes the motion seem to be that of the star.'

d 2 ὁ δ', ᾗπερ. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, i. 2. 5 'If then there is a simple motion, and if the motion in a circle is simple, and if the simple body implies a simple motion, and the simple motion a simple body (for if it be composite the result will correspond to the preponderant part), there must necessarily be some simple body, which tends to move in a circular motion according to its own nature.' Ibid. 7–9, where he argues that, as a circle is a complete figure and a straight line incomplete, circular motion is prior to motion in a straight line, and since the four simple elementary bodies move in straight lines (fire upwards, earth downwards towards the centre, and so on) there mnst be some other simple elementary body which has the circular motion prior to the others and more divine.

808 b 1 κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄνω καὶ κάτω σχέσιν. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 62, 63 'But "heavy" and "light" will be most clearly explained when examined in connexion with the nature of what we call "up" and "down."'

σχέσιν, 'relation.' Cf. Diog. L. ix. 87 τὸ γοῦν δεξιὸν φύσει μὲν οὐκ ἔστι δεξιόν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον σχέσιν νοεῖται.

b 3 πρὸς τοὺς τόπους οἰκειότητας. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 63 E 'There is this one thing however to be considered with regard to all of them, that the course of each towards its kindred element makes the moving body "heavy," and the place to which such a body moves "down," and of the things which are in a contrary relation the contrary is true.'

b 7 μήτε τὸ μέσον μήτε τὸ πέριξ. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 62 E 'For the central spot therein cannot rightly be said to be by nature either "up" or "down," but simply in the centre: and the circumference is neither, of course, central, nor has in it any one part differing from another in a stronger tendency towards the centre, or towards any of the opposite parts.'

c 1 τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φερόμενον βαρύ. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, iv. 1. 7 ἁπλῶς μὲν οὖν κοῦφον λέγομεν τὸ ἄνω φερόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον, βαρὺ δὲ τὸ ἁπλῶς κάτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέσον.

c 2 τόπον τὸν ἐν μέσῳ κάτω φησί. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, iv. 1. 4 'For it is the nature of some things always to move away from the centre, and of others always towards the centre. And of these that which moves from the centre I say moves "up," and that towards the centre "down." For it is absurd not to suppose that there is in heaven some place "up" and another "down," as some persons think: for they say that there is no distinction of "up" and "down," since the heaven is in every direction alike, and from every point a man as he travels round will be at his own antipodes. But we call that extreme part of the world "up," which is both in position "up," and in nature first. And since there is an extreme and a centre of heaven, it is manifest that there will also be "up" and "down," as the multitude also speak, though not with sufficient accuracy.'

9] **809 b** 6 Πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις. Cf. Plat. *Phaedo*, 72 E 'And besides,' said Cebes taking up the discourse, 'according to that argument, if it be true, which you are so often accustomed to use, that our learning is nothing but recollection, it would follow, I suppose, from that too, that we have learned at some earlier time what we now recollect: but that is impossible, unless our soul was existing somewhere before it came in this human form; so that in this way also it seems that the soul is something immortal.' Cf. A. Grant, *Ethics of Aristot.* i. 203; Wordsworth, *Ode*:

> 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar.'

c 7 Ἀριστοτέλους. 'Though the portion of our human nature

to which Plato positively and frequently, and Aristotle occasionally and hesitatingly, allows immortality, be really the same, namely the rational, yet in their historic results Plato has been the perpetual patron of the doctrine of human immortality, and Aristotle almost as constantly has been cited as unfriendly to this great tenet. . . . The ancient Fathers assuredly regarded Aristotle as specially perilous on this account (Euseb. *Praepar. Evang.* xv. 9).' (Archer Butler, *Ancient Philos.* ii. 428.)

d 2 *τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πρᾶγμα*, 'the importance of the soul.' For this sense of *πρᾶγμα* compare Hdt. iii. 132 *ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκήδης παρὰ βασιλέϊ.* Plat. *Gorg.* 447 E *οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα.*

παίδευμα. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 24 D *γεννήματα καὶ παιδεύματα θεοῦ ὄντας.*

d 5 *Οὔτε γὰρ πνεῦμα.* 'Lege Aristotelem lib. i *De Anima*, cap. 2 et seq. ad libri calcem' (Viger).

d 6 *οἷον εἶναί τε ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κινεῖσθαι.* Cf. Aristot. *De Anima*, i. 3. 1 'We must inquire then first concerning motion: for perhaps it is false that its substance is such as they affirm who say that soul is that which moves, or is able to move, itself, whereas it is an impossibility that it should possess motion.'

d 8 *πρωτουργοὺς κινήσεις.* Cf. Plat. *Legg.* x. 896 E 'The soul then directs all things in heaven, and earth, and sea by her motions, the names of which are—will, consideration, attention, deliberation, opinion, true and false, joy and sorrow, confidence, fear, hatred, and by all motions akin to these or primary, which again receiving the secondary motions of bodily substances guide all things to growth and decay and secretion and assimilation.' Viger adds, 'But Aristot. *De Anima*, i. 4. 11 thinks that these functions should be ascribed to the whole man rather than to the soul alone. "To speak of the soul being angry," he says, "is all the same as if one were to say that the soul weaves or builds. For it is better probably to say not that the soul pities, or learns, or thinks, but that the man does so with his soul."' This is a true doctrine, and one that Plato himself does not deny: just as Aristotle in other places speaks of the soul or mind as really understanding; as *De Anima*, iii. 4. 4 'I call mind that whereby the soul thinks or supposes.'

810 a 2 *γραμματεύς.* Scribes or secretaries of the lower class were held in little estimation, and the term is often used con-

temptuously, as in Demosth. 269. 20 σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμ' ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς.

a 6 Dicaearchus, a Sicilian, was a pupil of Aristotle, and a voluminous and accurate writer, especially on geography, philosophy, and political life. He was a favourite author of Atticus, and of Cicero, who frequently refers to him in his *Epistles*, *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Divinatione*, and other treatises. Dicaearchus altogether denied the existence of the soul (Cic. *Acad.* ii. 39. 124; *Tusc. Disp.* i. 10. 21).

b 4 τὸ βουλεύεσθαι. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* x. 896 E, quoted on 809 d 8.

c 1 ἐνεργείας. Cf. Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle*, i. 232 'Ἐνέργεια is not more accurately defined by Aristotle than as the correlative and opposite of δύναμεις. . . . "Actuality" may be in various ways opposed to "potentiality."' Ibid. 233 'Sometimes it implies motion as opposed to the capacity for motion, and sometimes complete existence opposed to undeveloped matter.'

811 a 7 τὰ Πλωτίνου. 'Locum hunc Plotini exstare non puto. Mihi quidem libri tantum secundi Ennead. 4 principium occurrit, ubi verbo uno Entelechiam perstringit. Nam de animae immortalitate non duos sed unum dumtaxat librum ab eo scriptum esse reperio, qui septimus est eiusdem Ennead. 4. In quo tamen de Entelechia μηδὲ γρῦ. Porro vitrea sunt haec Plotini argumenta, quibus Aristotelicam Entelechiam oppugnat' (Viger). In this note Viger is alluding to the heading of the chapter in Eusebius: 'Plotinus, from the Second Book *On the immortality of the soul.*' Creuzer in his note suggests that the passage was taken by Eusebius from the first recension of the work of Plotinus, but was omitted in the later recension by Porphyry, who substituted the argument which now stands as Ennead. iv. 2 Περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς. Cf. Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* iv. 26, who speaks of the passage as 'prolixam disputationem,' while Viger calls the arguments 'as brittle as glass.' I am not sure that I have made them clear.

10] **b** 1 Ἐντελεχείας. Grant, ibid. 234 'Since δύναμις has the double meaning of "possibility of existence" as well as "capacity of action," there arose the double contrast of action opposed to the capacity for action; actual existence opposed to possible existence or potentiality. To express accurately this latter

opposition Aristotle seems to have introduced the term ἐντελέχεια, of which the most natural account is, that it is a compound of ἐν τέλει ἔχειν, "being in the state of perfection." . . . But in fact this distinction between ἐντελέχεια and ἐνέργεια is not maintained. The former word is of comparatively rare occurrence, while we find everywhere throughout Aristotle ἐνέργεια, as he says, πρὸς ἐντελέχειαν συντιθεμένη, "mixed up with the idea of complete existence."' Archer Butler, i. 393 'There is a principle of energy, and a direct exercise of energy; a dormant activity (ἐντελέχεια) and an operating activity (ἐνέργεια).'

b 2 εἴδους τάξιν. Aristot. *Metaphys.* viii. 8. 10 'Further the *matter* exists potentially (δυνάμει), because it may come to the *form* (εἶδος): but when it exists in actuality (ἐνεργείᾳ), then it is in the *form*.'

c 1 φυσικοῦ, ὀργανικοῦ, δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος. We have here an indisputable proof that the argument is directed against the opinion of Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 1. 5 ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος.

d 7 εἰ δὲ μή, 'otherwise,' i.e. if it does retain them without the body's aid.

d 8 ἀδύνατον ἄλλως δέχεσθαι, 'they must receive them in the same way,' i. e. as ideal forms and images, and so without the body's aid. The sensitive soul therefore would be independent of the body, and not inseparable from it, as an entelechy of the body must be.

812 b 1 ὄγκῳ, literally 'weight,' 'burden.' See Buttmann, *Lexil.* 131 'If we consider the word ὄγκος, *a burden*, to be a verbal substantive, it answers to φόρτος, and leads us to a theme ΕΓΚΩ, *I bear*, or *carry*.' But ὄγκος is also the name given to an 'atom' (824 b 9) in Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* ix. 364 Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ὁ Βιθυνὸς ἀνάρμους ὄγκους. Here it evidently means the small 'germ' of a plant.

d 2 Boethus, a Stoic philosopher of uncertain date, whose works *On Nature*, and *On Fate*, are quoted by Diogenes Laertius, and referred to by Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 8; ii. 21. Cf. Phil. Jud. *De Mundi Incorrupt.* 497 M. 'Boethus, and Poseidonius, and Panaetius, men of great learning in the Stoic doctrines, as if seized with a sudden inspiration, abandoning all the stories about conflagrations and regeneration, have come over to the

more divine doctrine of the incorruptibility of the world.' See also 554 b 4, note.

11] **813 a** 1 τὸν ἐντελέχειαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰπόντα, i. e. Aristot. *De Anima*, ii. 1. 6 διὸ ψυχή ἐστιν ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος.

d 4 αὐτοκίνητον οὐσίαν. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 E ἀθανάτου δὲ πεφασμένου τοῦ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινουμένου, ψυχῆς οὐσίαν τε καὶ λόγον αὐτόν τις λέγων οὐκ αἰσχυνεῖται. See also the note on 624 a 7.

12] **814 a** 3 καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ἢ ψυχήν. Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 400 A καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων φύσιν οὐ πιστεύεις Ἀναξαγόρᾳ νοῦν τε καὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι τὴν διακοσμοῦσαν καὶ ἔχουσαν.

b 3 τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ σελήνην τὴν φύσιν. Cf. Epiphan. *Adv. Haeres.* iii. 31 ἔλεγε δὲ (Ἀριστοτέλης) . . . τὰ μὲν ὑπεράνω τῆς σελήνης θείας προνοίας τυγχάνειν, τὰ δὲ κάτωθεν τῆς σελήνης ἀπρονόητα ὑπάρχειν, καὶ φορᾷ τινι ἀλόγῳ φέρεσθαι ὡς ἔτυχεν. Cf. 798 c 4, 800 a 8.

b 5 τὸ μὲν γλαφυρόν, 'his nicety' or 'subtlety.' Cf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* v. 27. 4 τίκτουσι δ' αἱ μὲν γλαφυραὶ (τῶν ἀραχνῶν) ἐλάττω τὸ πλῆθος. *De Anima*, i. 2. 15 Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ γλαφυρωτέρως εἴρηκεν.

c 8 ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τῆς κινήσεως. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 C καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα κινεῖται τοῦτο πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως. Cf. *Legg.* x. 896.

13] **815 a** 8 πεδίον. The expression is borrowed, as Gaisford indicates, from Plato, *Phaedr.* 248 B ἡ πολλὴ σπουδὴ τὸ ἀληθείας ἰδεῖν πεδίον, where the soul is likened to a pair of winged horses and a charioteer, traversing 'the plain of truth,' and feeding there upon heavenly food.

b 2 λήρους δὲ καὶ τερετίσματα καὶ φλυαρίας. There is an evident reference to Aristot. *Anal. Post.* i. 22. 4 τὰ γὰρ εἴδη χαιρέτω· τερετίσματά τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐστίν. Compare the *Hippias Maior*, 30 ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ λίαν ἀνόητος εἶναι λήρους καὶ φλυαρίας ὥσπερ νῦν μεταχειριζόμενος.

c 5 μεθέξει. Cf. Plat. *Parmenides*, 132 D 'What is meant by the *participation* of other things in the ideas, is really assimilation to them.' . . . 'The theory then that other things participate in the ideas by resemblance must be given up, and some other mode of participation devised.' Aristotle's criticism is found in *Metaph.* i. 6. 3 'As Socrates dealt with ethics and not at all with universal

nature, but yet sought for the universal in ethics, and first fixed his thought upon definitions, Plato accepted his teaching for the sake of this characteristic, and supposed that this was true not of anything sensible but of some different things, because it was impossible that the common definition should belong to any sensible things as they were always changing. So then Plato called this class of realities ideas, and said that sensible things were all named on account of and in accordance with these, for the multitude of things synonymous with the ideas were so by participation. And he only changed the name, 'participation.' For the Pythagoreans say that all things exist by imitation of numbers, but Plato changes the name and says, *by participation*. But as to what the participation or the imitation of the ideas might be, they left the question open.'

816 b 7 Antisthenes, an Athenian, whose mother was a Thracian, and who fought as a young man at Tanagra (B. C. 426), was a disciple of Gorgias, and afterwards of Socrates, whose endurance and indifference to pain or pleasure he admired. 'In passionate contradiction to the Platonic ideas he allowed the individual being only to exist' (Zeller, 118). Once when he had turned the ragged side of his cloak outwards to view, Socrates saw it and said, 'Through your cloak I see your vanity.' He was the founder of the Cynics, and was himself surnamed Haplocyon, *a thorough dog*. Cf. Ritter and Pr. *Hist. Philos.* 221–7; Diog. L. vi. 104. Cf. Mullach, ii. 261.

Ἡρακλεωτικός. Antisthenes is called 'Herculean,' because he took the laborious life of Hercules for his pattern, and wrote a treatise called by his name. 'Procl. *in Alcib.* 98 (Creuzer) ὁ Ἀντισθένους Ἡρακλῆς λέγει περί τινος νεανίσκου παρὰ Χείρωνι τρεφομένου' (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 159). Ἡρακλεωτικός properly means 'of Heraclea,' as in Aristot. *Hist. An.* iv. 2. 3 οἱ Ἡρακλεωτικοὶ καρκίνοι. *Pol.* vii. 6. 8 τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν. Plut. *Mor.* 90 D Σωκρατικὸν μᾶλλον δὲ Ἡράκλειον, on which Wyttenbach remarks, 'Ἡρακλεώτης prave Euseb. 816 b.' See, however, Athen. 500 where Ἡρακλεωτικός and Ἡράκλειος are both derived directly from Ἡρακλῆς.

b 8 τὸ μαίνεσθαι κρεῖττον. Cf. Diog. L. vi. 1. 3 μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθείην.

14] **d** 1 On Aristocles, the author of the following extract, see

510 a. The present Fragment is not noticed by Mullach. Cf. Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 464.

d 3 οὗτος (Heracleitus) . . . ἐκείνου (Plato). The usual reference of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος is here evidently inverted, as is not very uncommon. See Xen. *Mem. Socr.* i. 3. 13; iv. 3. 10; Plat. *Phaedr.* 232 D. There can be no doubt about the *fact*, that it was Plato who believed in a *divine* power, and Heracleitus in a πῦρ τεχνικόν, a kind of sublimated *matter*.

817 a 6 ἀδιάδραστόν τινα καὶ ἄφυκτον. Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 538 'Adrasteia, so nearly connected with Nemesis, seems to be the product of a worship of the Great Mother in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus. The name is originally Asiatic, but an attempt was made to explain it in the way of Greek by ἀναπόδραστος, i.e. ἄφυκτος, or by ἀειδράστεια παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ δρᾶν, or through the derivation from Adrastus.' Eus. *H. E.* vi. 9 Θεοῦ τρέσας τὴν ἀδιάδραστον δίκην.

15] b 1 ἑαυτοῦ. For this usage of ἑαυτοῦ instead of the simple αὐτοῦ cf. Polyb. i. 79. 2 Βώσταρον . . . μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.

b 2 πεπερασμένον. Cf. Plat. *Parmen.* 145 A 'Then the one which has being is one and many, whole and parts, limited (πεπερασμένον) and yet unlimited in number' (Jowett). Aristot. *Met.* iv. 26 τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς καὶ πεπερασμένον, ὅταν ἕν τι ἐκ πλειόνων ᾖ ἐνυπαρχόντων.

c 3 προσαγορεύεσθαι. The conjectural addition ⟨κόσμον καὶ⟩ by Diels makes the meaning more evident. Cf. Diog. L. vii. 137 λέγουσι δὲ κόσμον τριχῶς, αὐτόν τε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς πάσης οὐσίας ἰδίως ποιόν, ὃς δὴ ἄφθαρτός ἐστι καὶ ἀγένητος, δημιουργὸς ὢν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποιὰς περιόδους ἀναλίσκων εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεννῶν. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον λέγουσι, καὶ τρίτον τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. καὶ ἔστι κόσμος ὁ ἰδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας, ἤ, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ μετεωρολογικῇ στοιχειώσει, σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων, ἢ σύστημα ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἕνεκα τούτων γεγονότων.

c 4 Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, iii. 2. 6 ταύτην δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἔχει τὴν διάταξιν. *De Mundo*, ii. 1 κόσμος μὲν οὖν ἐστι σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως κόσμος ἡ τῶν ὅλων τάξις τε καὶ διακόσμησις, ὑπὸ θεῶν τε καὶ διὰ θεῶν φυλαττομένη. Cf. Diels, ibid. 20.

c 7 Cf. Aristot. *Met.* x. 6. 11 ἡ δ' οὐσία κατὰ τὸ ποιόν, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ὡρισμένης φύσεως, τὸ δὲ ποσὸν τῆς ἀορίστου.

818 b 6 On Areius Didymus see 545 b, and Diels, *Doxogr. Gr. Proleg.* 69, and on the text of this passage 464.

16] d 3 τὸν αἰθέρα. Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, i. 3. 13 Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ κατακέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ οὐ καλῶς· ὀνομάζει γὰρ αἰθέρα ἀντὶ πυρός.

17] **819** a 1 This extract is stated in the heading of the chapter to be taken from 'the first Book of Numenius *On the Good.*' At this point the earlier hand of cod. I begins again, as is more fully explained in the *Apparatus Criticus.*

b 2 παλινάγρετα. Cf. 730 a 5.

b 4 συλλαβάς (scil. στοιχείων). The application to a combination of material elements is unusual.

b 7 Ποταμός. There is an allusion to the well-known saying of Heracleitus, *Fr.* 42 (Bywater). Cf. 821 d 9.

c 2 καλῶς ὁ λόγος εἴρηκε, φάς, 'has spoken well in asserting.' Cf. Hdt. i. 122 ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι.

820 a 1 Διὸς σωτῆρος . . . δεηθῆναι. Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 704 D μεγάλου τινὸς ἔδει σωτῆρος. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 151, 868.

18] b 1 The following fragment and those which follow are taken from the *Epitome* of Areius Didymus. Cf. 545 b 3, note; 822 c 6, note; Diels, op. cit. 69 'Ex Areii autem Didymi Epitomis etiam (Eus. *P. E.*) xv. 15. 18–20 de Stoicorum physicis amplae et probae eclogae servantur.'

b 2 ἐξαιθεροῦσθαι. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 922 B (ἀὴρ) ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαιθερωθείς.

b 5 οὐσίας, 'substance.' Cf. Diog. L. vii. 150 οὐσίαν δέ φασι τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων τὴν πρώτην ὕλην. Zeller, *Stoics*, 101, note; Hatch, *Hibbert Lect.* 19, note.

c 2 τῆς μεγίστης. This is the reading of all the MSS., for which Diels would substitute τὰς μεγίστας, but the alteration is unnecessary, though not otherwise objectionable.

d 3 διάδοχον τῆς σχολῆς Ζήνωνα. Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic sect, was succeeded by Chrysippus, and he by the younger Zeno, a native of Tarsus, and son of Dioscorides.

19] d 5–**836** d 8 Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον . . . ἀνημμένον. Cod. I omits this and all the following extracts from Areius Didymus, Longinus, and Plotinus.

d 5 *ὁ κοινὸς λόγος, καὶ κοινὴ φύσις.* Cf. Plut. *Repugn. Stoic.* 1050 A *ὅτι δ' ἡ κοινὴ φύσις καὶ ὁ κοινὸς τῆς φύσεως λόγος Εἱμαρμένη καὶ Πρόνοια καὶ Ζεύς ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀντίποδας λέληθεν.* Zeller, *Outlines*, 240; *Stoics*, 148 (note 2), 152. Diels reads ⟨*ἡ*⟩ *κοινὴ φύσις*, but the second article is unnecessary as the two nouns are referred to the same subject. See Middleton, *Gr. Art.* 56.

821 a 3 *ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν μέγιστον.* On the various opinions of the length of the cosmical year see 849 c 6.

a 4 *ἀποκατάστασις.* Zeller, *Outlines*, 69 'As the world arose from the primitive fire, so, when the cosmical year has run its course, it will return to primitive fire again, by means of conflagration.' Cf. 676 b, c.

a 7 *τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰτίαν καὶ πᾶσιν.* For this Diels reads from conjecture *τῆς οὐσίας ἀρχὴν κἀνάπαυσιν*, and adds: 'correxi insequentis enuntiati sententia ductus.' The sense would then be 'it is not possible that there should be a beginning and a cessation of substance (or being), nor of that which administers it (*αὐτήν*).' But the alterations seem to be unnecessary: *καὶ πᾶσιν* and *αὐτά* yield a good sense: 'it is not possible that *all* things should have a cause either of their beginning or of their organizer,' because the 'cause' would be included in the 'all.'

b 4 *ἀγενήτου.* 'Nisi plura interciderunt, scribendum videtur *ἀγενήτου κἂν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐνδέοι*' (Diels).

20] c 1 *Τὸ δὲ σπέρμα φησὶν ὁ Ζήνων.* Cf. Theodoret. *Gr. Aff. Cur.* 73. 40 *Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Κιτιεὺς κ.τ.λ.*; Diels, 470, *Proleg.* 47; Hermes Trismeg. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 35 (741).

c 4 *ἔχον γὰρ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ὅλῳ τοὺς αὐτούς*, i. e. the generative laws of the universe. Cf. Diog. L. vii. 73 (148) *ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἕξις ἐξ αὑτῆς κινουμένη κατὰ σπερματικοὺς λόγους.*

c 6 *συμφυές*, 'grown into one with it.' Cf. Aristot. *Gen. An.* ii. 4. 2 *τὰ δὲ ζῳογονοῦντα ἐν αὑτοῖς τὰ τέλεια τῶν ζῴων, μέχρι περ ἂν οὗ γεννήσῃ ζῷον καὶ θύραζε ἐκπέμψῃ, ἔχει συμφυὲς ἐν αὑτῷ τὸ γιγνόμενον ζῷον.*

d 1 *κρυφθέν τε φύει.* Usener conjectures *κρύφα ἐπισχύει*, but for the intransitive *φύει* cf. Hom. *Il.* vi. 149 *ὣς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἡ μὲν φύει, ἡ δ' ἀπολήγει.* For *κρυφθέν* Diels conjectures *κερασθέν*, but the change is unnecessary.

d 9 *Ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν.* Heraс. *Fr.* 42 (Bywater), 22

(Mullach), Diog. L. ix. 6 (8), Sext. Emp. *Hyp. Pyrrh.* iii. 115 τὸν δὲ Ἡράκλειτον ὀξείᾳ ποταμοῦ ῥύσει τὴν εὐκινησίαν τῆς ἡμετέρας ὕλης ἀπεικάζειν.

d 10 Ἀναθυμίασιν. Cf. Aristot. *De An.* i. 2. 19 καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναί φησι ψυχήν, εἴπερ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ἐξ ἧς τἆλλα συνίστησιν.

822 a 1 τυποῦσθαι. Diels refers to Diog. L. vii. 46, where we read τὴν δὲ φαντασίαν εἶναι τύπωσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκείως μετενηνεγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων τῶν ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτυλίου γενομένων.

a 3 ὑπαρχόντων. Cf. Diog. L. ibid. καταληπτικὴν μὲν (φαντασίαν), ἣν κριτήριον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων φασί, τὴν γενομένην ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγισμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην.

c 6 On Areius Didymus see 545 b 3, note, and Diels, *Proleg.* 87 'Didymus legitimum nomen, Ἄρειος patris adscitum cognomen videtur. . . . At repugnat Etymologic. M. 139. 1 Ἄρειος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς φιλόσοφος ἐν ἑορτῇ Ἄρεος ἐτέχθη· διὸ οὕτως ὠνόμασται.' Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54.

c 8 Dionysius Cassius Longinus, the famous critic and Platonist, was put to death by the Emperor Aurelian at Palmyra in A.D. 273. The extract is from his treatise *On the Soul*, which probably represents the opinions of his teacher Ammonius Saccas. See Zeller, *Outlines*, 328.

21] 823 a 2 τὴν τῶν στοιχείων αἰτίαν. I have not found this phrase elsewhere. We may compare it with the κοσμικὴ αἰτία of Plotinus *Enn.* iii. 1. 8, or the αἰτία πρωτουργός of the same passage, which he identifies with ψυχή. Cf. 825 b 7 εἴπερ λόγος προσελθὼν τῇ ὕλῃ σῶμα ποιεῖ, οὐδαμόθεν δ' ἂν προσέλθοι λόγος, ἢ παρὰ ψυχῆς; 826 c 3 ὡς δεῖ τι πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι κρεῖττον αὐτῶν ψυχῆς εἶδος.

b 5 τριπόδων. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 373

'Him swelt'ring at his forge she found, intent
On forming twenty tripods, which should stand
The wall surrounding of his well-built house;
With golden wheels beneath he furnish'd each,
And to th' assembly of the Gods endued
With power to move spontaneous, and return,
A marvel to behold.' (Derby.)

θεραπαινῶν, ibid. 417

'There waited on their king th' attendant maids;
In form as living maids, but wrought in gold;
Instinct with consciousness, with voice endued,
And strength and skill from heav'nly teachers drawn.
These waited duteous at the Monarch's side.' (Derby.)

b 9 ψηγμάτων, 'scrapings,' equivalent to ξύσματα, the word which Aristotle (*De An.* i. 2. 3) uses in comparing the atoms to 'the so-called motes in the air, which are seen in the rays passing through windows.'

καὶ αὖ. At this point there seems to be, as Toup suggested, some omission in the text. The general sense seems to be as follows: 'Can atoms beget wisdom? No, they have as little power as stones on the seashore to produce sensation.'

22] **824 a** 3 ἅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτός, i. e. the soul is the true man.

b 9 ὄγκοις. On this name for the atoms see 773 b 9.

d 7 ἤτοι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν, ἢ ἕκαστον. On the exact meaning and use of ἑκάτερον, and its difference from ἕκαστον, see Schweighäuser's excellent note in the *Lexicon Polybianum.*

825 c 2 ὁμοιοπαθείᾳ. The reading in Plotinus ὁμοπαθείᾳ is suspected by Creuzer, who seems to prefer ὁμοιοπαθείᾳ (Eus. codd.). Cf. Wyttenbach, Plut. *Mor.* 72 B ὁμοιοπαθεῖν. Quomodo differant huius loci verba in promptu est attendenti: ὁμοιοπαθεῖν est *similiter affici, iisdem affectibus praeditum esse*, idque huic loco magis convenit quam ὁμοπαθεῖν, quod est *simul et eodem modo atque alium affici.* Ὁμοιοπάθεια occurs in Plut. *Mor.* 51 B and several other places.

τῇ παραθέσει may mean either 'by comparison with other cases,' i. e. 'by analogy,' or 'by juxtaposition,' as in 833 d 1 Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη παραλλὰξ ἡ κρᾶσις· (οὕτω γάρ φασι παράθεσιν ἔσεσθαι·) διεληλυθὸς δὲ διὰ παντός, κ.τ.λ.

c 4 ψυχὴ δὲ αὐτῇ συμπαθής. Cf. Aristot. *Problem.* v. 22 ἐὰν οὖν τι πονήσῃ μέρος, εὐθὺς συμπονεῖ τὸ ὅλον. So Cudworth, *Immut. Moral.* ii calls sense 'a compassion of the soul with its own body,' and *Intell. Syst.* iii. 390 speaks of Plotinus as insisting upon 'that συμπάθεια or ὁμοπάθεια which is in all animals.' This ὁμοπάθεια corresponds to the *Gemeingefühl* or organic feelings of the *Sympathetic system*, on which see Lotze, *Microcosm*, i. 6 (131–3), and the note on 829 b 2.

d 6 Εἰ δὲ πάθημα τῆς ὕλης. The allusion is to the opinions of 'Dicaearchus and his fellow-student Aristoxenus, the former of whom seems never to have suffered pain, since he does not feel that he has a soul, while the latter is so enamoured of his musical notes, that he tries to transfer them to this subject also' (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 18). Cf. Plat. *Phaed.* 92 A, B. The opinions of Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus are described by Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* vii. 13.

826 b 1 σώματος συνέρξει. Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 18 D τῶν γάμων ξύνερξιν.

b 2 ἀέρι καὶ πνεύματι. Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 9 'Animum autem alii animam, ut fere nostri declarant nomine: nam et *agere animam*, et *efflare* dicimus' (Creuzer).

c 1 ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις. The plural τὰ ὅλα is very commonly used in the same sense as τὸ ὅλον, 'the universe.' Cf. 818 a 1, b 1; 820 c 3, d 4; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 7. 22 οἳ καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν. But in Plut. *Mor.* 1080 E τὸ μήτε ὅλοις ὅλων ἁφὴν εἶναι, μήτε μέρεσι μερῶν, and Chrys. ap. Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 8. 41 [260] τά τε ὅλα καὶ τὰ μέρη τὰ αὐτῶν, the whole bodies are distinguished from their parts. Here the context, b 3 τεμνομένων τῶν πάντων σωμάτων, points to the latter sense 'the wholes.' Cf. 835 c 5.

c 4 ἔννουν. Anaximenes said that air, and Heracleitus that fire, was the primordial element. Compare 748 c, d. On Anaximenes see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 266, and on Heracleitus ii. 20.

d 5 τί τὸ πολυθρύλητον αὐτοῖς 'πως ἔχον.' This is corrupted in the MSS. of Eusebius into τὸ δὲ πολυθρύλητον αὐτοῖς πῶς ἔχει;

d 6 πως ἔχον. 'In these words he seems to allude to that fourth nameless (ἀκατονόμαστον) principle which the Epicureans used in describing the soul, ... or to the τρόπον τινά of Chrysippus the Stoic on the same subject' (Creuzer). Cf. Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* iv. 3. 898 D Ἐπίκουρος κρᾶμα ἐκ τεσσάρων, ἐκ ποιοῦ πυρώδους, ἐκ ποιοῦ ἀερώδους, ἐκ ποιοῦ πνευματικοῦ· ἐκ τετάρτου τινὸς ἀκατονομάστου, ὃ ἦν αὐτοῖς αἰσθητικόν. *De Repugn. Stoic.* 1053 B διόλου μὲν γὰρ ὢν ὁ κόσμος πυρώδης εὐθὺς καὶ ψυχή ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικόν· ὅτε δὲ μεταβαλὼν εἴς τε τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ τὴν ἐναπολειφθεῖσαν ψυχήν, τρόπον τινὰ εἰς σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν μεταβάλλων, ὥστε συνεστάναι ἐκ τούτων, ἄλλον τινὰ ἔσχε λόγον.

828 a 4 ψυχώσεται. Jelf, *Gk. Gr.* 364 a. Obs. 'The future

middle is sometimes used passively especially in Attic Greek: . . . the receptive reflexive form being used for the passive receptive form, which when considered only as receptive (Bernhardy, *Synt.* 341) differ but little.'

b 4 *μεριζομένου.* Creuzer, *Annot.* 'dedi ex plurimis libris *μεριζόμενον*: natura autem corporis aliquid est quod in plura distribuatur.' Volkmann has *μεριζομένου*, which seems to give the simpler construction.

d 4 *ἐκ συνόδου μιᾶς.* Cf. Aristot. *De Gen. An.* iv. 4. 2 sqq.

829 a 5 *Ἄποσον.* Cf. Cyrill. *Adv. Iulian.* x. 334 *τὸ θεῖον . . . ἄποσον καὶ ἀμέγεθες.*

οἱ λόγοι, 'the laws of the soul.' Cf. 821 c 4, note.

b 2 *τῷ αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.* On this unity of the sentient power see Lotze, *Microcosm,* i. 152 'We must single out as the decisive fact of experience, that compels us in the explanation of mental life to put in the place of matter an immaterial form of being as the subject of phenomena, that *Unity of Consciousness* without which the sum total of our internal states could not even become the object of our self-observation.' Cf. 158 'And of this consciousness, of this general capacity that makes the appearance of anything possible, we maintain that it can be an attribute only of the indivisible unity of one being.' Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 20 'Quid, quod eadem mente res dissimillimas comprendimus, ut colorem, saporem, calorem, odorem, sonum, quae numquam quinque nuntiis animus cognosceret, *nisi ad eum omnia referrentur,* et is omnium iudex solus esset?' Cf. 825 c 4, note.

c 2 *τὸ ἀντιλαμβανόμενον εἶναι ἓν ὄντως.* Cf. Lotze, 135 'If the soul, even if but rarely, but to a limited extent, nay but once, be capable of bringing together variety into the unity of consciousness, this slender fact is sufficient to render imperative an inference to the indivisibility of the being by which this operation can be performed.' On the supposed divisibility of the soul in some of the lower animals, as a polyp, see Lotze, i. 153 f., 337 f.

d 3 *ὥστε ἄλλο ἄλλου μέρος, καὶ ⟨μηδὲν⟩ ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.* 'Itaque pars alia sentiet aliam, nihilque in nobis sentiendam rem totam percipiet' (Ficinus). Plotinus is here speaking of very large objects (*τὰ μέγιστα*). If the sentient faculty had parts and magnitude, these large objects would be presented to it, part corresponding to part (*συμμερίζοιτο ἄν*), and thus different parts

of the sentient faculty would perceive different parts of the object, and nothing in us (i. e. no part of the sentient faculty) would perceive the sensible object as a whole. The various readings ἄλλον (Creuzer, Volkmann), μηδένα (Eus. codd., Volkmann), by introducing several persons destroy the sense of the passage, which is intended to prove the unity of the sentient faculty in each one. Cf. Aristot. *De An*, i. 3. 15 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐ καλῶς τὸ λέγειν τὴν ψυχὴν μέγεθος εἶναι. Cudworth, *Intell. Syst*. iii. 388.

830 c 2 δάκτυλον. Like 'digitus' and 'doigt' δάκτυλος means either 'finger' or 'toe': Aristot. *Part. Anim.* iv. 10. 64 τὸ τῶν δακτύλων δὴ μέγεθος ἐναντίως ἔχει ἐπί τε τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν. See 830 d 7, note.

c 4 τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor*. ii. 11. 29 'Principatum autem id dico, quod Graeci ἡγεμονικόν vocant.'

c 5 τοῦ πνεύματος. On this meaning of πνεῦμα cf. Cudworth, *Intell. Syst*. iii. 270, where he speaks of 'the animal spirits diffused from the brain by the nerves throughout this whole (spirituous or airy) body.'

c 7 Διαδόσει. Cf. Plot. *Enn*. iv. 2. 2 οὐ γὰρ δή, ὅπερ ἀπατῶντες ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν, ὡς διαδόσει ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν ἴασιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, παραδεκτέον.

d 7 ταρσός, a broad flat surface, as of the sole of the foot: cf. Hom. *Il*. xi. 377 ταρσὸν δεξιτεροῖο ποδός. It is also used of the 'palm' of the hand (L. and Sc. *Lex*.), and should not have been translated 'wrist' (καρπός).

831 a 5 τὸ αἰσθανόμενον. Viger here rejects the active sense, which is rightly maintained by Creuzer and Cudworth.

a 6 πανταχοῦ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. Cudworth, iii. 390 'Since therefore these sympathetic senses cannot possibly be made by traduction at last to one thing; and body being bulky or out-swelling extension, one part thereof suffering, another cannot perceive it (for in all magnitude this is one thing, and that another), it followeth, that what perceives in us must be everywhere, and in all parts of the body, one and the same thing with itself. Which therefore cannot be itself body, but must of necessity be some other entity or substance incorporeal.'

b 7 νοητῶν δὲ ἡ νόησις. Cf. Cudworth, iii. 390 'Lastly, the forementioned philosopher endeavours yet further to prove the human

soul to be unextended and devoid of magnitude, and indivisible, from its rational energies or operations, its νοητῶν νοήσεις, and ἀμεγέθων ἀντιλήψεις, "intellections of intelligibles," and "apprehensions of things devoid of magnitudes."'... 'For how could the soul (saith he), if it were a magnitude, understand that which hath no magnitude? And with that which is divisible conceive what is indivisible?'

c 2 μέρει τινὶ ἀμερεῖ αὐτοῦ. An indivisible atom is not a body, but body is made up of such parts.

c 3 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ . . . ἕν τι. The connexion of this sentence with the previous argument is not very evident. Οὐ γὰρ δή seems to dismiss an alternative, namely, that the whole body might be the percipient: 'For of course the whole body is not used to touch,' and it is only by touch (if at all) that body could be thought to perceive.

c 5 τὰς πρώτας νοήσεις. By 'first notions' the author seems to mean abstract or general concepts, which cannot strictly be called 'first,' being obtained by abstraction from individual things.

c 6 αὐτὸ ἑκάστου. This should be written as one word. Cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i. 6. 5 'Now one might be puzzled to say what they mean by an "absolute" thing (αὐτοέκαστον).' See Grant's note.

c 7 τῶν ἐν ὕλῃ εἰδῶν, i.e. the concrete individual, constituted by matter and form.

d 8 δικαιοσύνη. 'All that follows in Eusebius from the word δικαιοσύνη to the end of the chapter is not to be found in Plotinus, nor in the Latin versions of Hopper and Ficinus. Nevertheless it agrees with the genius of Plotinus, is most suitably connected with the preceding context, and acknowledged by the MSS. of the Royal Library (Paris) and of Montaigut (Puy de Dôme). Certainly the passages which follow δικαιοσύνη in Plotinus have no sense either in their language or their termination. Thus Eusebius by this noble fragment will make a return with interest for what he has so far borrowed from Plotinus' (Viger). 'If the author of the passage be Plotinus, to whom must we impute the mutilation of the work of Plotinus? Whether to Porphyry, whom we brought under suspicion of a similar dishonesty on p. 364 D? Or to the scribes? This is more probable, because in some MSS. of the Enneads of Plotinus the whole passage is found. However this may be, we have thought it right to insert the passage in this place, from Eus. and our MSS.' (Creuzer).

832 a 1 Plat. *Phaed.* 96 B 'Whether it is the blood which is the vehicle of thought, or the air, or fire,' &c. Cf. Kühner, Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 19 'Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem.' The line of Empedocles in which this opinion is expressed is preserved in Stobaeus, *Ecl. Phys.* ii. 1026, ed. Heeren:

αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα.

Cic. ibid. 'Animum autem alii animam, ut fere nostri declarant nomine.' 'Diogenes of Apollonia said the soul was dry hot air . . . ἄνθρωπος γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα ἀναπνέοντα ζώει τῷ ἀέρι, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖσι καὶ ψυχή ἐστι καὶ νόησις.' Archer-Hind, Plat. *Phaed.* 96 B.

a 6 Ἀλλ' οὖν. 'Οὖν, according to both MSS., not οὐ, as formerly' (Viger). In Plotinus 462 A, *Cod. Marc.* has οὐ, which gives an interrogative sense: 'Nay, does it not on the contrary want to enjoy,' &c.

a 8 ψύχεος ἱμερεῖ. Cf. Hom. *Od.* x. 555 ψύχεος ἱμείρων κατελέξατο (Viger).

d 7 ὥσπερ τὴν ὕλην. The Stoics regarded matter taken by itself as without qualities (ὕλη ἄποιος), and derived all qualities from the rational power (λόγος) which pervades them. See Zeller quoted below, 833 d, note.

833 a 1 κερματιζομένου. Compare Gregory of Nyssa, *De Anima* (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, v. 438): 'This intelligent essence of the soul is observable in the concourse of the atoms, and does not undergo division when they are dissolved; but it remains with them, and even in their separation it is co-extensive with them, yet not itself dissolved nor discounted (κατακερματίζεται) into sections to accord with the number of the atoms.'

a 2 ἡ αὐτὴ ὅλη ποιότης μένει. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 239 'In order to be able to explain . . . the fact that the soul permeates the body through its whole extent, and the properties of things the things to which they belong, the Stoics, in their doctrine of the κρᾶσις δι' ὅλων, denied the impenetrability of bodies. They maintained that one body could penetrate another in all its parts without becoming one material with it. Yet, in spite of their materialism, the Stoics distinguished between the material and the forces at work in it. The first taken by itself they regarded as without properties, and derived all properties of things from the rational power (λόγος) which penetrates them.'

834 a 2 στομωθεῖσαν, 'sharpened' or 'hardened.' Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1108

> εὖ μοι στομώσεις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μὲν θάτερα
> οἷαν δικιδίοις, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν αὐτοῦ γνάθον
> στόμωσον οἷαν ἐς τὰ μείζω πράγματα.

Chrysippus is quoted word for word by Plutarch, *De Repugn. Stoic.* 1052 F as saying that 'the child is nourished in the womb naturally, just as a plant: but after it is born, the breath being cooled by the air and sharpened (στομούμενον) undergoes a change, and it becomes a living being: whence not inappropriately the soul is called ψυχήν because of the cooling (ψῦξιν).'

a 7 ἣν λέγουσιν ἕξιν. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 243 (By the Stoics) 'the whole realm of nature is divided into four classes; which are distinguished in such a manner that inorganic things are kept together by a simple ἕξις, plants by φύσις, animals by a soul, men by a rational soul.'

b 1 φύσιν throughout this passage seems to mean no more than vegetative nature, growth.

b 4 μὴ ὄντος πρότερον τοῦ ἐνεργείᾳ. 'We may follow the logical order of the question according to Aristotle, and ask which exists first, the δύναμις or the ἐνέργεια?

'The answer is, that as a conception, in point of thought (λόγῳ) the ἐνέργεια must necessarily be prior; in short, we know nothing of the δύναμις, except from our knowledge of the ἐνέργεια.

'In point of time (χρόνῳ) the case is different; each individual creature exists first δυνάμει, afterwards ἐνεργείᾳ' (Grant, *Arist. Eth.* i. 239).

d 2 οἷον ἁρμονία. On the theory that the soul is a kind of harmony, see Plat. *Phaed.* 85 E 'As, you know, one might apply the same explanation to a harmony and a lyre and its strings, and say that the harmony is a thing invisible and incorporeal and eminently beautiful and divine in the tuned lyre, and yet the lyre itself and its strings are bodies and corporeal and composite and earthly and akin to what is mortal' (Cope).

835 c 4 ἐν τοῖς ⟨ὅλοις⟩. Cf. 826 c 1, note.

836 a 2 ἀπὸ τῆς Πλουτάρχου γραφῆς. Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 8 'On Theophrastus' *History of Physics* were founded, as Diels has shown (*Doxogr. Gr.*, 1879), those reviews of the doctrines of the various philosophers which Clitomachus (about 120 A.D.)

gave in connexion with the criticisms of Carneades, and which seem to have formed the chief treasury of the later Sceptics, the compilation of the *Placita*, which was made about 80–60 B.C. by an unknown author, and was already used by Cicero and Varro (an epitome of it has been to a great extent preserved in the Pseudo-Plutarchic *Placita Philosophorum*), the *Eclogues* of Stobaeus, and Theodoret's Ἑλληνικῶν παθημάτων θεραπευτική, iv. 5 ff.' On these extracts from Ps.-Plutarch, Diels remarks (*Proleg.* 43) 'Accurate descripsit Eusebius, cuius capita singula singulis Plutarchi capitibus ad sinistram adnotavi. Infra discrepantiam quam ex Gaisfordii indigesta mole extricavi appositam habes. Quanta perversitate Eusebii illa editio conflata sit, nolo conqueri. Accuratiora de codicibus infra Plutarchi Stromateon fragmento praefatus docebo.' This more accurate account of ths MSS. of Eusebius is found *Proleg.* 159, and seems to be as correct as it could possibly be made before the new collation of codex O (Bononiensis) and other MSS.

23] **b** 1 ἁψῖδα. This is explained by Achilles Tatius (Diels, 348) as identical with πλήμνη, the 'nave' of a wheel (Hom. *Il.* v. 726). But Stobaeus, *Ecl. Phys.* i. 524, substitutes περιφέρειαν for ἁψῖδα. Diels also takes ἁψίς to mean the circumference, *Proleg.* 25 'Sicut enim ex curvatura rotae radii medium petunt, ita solis flammae *ex interiore* circuli parte per unum foramen erumpunt, et *per magni circum spiracula mundi* ignes intus reclusos in terram versus efflant.' Ibid. note 2, 'Lucret. vi. 493, ipsius Anaximandri doctrinam opinor explicans.'

b 3 πρηστῆρος, 'bellows.' Cf. Apoll. Rh. iv. 773

δεύτερα δ' εἰς Ἥφαιστον ἐβήσατο· παῦσε δὲ τόν γε
ῥίμφα σιδηρείων τυπίδων· ἔσχοντο δ' ἀϋτμῆς
αἰθαλέοι πρηστῆρες.

Cf. Diels, *Proleg.* 26.

b 4 τῶν συναθροιζομένων. Between these words the MSS. of Eusebius interpolate φαινομένων, which Diels (*Proleg.* 8) supposes to have been written above συναθροιζομένων by some one who disliked the repetition of the same verb in the next line.

b 5 ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων. So all the MSS. of Eusebius write: but ἢ ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων (Ps.-Plut.) is confirmed by the comment of Achilles (ap. Diels) ἢ νέφος πεπυρωμένον. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 572, note.

b 7 Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ἄναμμα νοερὸν ἐκ θαλάττης. This opinion is ascribed by Stobaeus, *Ecl. Phys.* i. 526, in the same words to Heracleitus and Hecataeus.

c 3 διηθοῦντα, literally, 'filtering it through,' i. e. by refraction. From the application of this term and of ἀνάκλασις to the same phenomenon it would seem that the writer did not clearly distinguish between reflexion and refraction.

c 4 ὥστε προσεοικέναι. The text of the following passage in Plutarch (Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.*) is very different: ὥστε προσεοικέναι ἡλίῳ τὸ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πυρῶδες, τό τε δὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πυρῶδες καὶ ἐσοπτροειδές, καὶ τρίτον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόπτρου κατ' ἀνάκλασιν διασπειρομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐγήν, 'so that the fiery matter in the heaven is like a sun, and also the fiery reflexion from it as in a mirror, and thirdly the light which comes to us dispersed by reflexion from the mirror.' Stobaeus also allows a possibility of three suns, but in rather different language.

c 7 On this doctrine of Empedocles see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 156 'He agreed with the Pythagoreans in supposing the sun to be of a vitreous nature, probably as large as the earth, which, like a burning-glass, collects and reflects the rays of fire from the bright hemisphere surrounding it.'

d 1 τεταγμένον, omitted in Eusebius, is a genuine part of the text in Plutarch and Stobaeus: 'always situated opposite to its own reflexion.'

d 5 For Ὡς δὲ βραχέως εἰρῆσθαι [συντεμόντα], which gives no proper construction, read συντεμόντι. For the passive compare Plato, *Protag.* 309 A ὥς γ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν εἰρῆσθαι, 339 E ὥς γε πρὸς σὲ εἰρῆσθαι τἀληθῆ. But the combination of the participle with the passive is unusual.

24] **837 a** 2 πνοήν. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* 252. The meaning of the passage is explained by 836 b 2.

a 5 εὖρος ποδὸς ἀνθρωπείου. Part of one of the verses in which the followers of Heracleitus tried to give clearer expression to the views of the Master (Diels, *Proleg.* 221).

25] **b** 4 ὑπόκυρτον. Cf. L. and Sc. *Lex.* 'rather gibbous or humped,' which is the meaning of ἐπίκυρτος. The two compounds seem to mean respectively 'concave' and 'convex': though ὑπόκυρτος might possibly mean 'slightly curved' as in Latin subcurvus.

26] **d** 4 μίαν ἐκπνοήν. Compare the description of the sun in

536 b 2 (διὰ στομίου), and 848 b 5 τοῦ στομίου τοῦ περὶ τὸν τροχὸν ἐπιφραττομένου.

d 8 γεώδους is a corruption either of πυρώδους (Plut.), or perhaps of πυρὸς καὶ γεώδους (Galen. ap. Diels, 627. 14).

d 12 κατοπτροειδές, Plut., Stobaeus: the text of Eus. BIO, κατὰ τὸ πυροειδές, is an evident corruption.

30] 838 d 7 ἐξανέθλιψε. The double compound is hardly to be found elsewhere: ἐκθλίβω occurs frequently, as in 840 a 6, b 9.

κατὰ τὴν πρώτην διάκρισιν. On this first separation of the elements as conceived by Empedocles see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 154.

839 a 1 Ἀναξαγόρας. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 354.

a 8 τῷ κρυστάλλῳ, 'the crystalline sphere': cf. 845 b 3 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐξ ἀέρος συμπαγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς.

b 1 κόλλης, 'glue.' Cf. Hdt. ii. 86 (in his description of embalming) ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι (gum), τῷ δὴ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι.

b 7 ἀέρα τε καὶ αἰθέρα (Plut.). The words ἀέρα τε καί are omitted in Eusebius, but Diels thinks that καὶ αἰθέρα was a various reading for ἀέρα τε, and that the original text of Aëtius was καὶ ἀέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ αἰθέρι.

c 1 ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, 'holding fast to his "possibly."' On the indifference of Epicurus in regard to physical speculations see Diog. L. x. 78 ἔτι τε καὶ τὸ πλεοναχῶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχομένως καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ φύσει τῶν διάκρισιν ὑποβαλλόντων κ.τ.λ. Cf. Zeller, *Epicureans*, xvii. 435.

31] c 7 τῷ κρυσταλλοειδεῖ. Cf. 839 a 8 τῷ κρυστάλλῳ, note.

32] d 7 περικεκλασμένῳ, literally 'twisted round,' 'rounded'; cf. 840 b 3 περιεκλᾶτο, b 4 κατὰ τὴν περίκλασιν.

840 a 5 εὐολίσθητα, 'slippery,' 'easily moved.' Cf. 382 a 3 ὅσα κατ' εἰρήνην εὐόλισθα εἰς κακίαν.

c 5 πνευμάτων. The substitution in cod. O of σωμάτων here and αὐγάς c 6 is described by Diels, *Proleg.* 161, as 'scite excogitatum,' but is not adopted by him.

d 1 στέξαι, 'to hold': cf. Plat. *Rep.* 621 A τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲν στέγειν. Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 888 δάκρυόν τ' ὄμματ' οὐκέτι στέγει.

d 6 *εἰ ἕνα τὸν κόσμον.* From this point to 841 a 9 *ἐνιαυτῶν* we have a series of the headings of chapters **33** to **54**.

d 7 *τυγχάνει Θεοῦ διοικούμενος.* In the various reading *τυχὸν διοικοῦντος* BI, and from this point onwards through several pages, the dependence of I on B is very marked, as was the case in Books i and ii, where cod. I is written by the same earlier hand. Cf. Praef. xix.

841 b 2 *ἀποφάσεις* (= *ἀποφάνσεις*), 'statements of opinion.' Cf. 19 c 2.

b 10 *περὶ τῶν προσγειοτέρων.* These matters are the subjects of chapters **55** to **59.**

c 4 *μετεώρων καὶ μεταρσίων.* Of the two words the latter implies the greater height: cf. Cic. *Academ.* ii. 127 'cogitantesque supera atque caelestia &c.,' 'meditating on things high and heavenly.'

c 7 *ὅσα περὶ ψυχῆς.* Cf. chapters **60, 61.**

33] d 7 *Πλάτων δέ.* Diels, *Proleg.* 59, argues that this criticism of Plato is not part of the *Placita Philosophorum,* but proceeds from some Epicurean who was an eager advocate of the plurality of worlds.

τεκμαίρεται τὸ δοκοῦν. Cf. Diels, ibid. 'Adde insolentioris orationis exempla, illic *τὸ δοκοῦν* quo Wyttenbachius immerito offendebatur &c.'

d 8 *μὴ ἔσεσθαι τέλειον, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα ἐμπεριέχῃ.* Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 33 A *ἕνα ὅλον ὅλων ἐξ ἁπάντων τέλεον.*

d 9 *ἐὰν μὴ μονογενὴς ᾖ.* Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 31 B *εἷς ὅδε μονογενὴς οὐρανὸς γεγονὼς ἔστι τε καὶ ἔσται,* and ibid. 92 C *εἷς οὐρανὸς ὅδε μονογενὴς ὤν,* the last words of the *Timaeus.*

842 a 1 *οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πάντα περιέχει.* This is a contradiction of Plato's notion in *Tim.* 33 B *τῷ δὲ τὰ πάντ' ἐν αὐτῷ ζῷα περιέχειν μέλλοντι ζώῳ πρέπον ἂν εἴη σχῆμα τὸ περιειληφὸς ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὁπόσα σχήματα.* On this passage Viger proposes to read either *ὅτι τέλειος ὁ κόσμος εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα περιέχει* or *οὐ τέλειος ὁ κόσμος ἐπεὶ* (vel *εἰ καὶ*) *πάντα περιέχει.* But neither change is admissible. Plato's argument is syllogistic:—

That which includes all things is perfect.
The world includes all things.
Therefore the world is perfect.

The opponent first denies the minor premiss, *οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πάντα*

περιέχει: then shifting his ground he denies the major premiss not directly but conversely—'to include all things' is not the same as 'to be perfect'; for man is perfect, though he does not include all things.

a 2 *καὶ πολλὰ παραδείγματά ἐστιν*, a very feeble objection to Plat. *Tim.* 28 C *πρὸς πότερον τῶν παραδειγμάτων ὁ τεκταινόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπειργάζετο . . . δῆλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀΐδιον ἔβλεπεν.*

a 3 *πῶς δὲ τέλειος, εἴπερ ἔξωθέν τι αὐτοῦ περιδινεῖσθαι δύναται;* I do not know what statement of Plato is supposed to be refuted here. In *Tim.* 34 B the body of the world is supposed to be both wholly pervaded and wholly surrounded by soul. Perhaps there is an allusion to *Tim.* 34 A *κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιαγαγὼν αὐτὸ ἐποίησε κύκλῳ κινεῖσθαι στρεφόμενον.*

a 5 *γενητὸς ὤν.* Cf. d 6, where we see that this was an Epicurean dogma.

a 6 On Metrodorus see 24 d 12.

a 8 *δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ.* Cf. Diels, *Proleg.* 35 'Maxime vero memorabile est hoc i. 5. 4 *δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἄπειρα τὰ αἴτια εἶναι*: sic B, totius enunciati structura claudicante. Rectissime A (codex Mosquensis 339 [352]) cum vulgata *ὅτι* omisit, quod confirmat Stobaeus. Iam confer Eusebiana *δῆλον ὅτι ἄπειρα τὰ αἴτια εἶναι*: nonne sponte emendati libri enitescit talis scriptura *δῆλον* $\overset{\text{ἐκ τοῦ}}{\text{ὅτι}}$ *ἄπειρα τὰ αἴτια εἶναι*? Ecce denuo *ἀδιόρθωτον* quod saepe dixi Eusebii exemplar.'

34] **b** 6 ⟨*Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι* . . . ⟩. The whole sentence is omitted in the MSS. of Eusebius, and supplied by Viger from Plutarch.

c 8 *προηγουμένως*, 'by primary purpose.' Cf. Theophr. *Ign.* i. 14 *ἀποκαίει γὰρ οὕτω καὶ πέττει τὸ ψῦχος οὐ προηγουμένως ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκός.*

37] **843 c** 2 *ἀρχή.* 'F G ingenione an meliore memoria fisi incertum, verum *ἀρχήν* pro *ἀρχή* servarunt soli.' Diels, *Dox. Gr. Proleg.* 161. I think *ἀρχή* (BIO) is right. The well-known fact is stated simply as a fact by the author, not as an argument used by the physicists. Stobaeus has *ἀρχή*; so Wyttenbach.

d 1 For *ὁρατὸν τὸν κόσμον*, Eus., we should probably read, as in Stobaeus, *τὸν ὁρατὸν κόσμον.*

d 7 *τῆς πυραμίδος.* The term 'pyramid' is here evidently confined to the tetrahedron, contained by four, as the octahedron is

by eight, and the eicosahedron by twenty, equal and equilateral triangles. The dodecahedron is contained by twelve equal, equiangular and equilateral pentagons.

38] **844 b** 7 *πάντα πως ἀλλήλων μεταλαμβάνειν.* Cf. Zeller, *Outlines*, 23. 72 'Neither of these four substances can pass over into another, or combine with another to form a third; all mixture of substances consists in small particles of them being mechanically assembled together; and the influence, which substantially separated bodies exert on each other, is brought about by small particles (*ἀπορροαί*) of one becoming detached and entering into the pores of the other.' See a more complete account of this doctrine in the *Pre-Socr. Philos.* ii. 122–32, where the original passages from the poem of Empedocles entitled Φυσικά are quoted.

39] **c** 7 *τὰς ἄρκτους.* Ursa Maior and Ursa Minor. Cf. Plat. *Critias*, 118 B *ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων κατάβορρος*; Hom. *Od.* v. 272; Verg. *G.* i. 246 'Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingi.'

40] **d** 1 Plat. *Tim.* 58 A *ἡ τοῦ παντὸς περίοδος . . . κενὴν χώραν οὐδεμίαν ἐᾷ λείπεσθαι.*

d 2 *ἐκτὸς εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου κενόν.* Cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, i. 9. 13 *δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ τόπος οὐδὲ κενὸν οὐδὲ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

d 5 Ποσειδώνιος. This refers to a work of Poseidonius of Apamea, a distinguished Stoic and friend of Pompey and Cicero.

41] **845 a** 1 *Τίνα δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου.* Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 2. 1 'Since there are some who say that there is a right and a left side of the heaven, as the so-called Pythagoreans (for this is their argument), we must consider whether it is as they say, or rather otherwise.'

42] **b** 2 *τὴν περιφορὰν τῆς ἔξωθεν ζώνης εἶναι.* In Plut. *De Plac. Philos.* 888 B the reading is *τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτω γηΐνην*, and the same words are found in the work *De Hist. Philos.* 12, attributed to Galen, which is a reproduction of the *De Placitis*, with slight alterations. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 274, note 1, says: 'The Pseudo-Galen here seems to give the original reading.' The meaning of the sentence will then be that 'the outermost circumference of the heaven is of earth,' i. e. solid.

44] **d** 9 *ἄμορφον, ἀνείδεον.* Cf. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 310 *τῆς δὲ γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατός ἐστί τινα πρότερον ἐξ ὧν γέγονεν, ὕλη ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος.* On Aristotle's distinction between *μορφή* and *εἶδος* see *De Caelo*,

i. 9. 1 ἕτερόν ἐστιν αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἡ μορφή, καὶ μεμιγμένη μετὰ τῆς ὕλης, οἷον τῆς σφαίρας ἕτερον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἡ χρυσῆ καὶ ἡ χαλκῆ σφαῖρα κ.τ.λ.

d 11 δεξαμενὴν δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν. Matter is potentially a 'receptacle' of any form.

ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ μητέρα. Cf. Tim. Locr. 94 A τὰν δ' ὕλαν ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ ματέρα τιθάναν τε καὶ γεννατικὰν εἶναι τᾶς τρίτας οὐσίας. See the notes on 333 a 9–b 5.

45] **846 a** 5 ὑφεστῶσα IO, μὴ ὑφεστῶσα FG, 'quod frustra tuebatur Wyttenbach' (Diels, 308). 'In codice C nullum interpolationis vestigium inveni; complura in recentioribus FG: male enim correctum est i. 10. 1 (846 a 5) μὴ ὑφεστῶσα' (idem, *Proleg.* 161).

a 6 εἰκονίζουσα. Cf. 843 d 1 γεγονέναι πρὸς παράδειγμα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου.

46] c 1 Ξενοκράτης. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 573 'Of the physical propositions attributed to Xenophanes some, it is certain, do not belong to him'; (note 1) 'for instance, the statement of the Pseudo-Galen (*H. Phil.* xiii) that Xenophanes believed all the orbits of the stars to lie in the same plane; in regard to a passage where Stob. i. 514 and Plut. *Plac.* ii. 15 have more correctly Xenocrates instead of Xenophanes.'

c 7 πρῶτον Φαίνοντα. Cf. Aristot. *De Mundo*, ii. 9 ὁ τοῦ Φαίνοντος ἅμα καὶ Κρόνου καλούμενος κύκλος. Thus ὁ Φαίνων was only another name for Saturn.

47] **847 a** 3 τοὺς πλάνητας τοῖς ἀπλανέσιν ἐναντίους. Cf. Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, 457 'The apparent motions of the planets are much more irregular than those of the sun or moon. Generally speaking, and comparing their places at distant times, they all advance, though with very different *average* or *mean* velocities, in the same direction as those luminaries, i. e. in opposition to the apparent diurnal motion, or from west to east.'

a 9 ἰσοδρόμους εἶναι, 'have equal orbits.' On this error see below 849 c 3.

49] c 3 Διοσκούρων. Cf. Diod. Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* iv. 43 'When a great storm had come on, and the chieftains were despairing of safety, Orpheus, it is said, offered prayers for safety to the Samothracian gods: and as the wind immediately abated, and two stars descended upon the heads of the Dioscuri, all were

amazed at the prodigy . . . and voyagers in a storm pray to the Samothracians, and attribute the appearance of the stars to the manifestation of the Dioscuri.'

c 4 Ξενοφάνης. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 572 'Xenophanes regarded the sun, moon, and stars (as well as the rainbow and other phenomena) as aggregations of burning and luminous vapours, in a word as fiery clouds, which at their setting were extinguished like embers, and at their rising were kindled, or rather formed, anew.'

50] **d** 2 ἔφη ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἥλιον. On Thales as 'one of the most celebrated of the ancient mathematicians and astronomers' see Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 213, note. Hdt. i. 74 'In a battle between the Medes and Lydians just as the battle was growing warm, day was on a sudden changed into night. This event had been foretold by Thales, the Milesian, who forewarned the Ionians of it, fixing for it the very year in which it actually took place.' See Rawlinson's notes.

d 4 ὑποτιθεμένην τῷ δίσκῳ. Cf. Diels, *Proleg.* 53. With this, which is the reading of Eusebius, ὑποτιθεμένην τῷ δίσκῳ (τὴν σελήνην) seems to be an explanation of τοῦτο: this phenomenon, namely the moon situated under the sun's disk.

d 5 διεκπνοῆς. Cf. 837 a 2 ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πνοὴν ἔχει.

d 7 τοῦ σκαφοειδοῦς. Cf. 837 b 4.

d 10 κατὰ σβέσιν. Cf. 839 b 2. The same notion of the sun's extinction is ascribed to Heracleitus by Plato, *Rep.* 498 A 'As years advance, in most cases their light is quenched more truly than Heracleitus' sun, for they are never lighted again.' See the Scholiast on the passage, who seems to have borrowed from Plutarch.

848 a 5 Ἀρίσταρχος. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, 348 'So seriously was this belief' (the divinity of the stars) 'held by the Stoics, that a philosopher of the unwieldy piety of Cleanthes so far forgot himself as to charge Aristarchus of Samos' (*circ.* 270 B.C.), 'the discoverer of the earth's motion round the sun, the Galileo of antiquity, with impiety for wishing to remove the hearth of the universe from its proper place.' Cf. Plut. *De Fac. Lun.* 923 A. According to Plutarch Aristarchus meant that the sun is fixed like the fixed stars, and that the moon revolves round it (instead of round the earth), and that a solar eclipse occurs when the

moon in the course of its inclinations (ἐγκλίσεις) comes between sun and earth.

a 8 πολλοὺς εἶναι ἡλίους. Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socr. Philos.* i. 572 'These masses of vapour (this is, at any rate, expressly said in regard to the sun) were not supposed to move in a circle around the earth, but in an endless straight line above it; and if the course appears to us circular, this is only an optical delusion, as in the case of the other clouds which, when they approach the zenith, seem to our eyes to ascend, and when they go under the horizon, to sink. It follows from this that new stars must be continually appearing above our horizon, and that parts of the earth widely separated from each other must be enlightened by different suns and moons.'

51] b 5 τοῦ στομίου. Cf. Zeller, ibid. i. 252, on the theory of Anaximander: 'The heavenly bodies were formed of fire and air; when the fiery circle of the universe burst asunder, and the fire was pent up in wheel-shaped husks of compressed air, from the apertures of which it streamed forth, the stoppage of these apertures occasions eclipses of the sun and moon.' Cf. 837 d 4, note.

c 1 Berossus, besides his *Chaldaean History*, wrote on astronomy and astrology. Cf. 413 d 9, and 455 b 4, note.

c 4 ἀνταύγειαν καὶ ἐπίφραξιν. The meaning of ἀνταύγειαν seems to be explained by the statement of Antiphon, 838 c 3, that 'it is the nature of the stronger fire to obscure the weaker.' On ἐπίφραξιν cf. Aristot. *De Caelo*, ii. 13. 7 'Some think it possible that there are more such bodies revolving round the centre, but invisible to us because of the interposition of the earth: and for the same reason, they say, eclipses of the moon occur more frequently than those of the sun; for each of the revolving bodies shuts her out from the light (ἀντιφράττειν), and not only the earth.'

c 5 τῆς ἀντίχθονος. Aristot. ibid. 13. 2 ἔτι δ' ἐναντίαν ἄλλην ταύτῃ κατασκευάζουσι γῆν, ἣν ἀντίχθονα ὄνομα καλοῦσιν. The counter-earth was supposed by some to revolve between the sun and our earth in such a manner that the latter always turned the same face to it; by others it was thought to be our antipodal hemisphere; and by others again was identified with the moon. See Zeller, ibid. i. 452.

ἐπινέμησιν. Compare the interpretation in Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, 174. 296 on Aesch. *Agam.* 485 πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὅρος ἐπινέμεται, where ἐπινέμεται means 'is encroached upon.'

d 4 τῆς σελήνης ἀντιφραττομένης, literally, 'when the moon is obscured by an obstacle.' Cf. c 4, note.

52] d 7 μείζοσι ζώοις. Cf. Zeller, ibid. i. 457 'They attributed to the moon plants and living beings far larger and fairer than those on the earth. This theory was founded, it would seem, partly on the appearance of the moon's disc, which resembles the earth; and partly on the desire to discover a special abode for the souls who had quitted the earth, and for the daemons.' Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 416 E οἱ μὲν ἄστρον γεῶδες, οἱ δ' Ὀλυμπίαν γῆν, οἱ δὲ χθονίας ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐρανίας κλῆρον Ἑκάτης προσεῖπον.

849 a 2 τὴν ἡμέραν τοσαύτην. Zeller, ibid. note 1, shows that there is an inconsistency in this statement of the length of the moon's day, unless the length of the daylight is meant as being half of the lunar day.

a 5 παραμεμίχθαι. According to Anaxagoras there was both a separation of opposites, of dense from rare, heat from cold, brightness from darkness, dry from moist; and then an admixture of these various constituents. Cf. Ritter and Pr. *Hist. Philos.* 53 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ παντὸς μοῖρα ἔνεστιν.

a 6 ψευδοφαῆ. The epithet is attributed by Diog. L. (ii. 1. 2) to Anaximander: τήν τε σελήνην ψευδοφαῆ καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι.

53] b 2 τὴν σελήνην. Cf. Zeller, ibid. ii. 157, note, who suggests that the corrupt text of Stobaeus διπλάσιον ἀπέχειν τῆς σελήνης ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἤπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου should be corrected by reading τὴν σελήνην. Karsten's conjecture τὸν ἥλιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἤπερ τὴν σελήνην is excluded by the heading of the chapter Περὶ τῶν ἀποστημάτων αὐτῆς (τῆς σελήνης).

b 5 μυριάδας τετρακοσίας καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίας. 'Plutarch gives only 780,000, a much smaller sum' (Viger). But this is given as the moon's distance from the earth, the larger number, 4,080,000, being the sun's.

54] c 1 Περὶ ἐνιαυτῶν. Cf. Aristot. *De Mundo*, vi. 18 σελήνη μὲν γὰρ ἐν μηνὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς διαπεραίνεται κύκλον, . . . ἥλιος δὲ ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ οἱ τούτου ἰσόδρομοι, ὅ τε Φωσφόρος καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς λεγόμενος, ὁ δὲ Πυρόεις ἐν διπλασίονι τούτων χρόνῳ, ὁ δὲ Διὸς ἐν ἑξαπλα-

σίονι τούτου, καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενος ἐν δεκαπλασίονι καὶ ἡμίσει τοῦ ὑποκάτω.

c 2 The periods here assigned to Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars are, roughly speaking, true.

c 4 *ἰσόδρομοι γάρ.* The *sidereal* periods of Mercury and Venus are in fact, approximately, 88 and 225 days respectively, and their *synodical* periods 116 and 584 days. The statement of the text is, however, nearly true, if applied to the times of diurnal rotation on axis, that of Mercury being 24^{h}. 5^{m}., and that of Venus 23^{h}. 21^{m}. See Sir J. Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, 472, and Appendix.

ἡμέραι λ'. This is very nearly right, the mean synodical period of the moon being a little more than 29½ days.

c 6 *Τὸν δὲ μέγαν ἐνιαυτόν.* The Great Year is a term employed in several senses : (1) It means the period in which the commencements of the solar and lunar years were made nearly to coincide by means of an intercalary month or months. Cf. Smith, *Dict. Gk. and R. Antt.* 'Calendarium,' 122 b. (2) 'The year which Aristotle calls *the Greatest* rather than *the Great*, is that in which the sun, moon, and planets all return and come together in the same sign of the zodiac from which they originally started. The winter of this year is the *Cataclysm*, or Deluge, the summer is the *Ecpyrosis*, or Conflagration of the World' (O'Brien in the *Manual of Geogr. Science*, i. 40). Cf. 415 d 4. (3) 'Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, c. 18) attributes to Aristarchus the invention of the *magnus annus* of 2,484 years' (Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* 'Aristarchus'). (4) Hippolytus, *Refut. Haer.* iv. 7 'They affirm that a configuration of the same stars could not return to a similar position, otherwise than by the renewal of the Great Year, through a space of 7777.' This is the same number which is given by Plutarch in the text. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* v. 105, says that 'the restoration of the Great Year takes place at intervals of 9977 years.'

55] d 7 *Ἱκέτης.* Diog. L. viii. 85, writing of Philolaus, says: 'He was the first who asserted that the earth moves in a circle; but others say that it was Hicetas of Syracuse.' Hicetas was an early Pythagorean. Cf. Cic. *Academ.* ii. 39.

τὴν ἀντίχθονα. See Zeller, ibid. i. 444; and cf. 848 c 5 above.

d 10 *ἐξ ἀέρος δὲ καὶ πυρός*. Cf. Zeller, ibid. i. 568 'The theory that he (Xenophanes) regarded the earth itself as a combination of air and fire is certainly incorrect.'

56] **850 a** 5 *λίθῳ κίονι προσφερῆ*. Cf. Diels, *Proleg.* 133, where he quotes Hippol. i. 6 (16) *κίονι λίθῳ παραπλήσιον· τῶν δὲ ἐπιπέδων ᾧ μὲν ἐπιβεβήκαμεν ὃ δὲ ἀντίθετον ὑπάρχει*. For *κίονι λίθῳ* Diels suggests *κίονος λίθῳ* (*Proleg.* 218).

τῶν ἐπιπέδων. The reading in Hippolytus shows that this should be separated from the preceding clause, and written *τῶν δὲ ἐπιπέδων* * * *, to indicate a lacuna: see Diels, ibid.

59] **851 b** 2 *ἐξατμισθέντος*. Cf. 181 b 4.

b 5 *ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον πίλησιν*. In Plutarch the reading is *ἐπιπόλαιον πλύσιν*, or according to a conjecture of Junius *ἐπιπόλαιον πίλησιν*, 'the condensation of the surface,' which seems to give the best sense.

b 9 *διηθεῖσθαι*. Cf. 836 c 3.

60] **d** 2 *κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἀνωτάτω λόγον*. Cf. Sext. Emp. *Hyp. Pyrrh.* i. 138 *τῶν τε ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀνώτατα γένη κατὰ τοὺς δογματικούς, τὰ δ' ἔσχατα εἴδη, τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ εἴδη*. *Adv. Phys.* i. 117. Here the first analysis of 'soul' is into 'rational' and 'irrational.' See the next note.

d 5 *τὸ θυμικόν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*. On the parts of the soul see Aristot. *De Anima*, iii. 9. 3 *τρόπον γάρ τινα ἄπειρα φαίνεται, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἅ τινες λέγουσι διορίζοντες λογιστικὸν καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ λόγον ἔχον καὶ τὸ ἄλογον*.

852 a 1 ⟨*ἐπιτέταται*⟩. Plut. 899 D *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄργανα τεταμένα*.

a 2 *πολύποδος πλεκτάναις*. Cf. Hom. *Od.* v. 432

> *ὡς δ' ὅτε πουλύποδος θαλάμης ἐξελκομένοιο*
> *πρὸς κοτυληδονόφιν πυκιναὶ λάϊγγες ἔχονται . . .*

61] **b** 1 On the subject of this chapter see Lotze, ***Microcosmus***, Book iii. 2, *On the seat of the soul*; Tertullian, ***De Anima***, xv; Diels, *Proleg.* 203; Cic. *Tusc.* i. 9.

b 3 *ἐν μεσοφρύῳ*. Cf. Tert. ibid. 'nec in superciliorum meditullio, ut Strato physicus.'

b 4 *Ἐρασίστρατος*, a most distinguished physician and anatomist of the third century B.C., of whom a very interesting account is given in Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and R. Biogr.*

μήνιγγα. Erasistatus was especially famous for his dissection and study of the brain and its membranes. Cf. Aristot.

Hist. An. i. 16. 5 *ἡ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν (τὸν ἐγκέφαλον) μῆνιγξ φλεβώδης· ἔστι δ' ὑμὴν δερματικὸς ἡ μῆνιγξ ὁ περιέχων τὸν ἐγκέφαλον.* Tertull. ibid. 'nec in membranulis ut Erasistratus.'

ἐπικρανίδα, 'the membrane of the cerebellum' (L. and Sc. *Lex.*).

b 6 *Ἡρόφιλος*, a contemporary of Erasistratus, equally celebrated as a physician and anatomist. It is said that parts of the body are still called by his name.

ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου κοιλίᾳ, 'in the ventricle of the brain.' Cf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* i. 16. 4 *τὸ δ' ὄπισθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς κενὸν καὶ κοῖλον πᾶσιν.* Tertull. *De Anima*, 15 'nec circa cerebri fundamentum ut Herophilus.'

b 8 *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ.* Cf. Zeller, *Epicureans*, 425 'Only the irrational part of the soul is diffused as a principle of life over the whole body; the rational part has its seat in the breast.' Diog. L. x. 66 *τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἐν τῷ θώρακι.*

c 1 *Διογένης*, not the cynic, but the Babylonian, a Stoic who wrote a treatise *Περὶ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικοῦ.*

τῇ ἀρτηριακῇ κοιλίᾳ. Cf. Aristot. *De Part. An.* iii. 4. 22 *κοιλίας δ' ἔχουσιν αἱ μὲν τῶν μεγάλων ζῴων (καρδίαι) τρεῖς . . . δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τόπον τινὰ τῆς καρδίας καὶ ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πρώτου αἵματος.* I suppose the part thus described to be the ventricle from which the pulmonary artery (if that is the right term) proceeds.

c 3 *ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἵματος συστάσει*, 'in the composition' (or 'substance') of the blood: *συστάσει* may have either meaning. Cf. Tertull. ibid. 'ut et ille versus Orphei vel Empedoclis "namque homini sanguis circumcordialis est sensus."'

d 6 *εἰ καὶ σύ.* The person thus apostrophized is an imaginary Pagan opponent.

d 9 *ψήφους . . . ἐξενηνεγμένος.* Cf. Hdt. v. 36 *πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἐξεφέροντο.*

62] 853 c 1 The same passage of Xenophon has been quoted in 25 d 6.

854 d 1 *Ὑπέρ τε πόντου.* A fragment of a lost tragedy, possibly the *Andromeda* of Euripides.

855 b 7 *Τίς γὰρ τούσδ'.* Timon's lines are a parody on Homer, *Il.* i. 8–10. Eusebius has borrowed this and the following quotation from Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 651.

c 6 *Φοιτᾷ δέ.* A parody on the description of Discord (*Ἔρις*)

in Hom. *Il.* iv. 440–3, borrowed from the same passage of Clement. The passage of Homer is quoted in a fragment of Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea (*c.* A. D. 270), as a fit description of mathematical science.

d 2 For ἐς ⟨βρῖθος⟩, the MSS. of Eus. have ἐς βροτούς. Gaisford with Clem. Al. gives ἔς τε βροτούς. With βροτούς one may render the line 'Anon, with head

Set firm in face of men, excites their hope.'

856 a 4 τῆς δὴ λειπούσης τῷ προβλήματι. Cf. 6 a 6.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

26 b 8 Cf. *Classical Review*, xvi. 16–17, 391–3.

33 c 8 On the supposed origin of animal life see Plut. *Mor.* 908; Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, i. 188.

64 a 4 ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον. 'Titius on Nemesian. *Ecl.* 3. 51 rightly compares these verses (ibid. 49–51)

Concavat ille manus palmasque in pocula vertit,
pronus at ille lacu bibit et crepitantibus haurit
musta labris; alius vocalia cymbala mergit'

(J. E. B. Mayor).

132 a 4 τῇ σελήνῃ συναύξειν καὶ συμφθίνειν. On the supposed influences of the moon cf. Plut. *Mor.* 658 F–659 C.

134 d 11 ὁ Δωδωναῖος. Cf. Dion. Halic. i. 14 'In this region' (Tiora Matiene) 'there is said to have been a very ancient oracle of Ares; and the manner of it, they say, was like that which, according to tradition, there was formerly at Dodona; except that there a dove sitting upon an oak (δρυός) was said to prophesy, while among these aboriginals a bird sent from heaven, which was called by them 'picus' and by the Greeks δρυοκολάπτης (woodpecker), appeared upon a wooden pillar and likewise prophesied.'

174 d 5 μεστὰ ἀπὸ τούτων. For the construction with ἀπό see Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3. 5 πλέα σοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, Athen. 569 F ἐπλήθυνεν ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης ἑταιρίδων ἡ Ἑλλάς.

433 a 3 τοὺς ἱερεῖς. 'Die Schwierigkeiten werden beseitigt durch eine sehr ansprechende und paläographisch naheliegende

Konjectur von Diels, τοὺς πέριξ (statt ἱερεῖς) ἅπαντας' (P. Wendland, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, October 25, 1902, col. 1322). Wendland quotes his own paper in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, ii. 1 (1092) 28, note 3 (J. E. B. Mayor).

Whether among the Egyptians circumcision was compulsory on any but the priests is a much disputed question. According to Hdt. ii. 104 it was from the Egyptians that 'the Syrians in Palestine' learned the rite. Artapanus inverts the relation, and makes the Israelites the teachers of the Ethiopians (Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 161). See the notes on Hdt. ii. 37, 104; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, iii. 385; Ermann, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 32, 539). On so doubtful a matter of history it is not desirable to substitute a mere conjecture (πέριξ) for ἱερεῖς the reading of all the MSS.

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